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ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS  
IN THE UNITED STATES  
PART 4

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

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FEBRUARY 1-4 AND 7-11, 1966  
(INDEX IN SEPARATE VOLUME)

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Committee on Un-American Activities



979



## C O N T E N T S

---

February 1, 1966: Testimony of—	Page
Vincent Travis Purser.....	2901
Deavours Nix.....	2904
Sam Holloway Bowers, Jr.....	2908
Afternoon session:	
Ernest S. Gilbert, Jr.....	2942
Joseph Carlton Brown.....	2951
February 2, 1966: Testimony of—	
John Emmett Thornhill, Sr.....	2956
John Dawson.....	2982
February 3, 1966: Testimony of—	
Charles Melvin Stewart.....	2994
Paul Lafayette Foster.....	2998
Ernest Buchanan Parker.....	3005
Myron Wayne (Jack) Seale.....	3009
Afternoon session:	
Ernest Henry Avants.....	3016
Paul Dewey Wilson.....	3019
Jimmy Princeton Wilson.....	3028
Murphy John Duncan, Jr.....	3031
Emery Allen Lee.....	3037
L. C. Murray.....	3042
Edward Lenox McDaniel.....	3044
February 4, 1966: Testimony of—	
Robert Sidney Thomas.....	3058
Herbert Thomas.....	3066
Ronald Jefferson Tidwell.....	3068
Rayford Jackson Martin.....	3073
Wilson Hood.....	3076
Myrtie Eugene Stephens.....	3078
Herbert Eugene Reeves.....	3084
February 7, 1966: Testimony of—	
James W. McCroskey.....	3092
Robert N. Washington.....	3102
James R. Whitefield.....	3106
Afternoon session:	
William P. Whitefield, Jr.....	3116
Johnnie Lee Burnette.....	3122
Donald Andrew Smitherman.....	3125
Curtis O'Neil Doles, Sr.....	3129
Eugene Curtis Vann, Jr.....	3131
Sylvester Trawick.....	3135
Charles Jerry Wilkinson.....	3143
Lewis Edward Perkins.....	3146
February 8, 1966: Testimony of—	
William Otto Perkins.....	3156
Fredrick Gerald Smith.....	3167
William Melvin Sexton.....	3174
Ralph Ray Roton.....	3187
Afternoon session:	
Ralph Ray Roton (resumed).....	3204

February 9, 1966: Testimony of—	Page
Ralph Ray Roton (resumed)-----	3224
Robert Milton Creel-----	3240
Afternoon session:	
Ralph Earl Pryor, Jr.-----	3265
Robert Milton Creel (resumed)-----	3267
Ralph Earl Pryor, Jr. (resumed)-----	3303
February 10, 1966: Testimony of—	
Ralph Earl Pryor, Jr. (resumed)-----	3312
Roy Everett Frankhouser, Jr.-----	3342
Donald W. Swartz-----	3363
Bobby J. Stephens-----	3369
Afternoon session:	
Bobby J. Stephens (resumed)-----	3370
February 11, 1966: Testimony of—	
Bobby J. Stephens (resumed)-----	3410
Daniel N. Wagner-----	3424
Afternoon session:	
Verlin U. Gilliam-----	3445
Jim Harris-----	3455
Robert W. Annable-----	3460
Parkie Scott-----	3468
Flynn R. Harvey-----	3478
Index in separate volume.	

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 89TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 4, 1965

\* \* \* \* \*

## RULE X

## STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress.

\* \* \* \* \*

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

\* \* \* \* \*

## RULE XI

## POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 1 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; Joe R. Pool, of Texas; and John H. Buchanan, Jr., of Alabama.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis and Buchanan.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Philip R. Manuel, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

As chairman of the full Committee on Un-American Activities, I hereby constitute for the purposes of today's hearing a special subcommittee of three, composed of the following: myself as chairman, Mr. Buchanan, and Mr. Pool. That means that two will constitute a quorum.

Mr. Appell, call your first witness.

Mr. APPELL. Vincent Travis Purser.

The CHAIRMAN. Please raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PURSER. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF VINCENT TRAVIS PURSER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CHARLES G. BLACKWELL AND TRAVIS BUCKLEY

Mr. APPELL. Would you state your full name for the record?

Mr. PURSER. Vincent Travis Purser.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today, Mr. Purser, in accordance with a subpoena—

Mr. PURSER. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. —which was delivered to your residence at 4 p.m., the 29th day of December 1965 at Route 1, Box 250, Duckworth Road, Gulfport, Miss.?

Mr. PURSER. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. PURSER. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel please identify themselves for the record?

Mr. BLACKWELL. Charles G. Blackwell, attorney at law, Laurel, Mississippi.

Mr. BUCKLEY. Travis Buckley, attorney at law, Bay Springs, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Purser, when and where were you born?

Mr. PURSER. I was born December 8, 1905, Hazlehurst, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. Would you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. PURSER. I finished high school at Copiah-Lincoln Agricultural High School, western Mississippi, in 1923, and I had a business course and I took a correspondence course with LaSalle Extension University.

Mr. APPELL. What period of time have you served in the military?

Mr. PURSER. I served from, I believe it was, October 1942 through September 1945. I was discharged and went back in, was out about 4 months during World War II.

Mr. APPELL. Did you have a period of service 1925 to 1926?

Mr. PURSER. Yes, I did. I had forgotten about that. About a year.

Mr. APPELL. Would you give the committee the benefit of your employment background from 1960?

Mr. PURSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question and invoke as a defense the privileges guaranteed to me by the 5th, 1st, and 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. In 1962 did you retire as an employee of Sears, Roebuck and Company?

Mr. PURSER. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. From the period 1962 to date, did you receive income from an organization known as the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

Mr. PURSER. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Are you familiar with an attorney in Gulfport, Mississippi, by the name of Knox Walker?

Mr. PURSER. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Did you and a group of Klansmen on approximately November 8, 1965, call Knox Walker in the early hours of the morning around 2:30 and advise him that his boat had been cut loose and—

Mr. PURSER. Sir, for the reasons previously stated—

Mr. APPELL. All right; answer that. I will break it down and stop there.

Mr. PURSER. For the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Did you, when Mr. Walker arrived at where his boat was docked, meet him, together with four or five other men dressed in Klan robes and advise him he was a "nigger lawyer" and he ought to leave the area?

Mr. PURSER. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Do you currently handle funds of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

Mr. PURSER. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Within the recent 2 months have two Klaverns of the United Klans of America transferred their membership to the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the Gulfport-Pascagoula area?

Mr. PURSER. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claimed privilege and his consistent refusal to answer questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Travis Purser. Mr. Purser was born on December 8, 1905, at Hazlehurst, Mississippi. Military service in the Army from July 17, 1925, to November 10, 1926, from October 17, 1942, to April 23, 1943, and from November 4, 1943, to September 5, 1945. He is a retired employee from Sears, Roebuck Company, from which employment he retired in 1962. Mr. Purser joined the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi at Gulfport, Mississippi, in 1964. Beginning in February 1965, he began attending State meetings of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. On May 2, 1965, he attended a State meeting in Pearl River County, Mississippi, at which meeting it was noted that members of the White Knights would henceforth pay 65 cents per man to the State treasury plus his local Klavern dues. In addition, each bursar or treasurer was authorized to retain funds for emergency expenditures. Cash on hand was reported by each district, with Tommy Brock reporting \$2,100; Vincent Purser \$800; Dewitt Sandifer \$350; Billy Buckles advising that Julius Harper, the Grand Dragon, had \$400, and the Greenwood, Mississippi, Unit of the White Knights \$1,000.

On May 16, 1965, Imperial Wizard Bowers appointed Klansman Dillard as "Coordinator" for the Pearl River County area of the White Knights at the request of Vincent T. Purser. At meetings of Klaverns in the Gulfport area, Klansmen received instruction in judo, received instruction in Molotov cocktails, and the use of syringe bottles filled with ammonia.

On September 29, 1964, Purser and Ernest Gilbert, then the grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, White Knights of Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, requested the State organization of the White Knights through Grand Dragon Julius Harper to either burn or stinkbomb the Mennonite School for Wayward Girls because it was being used by the COFO organization for a headquarters. On approximately November 8, 1965, Knox Walker, a Gulfport attorney who had represented NAACP and certain Gulfport Negroes, received an anonymous telephone call and was advised that his boat had been cut loose. When he arrived at the place where the boat was tied he found four or five men in Klan robes, with Vincent T. Purser acting

as the leader. Purser told Walker he was a "nigger lawyer" and he had better leave the area.

Two United Klans of American Klaverns have recently transferred to the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the Gulfport-Pascagoula area.

Mr. Chairman, this information indicates that Mr. Purser possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in the enactment of remedial legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Purser, you have heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator. You now have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement, confirm or challenge the accuracy of the information, or explain any part of it. In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any matters the committee may deem relevant to this inquiry. Do you care to avail yourself of this opportunity?

Mr. PURSER. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, sir, I must inform you that, in the absence of a rebuttal from you or other facts that may come to the attention of the committee, this committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation. Bearing this in mind, do you have anything to say?

Mr. PURSER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't?

Mr. PURSER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. The staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. Call the next witness.

Mr. APPELL. I would like to call Mr. Deavours Nix.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NIX. I do.

#### **TESTIMONY OF DEAVOURS NIX, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CHARLES G. BLACKWELL AND TRAVIS BUCKLEY**

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record.

Mr. NIX. Deavours Nix.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here in accordance with subpoena served upon you at 116 Teresa Street, Laurel, Mississippi, on the 29th day of November 1965 by John D. Sullivan, investigator of this committee?

Mr. NIX. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. NIX. I am.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel please identify themselves for the record?

Mr. BLACKWELL. Charles G. Blackwell, attorney at law, Laurel, Mississippi.

Mr. BUCKLEY. Travis Buckley, Bay Springs, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Nix?

Mr. NIX. I was born in Jones County, Mississippi, November 30, 1925.

Mr. APPELL. Would you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. NIX. I finished the eighth grade, Calhoun High School, Jones County, Mississippi, then entered the service October 3, 1941. Upon being discharged February 5, 1947, I attended GI school, the same Calhoun High School, and lacked three units of finishing high school.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Nix, while a member of the service, what branch of the service were you in?

Mr. NIX. The United States Navy.

Mr. APPELL. During your period of service in the United States Navy, were you subject to several courts-martial?

Mr. NIX. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question and invoke as a defense the privileges guaranteed me by the 5th, 1st, and 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer that question. He admitted he was in the service and gave the periods of enlistment.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not going to direct him to answer that question. I don't think it would add materially to the record.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Nix, will you give the committee a résumé of your employment background from 1960?

Mr. BUCKLEY. From 1960 forward or back?

Mr. APPELL. Forward.

Mr. NIX. Beginning the year 1960, I was working for a drilling contractor by the name of Gulf Coast Drilling and Exploration, Laurel, Mississippi. The year 1962 I went in business for myself in a place by the name of Nub's Steak House, Laurel, Mississippi. I was a failure in that business so far as making a living is concerned. From there I went to Los Angeles, California, was employed by Southern California Heat Treat as salesman and general manager for a period of 17 months, returned to Laurel, Mississippi, and now I am self-employed, John's Restaurant.

The CHAIRMAN. What town?

Mr. NIX. Laurel, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. In addition to the employment that you have enumerated, have you had any other sources of income?

Mr. NIX. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What are the other sources of income you have had, sir?

Mr. NIX. If you call it income, I received some money from insurance companies at different times.

The CHAIRMAN. For injury?

Mr. NIX. Accident.

Mr. APPELL. Recovery of claims?

Mr. NIX. Right.

Mr. APPELL. Do you have any other source of income?

Mr. NIX. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Do you receive any compensation from an organization known as the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

Mr. NIX. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Sam H. Bowers?

Mr. NIX. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question and invoke as a defense the privileges guaranteed to me by the 5th, 1st, and 14th amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. On June 27, 1965, were you elected to the position of grand director, Klan Bureau of Investigation, White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

Mr. NIX. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Nix, a review of an arrest record involving yourself reflects that on September 2, 1962, May 19, 1964, July 13, 1965, and August 14, 1965, you were arrested on charges of assault. The last two arrests were after you were elected to the position of grand director, Klan Bureau of Investigation, White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. Were the acts for which you were arrested acts carried out in your position as grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. NIX. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I put to you as a fact, and ask you to confirm or deny the fact, that at a meeting on June 27, 1965, near Greenwood, Mississippi you were elected grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

Mr. NIX. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that at that same meeting instructions were issued to the 34 Klaverns represented at that meeting that each Klavern should burn two crosses on July 1, 1965?

Mr. NIX. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that at a meeting held on July 18, 1965, south of Jackson, Mississippi, Imperial Wizard Bowers claimed that the White Knights were responsible for over 16 burnings of buildings in Laurel, Mississippi.

Mr. NIX. For the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. As the grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, what role did you play in any of these burnings?

Mr. NIX. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Nix, have you filed charges against agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, claiming they used profanity in questioning you?

The CHAIRMAN. What was that question?

Mr. APPELL. If he has filed charges against agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, charging that they used profanity in questioning Mr. Nix.

Mr. NIX. Sir, for reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Is it your claim that the agents of the FBI have called you a yellow-bellied Klansman?

Mr. NIX. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claimed privilege and his consistent refusal to answer questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Nix.

Mr. Nix is the grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, White Knights of Ku Klux Klan, Mississippi: is responsible for the gathering of intelligence information upon which Klan projects are carried out on the State level, or which must have the approval of the Imperial Wizard before they may be executed. Deavours Nix, the owner of John's Restaurant in Laurel, Mississippi, conducts business of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in his restaurant. He was elected grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation at a State meeting held near Greenwood, Mississippi, on June 27, 1965, at which representatives of 34 White Knights Klaverns were present. During this meeting, instructions were given to the representatives of these Klaverns that each Klavern should burn two crosses on July 1, 1965. Five hundred dollars was voted for the Klansman in Bogalusa, Louisiana, who was arrested for killing one and wounding a second Negro deputy sheriff. One July 11, 1965, Nix attended a meeting at King Edward's Hotel in Jackson, Mississippi. At this meeting Imperial Wizard Bowers instructed that a job or project be carried out in each province in order to spread agents of the FBI real thin over the State.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to do what?

Mr. APPELL. To spread the agents of the FBI real thin over the State.

Bowers reported that Billy Birdsong had been beaten because he had given Bowers more trouble than any other Klansman.

On July 18, 1965, at a meeting south of Jackson, Mississippi—

The CHAIRMAN. Who reported that Birdsong had been beaten?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, the Imperial Wizard.

On July 18, 1965, at the meeting south of Jackson, Mississippi, Deavours Nix shook everyone down for "bugs" or electronic devices. Bowers referred to Laurel, Mississippi, as the "smokestack city," claiming that the White Knights were responsible for over 16 burnings of Laurel buildings.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Nix possesses additional information which is both pertinent and material to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nix, you have heard the sworn statement of Mr. Appell, the committee's chief investigator. You now have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement, to challenge or confirm the accuracy of the information, or to explain any part of the statement. In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter the committee may deem relevant to this inquiry. Do you care to avail yourself of this opportunity?

Mr. NIX. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I tell you, then, Mr. Nix, that absent your rebuttal or other facts that may come to the attention of the committee, this committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation. In view of this, do you care to say anything?

Mr. NIX. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. The staff has no further questions of this witness, Mr Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Sam Holloway Bowers, Jr.

The CHAIRMAN. Please raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BOWERS. I do, sir.

**TESTIMONY OF SAM HOLLOWAY BOWERS, JR., ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, CHARLES G. BLACKWELL AND TRAVIS BUCKLEY**

Mr. APPELL. Be seated, Mr. Bowers. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. BOWERS. Sam H. Bowers, Jr.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with the subpoena served upon you at 12:20 o'clock a.m., the 26th day of October 1965 by John D. Sullivan, an investigator for this committee?

Mr. BOWERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BOWERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify themselves for the record?

Mr. BLACKWELL. Charles G. Blackwell, attorney at law, Laurel, Mississippi.

Mr. BUCKLEY. Travis Buckley, Bay Springs, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Bowers?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question and invoke as a defense the privileges guaranteed to me by the 5th, 1st, and 6th amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America.

The CHAIRMAN. I order and direct you to answer that question. I can't imagine any reason to decline answering that question. It is preliminary and it is usual, and I order and direct you to answer it.

Mr. BOWERS. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman. In answer to that question, I will say that I was born on the 6th day of August 1924 in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana.

The CHAIRMAN. New Orleans?

Mr. BOWERS. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Will you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question and invoke as a defense the privileges guaranteed to me by the 5th, 1st and 6th amendments to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Give the committee a brief résumé of your employment background.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Robert H. Larson?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Are you co-owner with Mr. Robert H. Larson of the Sambo Amusement Company and the Magnolia Consolidated Realty Company?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had evidence to that effect. So put it to him as a fact.

Mr. APPELL. I say to you, Mr. Bowers, that Mr. Larson appeared before the committee on January 10, 1966, and testified under oath that you and he were co-owners of the companies that I mentioned to you. Is his testimony before the committee truthful?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the company?

Mr. APPELL. The Sambo Amusement Company.

The CHAIRMAN. They operate, among other things, what?

Mr. APPELL. Pinball machines and vending machines of various types.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your information as to the system of operation of these machines, as to whether either above or under the counter they do or are capable of paying off, or can the players demand from the house cash money or coin?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the pinball machines operate whereby a player, if he obtains a certain score, is given what is recorded on the machine as a free play. However, as these free plays accumulate, the proprietor in whose store the machine is located will pay the player in cash for the number of games recorded at the rate of 5 cents per game. This money is then deducted from the take of the machine, and the proprietor and Mr. Larson and Mr. Bowers split that which is left over.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether under Federal law some kind of stamp tax payment is due, either payable out of general operations per machine or in any other fashion?

Mr. APPELL. Under Federal law, Mr. Chairman—and I am not too familiar with the exact requirements of that law—machines which are pinball or slot machines which are used for gambling purposes, the owners of the machine are required to purchase Federal gambling tax stamps. I think the rate is \$50 per machine.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you pay any such stamp, Mr. Bowers?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Have your operations ever been checked by Federal agents?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. My recollection is that one of the requisites of joining the Klan within your realm is you must be sober, nongamblers, and all the rest of it. Is that right?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, in the operation of the Sambo Amusement Company, do you have vending machines and pinball machines in establishments owned or operated by Negroes?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. In connection with the operation of the Magnolia Consolidated Realty Company, do you own restaurants which are leased to Negroes?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Have any attacks ever been made on the establishments you own by members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi by either bombings or burnings?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you aware of the fact your grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation had told a certain lawyer that because he represented colored people that he should get out of town, or words to that effect?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. From the questions that Mr. Appell has asked, it would seem that you yourself were not so selective of your customers. I make that as an observation. I suppose the information sought to be solicited by Mr. Appell is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, the subpoena served upon you contains as an attachment which was made a part of the subpoena a listing of documents which, under the terms of the subpoena, you were commanded to bring with you and to produce before the committee.

One calls for you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, and affiliated organizations, namely, The White Christian Protective and Legal Defense Fund and the Mississippi Constitutional Council, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as the present or former Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

I request you to produce in your representative capacity stated therein the documents called for in part 1 of your subpoena.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, I could not produce such records as were ordered by the subpoena issued to me, due to the fact that such records are not in my possession, custody, or control and I did not and do not have access to such records.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever had access to any Klan records?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you do away with any of the Klan records, such as destroying them, hiding them, passing them on to third parties, or any other circumstances of doing away with the records, getting them out of your possession?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Your own constitution and bylaws require some records to be kept. Do you mean to say you never saw any records, had possession of any records?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are those records?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, prior to January 1, 1965, did you have in your possession, custody, or control documents of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. On February 1, 1965, did you have in your possession, custody, or control, in your representative capacity as Imperial Wizard, documents of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I ask you the same question with respect to March 1.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. And what are those reasons previously stated that you have repeated 10 or more times here?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, that reason previously stated, and I quote, is: "Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question and invoke as a defense the privileges guaranteed to me by the 5th, 1st, and 6th amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America."

The CHAIRMAN. This subpoena has been served upon you in your capacity of top leadership and not necessarily or in fact as an individual, Sam H. Bowers. I want to tell you that we don't recognize your invocation of refusal to produce those documents. It is incredible, inconceivable, outlandish that you can say you do not now have, and never have, don't know of any records involving klanism within your realm. I suppose the documents will be offered, the records which you obviously handled yourself, or directives that you personally issued. Is that correct, Mr. Appell, the documents you refer to?

Mr. APPELL. The investigation will produce, Mr. Chairman, documents that were either prepared by, or distributed under, the direction of Mr. Bowers as the Imperial Wizard.

I ask you now, Mr. Bowers, whether you had any of the documents in your possession in your representative capacity as Imperial Wizard on April 1, 1965?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I now ask you with respect to May 1, 1965.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Did you have any such records at any time since you became Imperial Wizard?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, I now ask you whether you had any of the documents in your representative capacity as Imperial Wizard on June 1, 1965?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I ask you the same question now with respect to July 1.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I now ask you the same question with respect to August 1.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I ask you the same question with respect to September 1, 1965.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I ask you the same question with respect to October 1, 1965.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. I ask you the same question with respect to November 1, 1965.

Mr. BOWERS. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. You had no documents in your possession on November 1, 1965?

Mr. BOWERS. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will you tell the committee as to what disposition was made of documents in your possession between October 1, 1965, and November 1, 1965?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. You were served with a subpoena on October 26, 1965. Did you have any documents in your possession on that date?

Mr. BOWERS. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Between October 1, 1965, and October 26, 1965, did you learn that the subpoena for this committee was outstanding for your appearance?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, part 2 of the subpoena calls upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, memoranda appurtenances and equipment in your possession, custody or control, maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

I request you to produce in your representative capacity stated therein the documents called for in part 2 of your subpoena.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, I could not produce such records as were ordered by the subpoena issued to me, due to the fact that such records are not in my possession, custody, or control and I did not and do not have access to such records.

Mr. APPELL. Were the documents in your possession on October 1, 1965?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question and invoke as a defense the privileges guaranteed to me by the 5th, 1st, and 6th amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Were the documents in your possession on October 26, the day that you were served with your subpoena?

Mr. BOWERS. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you possess knowledge between October 1, 1965, and October 26, 1965, that a subpoena was outstanding for you, calling for your appearance before this committee?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. During this period of October 1 to October 26, did you destroy or transfer to the custody of a second party documents called for in the subpoena?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, I hand you a series of documents identified in the course of our investigation to be the products of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi which were either prepared by yourself or distributed to members of the White Knights with your approval. After you review those documents, Mr. Bowers, I ask you whether or not these documents were so prepared.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, document No. 1 (Harold Delk Exhibit No. 1) is captioned "Secrecy." This document emphasizes that secrecy is the greatest asset which the White Knights possesses to protect its militant nature. Thereafter instructions in secrecy are set forth until its conclusion is set forth—that the highest essence of secrecy is deliberate deception. As the Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, does the organization practice deliberate deception?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, document No. 2 (Burrell White Exhibit No. 2) is captioned "Executive Lecture of March 1, 1964." This document, after setting forth that the purpose and dedication of the White Knights is the preservation of a Christian civilization, instructs the membership to have for ready reference and frequent, careful, and prayerful reference a copy of the Holy Scriptures. Several paragraphs infer that the White Knights look to Christ for its leadership. In the introduction, the document refers to the White Knights as the Christian militants, disposed to use physical force against its enemies. The militant phase of the White Knights is then divided into security, intelligence, and propaganda. Under "security," members are instructed in eliminating detection of their attendance at meetings, concealing their membership, posing as anti-Klan or even anticonservative, the use of gloves to avoid fingerprint identification, the creation of an infantry squad of eight well-armed Klansmen within each unit, and with respect to the armament of the squad the document refers to the fact that this squad should be equipped with blue ribbon weapons.

"Intelligence," according to the document, "consists of gathering and transmission of all information concerning the enemy, or weaknesses or leaks" in the White Knights. The membership is then instructed in procedure to be followed by units and individuals preliminary to undertaking that which the document describes as "militant activity."

In this connection, there is stated that the vote of the local unit concerning the wishes of the local members regarding any militant activity

must be transmitted through the office of the province investigator to the higher headquarters.

Conditioning against discouragement if action appears to be delayed, the section on intelligence concludes:

Hasty action will lead to either the bastille or the cemetery [sic]. Remember, ALWAYS, we are in this war to WIN it, not just to FIGHT it.

Propaganda is given great emphasis and the reason is best explained in the first three sentences under this subdivision:

PROPAGANDA is the weapon of modern war which our organization uses to convince the public that we are all *good*, and that those who oppose us, or criticize us, or attempt to interfere with our activities in any way are all *BAD*, and are dangerous enemies of the Community. We must always keep the public on our side. As long as they are on our side, we can just about do anything to our enemies with impunity.

Implements of propaganda are described as being as valuable as bullets. Militant activity may not be accomplished by propaganda in which case the document reads:

If our enemies can be humiliated and driven out of the Community by Propaganda, well enough. If they continue to resist, they must be physically destroyed before they can damage our Christian Civilization further, and destroy us. \* \* \*

Do you have any comments to make upon the contents of that document, sir?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Document No. 3 (Burrell White Exhibit No. 1) is Imperial Executive Order dated May 3, 1964. Did you issue or cause to be issued that document, Mr. Bowers?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. This document, Mr. Bowers, as you review it forecasts situations likely to arise during the summer of 1964. It predicts massive demonstrations designed for the purpose of bringing about, as stated in the report:

A decree from the Communist authorities in charge of the National Government \* \* \*.

What evidence do you possess of the Communist authorities that are in charge of the National Government?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. This document devotes considerable space to militant activity by Klansmen who are "legally—deputized law enforcement officers." Combat plans are outlined and the Klansmen are warned to expect conflicts with law enforcement officials. Emphasis of the Klansman's duty is set forth in a sentence which reads:

RESPECT FOR CHRISTIAN IDEALS CANNOT YIELD TO RESPECT FOR PERSONS NOR STATUTES AND PROCEDURE WHICH HAVE BEEN TWISTED BY MAN AWAY FROM ITS ORIGINAL DIVINE ORIGIN.

Do you have any comment to make upon that document, Mr. Bowers?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Document No. 4 (James Jones Exhibit No. 34) is captioned "Harrasment" [sic]. This document was distributed to Klansmen attending a State meeting in June 1964. The content of this document has been previously discussed in this record. It deals exclusively with the methods and means for carrying out acts of harassment. Do you have any comment to make upon that document, Mr. Bowers?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, I hand you a series of documents now, all containing identification as being documents of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi or White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Document 1 is an unofficial mimeographed copy of the constitution of the White Knights together with the recommended reading list distributed with the constitution (Julius Harper Exhibit No. 1).

Document No. 2, the constitution, with amendments, approved April 19, 1964 (Gordon Lackey Exhibit No. 2).

Document No. 3, an application for membership (Gordon Lackey Exhibit No. 1).

Document No. 4, a leaflet, "Twenty Reasons WHY you should, if qualified, join, aid and support the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi (Thomas Gunter Exhibit No. 1, p. 2747).

Document No. 5, the Executive Lecture, March 1, 1964, issue (Burrell White Exhibit No. 2).

Document No. 6, "The KLAN Ledger," July 4, 1964 (Thomas Gunter Exhibit No. 3, pp. 2756-2759).

Document No. 7, "The Klan Ledger," July 1965 issue.

Document No. 8, "The Klan Ledger," October 21, 1965, Special Jones County Edition.

Were these documents prepared and distributed under your direction as Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

(Documents Nos. 7 and 8 marked "Sam Bowers Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," respectively, follow:)

# The Klans League

An Official Publication of the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Miss.

Special HUAC Investigation Issue

July, 1965

In order to fulfill one of our foremost obligations to the American public, which is education, and to prepare a base for a wholesome and productive session by the HUAC, as well as to combat the vicious lies and distortions of an evil and depraved National Press, this Special Edition has been prepared in the interest of Truth and Justice. It is based upon a recent interview which was granted by the Honorable Grand Dragon of the WKKKK to the widely recognized and esteemed patriotic correspondent, Mr. Graham Fago. The questions are by Mr. Fago, the answers are by the Grand Dragon of the WKKKK.

Q. Sir, for several months now, there has been notice of an impending investigation of the KU KLUX KLAN by the HUAC. What is the purpose of the investigation, and what is the position of the White Knights of Miss. in regard to it?

A. Well, since the KU KLUX KLAN, as we know it today, is almost a century old, and since its program and purpose has been widely published at frequent intervals all during that time, especially by the White Knights here in Mississippi, it is most difficult to see any need for an investigation by this committee, which was only established to investigate subversive propaganda. We Klansmen feel that the HUAC is being used by the atheistic enemies of America as a publicity forum, in connection with their captive National Press, to smear and humiliate our Honorable Knights in an attempt to discredit our work, which is dedicated to the preservation of Christian Civilization.

Q. It has become rather fashionable of late for professional politicians to take slaps at the Klan, has it not? Starting with the President, and I believe, continuing more recently, the Lt. Governor and Attorney General of Mississippi, and the Attorney General of Alabama?

A. Yes, of course, Graham. But you must remember that these snallow and selfish politicians actually have no real purpose in life other than the advancement of their own personal careers. They know or care little or nothing about the Ideals of America, the Klan, or, for that matter, the communist party. They sense that the Power of the Beast is against the Klan, so they themselves attack the Klan in order to curry favor with the Beast. They actually have no real feelings in the matter of the Klan, and we do not even consider their attacks as real opposition. The Klan existed long before these animals were born, and it will be here long after they have passed, when their selfish administrations are but an unpleasant recollection in the memory of Christian Americans.

Q. Sir, it is often said by the critics of the Klan, that your great weakness stems from the fact that yours is purely a resistance organization, and that, therefore, it has no positive program, which it must have if it is to be successful. How do you meet this accusation?

A. Well, of course, the accusation is false, because its roots are in an obsession for atheistic materialism, which is the hallmark of the enemies of Christ, who exercise so much public control today. The Klan does NOT fight these atheists and their fiendishly contrived programs. The Klan does RESIST Satan and his agents on all possible fronts; and in so doing, we achieve the highest POSITIVE program of which men are capable: JESUS, CHRIST. "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God" is one of America's oldest and most honored bywords. We challenge any professional politician, any so-called "liberal", any so-called "humanitarian", or any other atheistic, materialistic agent of Satan to bring before the American Public ANY of their hell-spawned programs which have a higher POSITIVE rank than OBEYANCE TO GOD.

## SAM BOWERS EXHIBIT NO. 1—Continued

Q. Another charge which Klan critics are fond of hurling against you is that you are "bigoted" and narrow in your selection of members, because you exclude "Jews", "rapists", "Orientals" and other non-anglo-Saxon ethnic groups from membership. This is said to be "undemocratic", and is one of the main reasons why professional politicians are willing to attack you, because of your small numbers. Wouldn't it be better to lower your rigid restrictions somewhat in order to gain a wider public acceptance?

A. We are always amused when we hear this argument, because it shows such an absurd ignorance of the Gospel of the Lord, and the purpose of the Klan. First of all, let me point out that our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, is not a "democratic" Leader. Remember, it was a "democratic" mob which demanded His crucifixion. (See also, the 19th Chapter of Luke). Next, the real strength of the Klan does not stem primarily from its numbers, but from its POSITION as an implemented arm of the Will of the Lord. It makes little difference, in the final sense, whether we are 10 or 10 million, so long as we are in the Hands of the Lord.

Q. But when you draw such a strict line, are you not being unfair to the individual "Jew", "rapist" or other outsider? Are there not some good Americans in these groups also?

A. Undoubtedly, there are some good people to be found in these groups. I wish to emphasize that we Klansmen have no quarrel with any individual who conducts himself as a responsible American citizen should, and who takes no part in revolutionary activity of any kind. It is with the alien, un-American groups such as the Synagogue of Satan, or the Roman hierarchy that we of the Klan quarrel, rather than with the individual, ignorant and deceived "Jew" or "rapist". Our arms are always open to these misguided individuals, and we stand ready to accept them whenever they are able to break away from the atheism of the Synagogue and the idolatry of the Papacy. It is not we who are bigoted. It is they who are foolishly and ignorantly rejecting the Holy word of God, and the personal salvation of Jesus Christ.

Q. Another accusation against the Klan by its enemies is in regard to unlawful violence. What is the Klan position in regard to this point?

A. First, let me say that most of what the Klan is blamed for is not the work of the Klan. We are a convenient whipping boy rather than actual, malicious offenders. Occasionally, some of our more spirited good Christian Brothers may become so enraged over the work of the revolutionary atheists in our midst, that they are goaded into taking retaliatory action against them; but no honest or serious person blames anyone but the atheists themselves for this. It is against human nature and the basic laws of self-defense to expect an American citizen to remain unprovoked while the civilized society which shelters his family and loved ones is destroyed. George Washington once said: "The people know that man cannot govern without God and the Bible"; and it is the failure to observe this maxim which has led the courts and the legislatures to attempt the regulation of man by man without the Guidance of the Lord, thereby making our governmental administration a farce and a fraud, with one unGodly, unconstitutional decree or statute piled one on top of another, in a ridiculous attempt to play the role of God. The position of the Klan in this matter is that we do not propose to permit the Christian, Constitutional Liberty of America to be destroyed, either covertly or overtly, either unlawfully, or under color of law, by the atheistic conspiracy of the Synagogue of Satan.

Q. What is the position of the WKKKK as regards public marches and public demonstrations? Do you feel that the White Knights of Mississippi, since they are the dominant Klan in Mississippi, should counter-march against the communists demonstrators in a show of strength?

A. Our Klan is opposed to public marches, demonstrations, and all other related activities which upset the general tranquility of our normal, daily lives. We strive at all times to handle all of our problems in a quiet and sober manner with a due and careful regard for the feelings of the general public in Mississippi, whose best interests we always serve. The God-given Ideals of America, which we seek to maintain, cannot be preserved and protected by mass actions in our streets.

Q. What is the relationship of the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of the Sovereign Realm of Mississippi with other Klan groups such as the National, United, Old Original, etc.?

A. We, of course, are Spiritually United with all of our Klan Brethren everywhere, through Jesus Christ, our mutual Lord and Savior. It is only in the structure and administration of Klan government that we differ with these others. Ours is a Constitutional Republic, which contains all of the Classic American Features of separate departments (Legislative, Exec., Judicial), bicameral Legislature, purse power in lower House, Bill of Rights, etc. Most of these other Klans are too centralized in their administration to suit the pristine taste of our strict and loyal American citizens of Mississippi, and we are, therefore, constituted as a Sovereign Realm of the Invisible Empire in and for Mississippi.

# The Klan Ledger

An Official Publication of the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mis

SPECIAL JONES COUNTY EDITION

October 21, 1965

This Special Edition of the Klan-Ledger has been prepared and distributed in order to clear up many doubts and misunderstandings which have arisen as a result of the fanatical and incoherent TV spectacle last Monday evening by Henry Bucklew. We have no desire to create any disturbance or add any fuel to the fire, so this issue is not to be considered as a rebuttal to the ill-mannered tirade of Bucklew, but rather as a Christian effort in the hope that it will have a calming and sobering influence upon the good citizens of Jones County who have become upset over the notoriety and shame which has been brought upon our community by the ill-considered act of Bucklew. Many of our best citizens are irritated and in an ugly mood regarding Bucklew's conduct, and we are most anxious that these citizens refrain from taking any punitive or retaliatory action against him. All that is necessary is that everyone remain calm, inform themselves of the real facts in this case, and the damage done to the community by Bucklew will be largely dissipated. "He who troubleth his own house shall inherit the wind." Let those of us who are the truly responsible citizens of this community see to it that we do not do anything to increase the trouble and wind which has been stirred up by Bucklew. Even though his conduct was admittedly inexcusable, vicious and ill-mannered, that does not justify others to retaliate against him and especially in anger.

As far as the position of the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of Mississippi is concerned, we have always been against open, public violence. We are primarily a Christian Educational body, and always seek to solve our problems and conduct our affairs with a minimum of inconvenience and disturbance to the general community. Certainly, there can be no conflict between ourselves and Bucklew on that score. Obviously, whatever conflict there does exist between us must lie in another category, as indeed it does. The general public certainly has a right to know what this is and to be informed of the facts. The conflict which now exists between the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN and Henry Bucklew is the same, dark specter which has dogged his entire checkered public career, THE LOVE OF MONEY.

When Bucklew was first sworn into the White Knights, shortly before the recent election, it was with the expectation that he would not only receive the political support of the Knights at the polls, but that he would also have access to the funds in the Klan treasury of the Jones County Klavern. However, these were only his own personal expectations, without foundation, for he had received no official promises in this regard. When he later discovered (after the election) that the Constitutional System under which our government functions in the Domain of the Invisible Empire effectively PREVENTS any dipping into the till by individual officers or members without the consent of the majority, his enthusiasm for the Klan began to wane. He reasoned that if "Henry Bucklew can't get any money out of the Klan, then the Klan jest ain't any good, nohow." He met several times with various officers of the Klan after becoming mayor and offered them protection from prosecution and favoritism in exchange for cash. These deals were always politely refused by the officers of the Klan, because the White Knights are innocent of any wrongdoing, and their Knights are productive citizens of the community who can earn their own way and do not have to buy favoritism from politicians. More recently, Bucklew has approached various Knights and attempted to get them to go out and jump on and beat up some of his personal and political enemies, which, of course, our honorable Knights refused to do. As a result of these refusals, Bucklew then began to look about for other sources of ready cash. He soon discovered the agents of the malignant conspiracy whose agents hate Christ, the Klan and Christian Civilization. These agents who want to see the Klan destroyed have connections which lead right straight up to LBJ and Katzenback and the source of all cash. When Bucklew made this new connection, he dropped out of the White Knights, violated his oath, and his old friends became his new enemies.

## SAM BOWERS EXHIBIT NO. 2—Continued

Now, we wish to make it clear at this point that Henry Bucklew is not our enemy. The devilish communists from the Synagogue of Satan are our enemy, and he has only become their ignorant tool. Even after his virulent attack upon us, we do not hate Henry Bucklew. He is more to be pitied than he is to be condemned. He is a weak man, and his principle failing is his lust for cash, a lust which the Klan was unable to satisfy, and which the enemies of Christian Civilisation were able to satisfy.

Actually, we resent Bucklew's ignorant misrepresentation of Holy Scripture and the Fiery Cross, the Symbol of our Ancient and Noble Order far more than we resent his personal attacks upon ourselves, but in even these matters, he will have to answer at the Judgement Seat.

With malice toward none, and charity for all, we remain the White Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN of the Sovereign Realm of Mississippi.

Jones County Klavern

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, please look at document No. 8, the "Special Jones County Edition" of "The Klan Ledger." Are the statements made against Laurel, Mississippi, Mayor Henry Bucklew true or are they false by design, in order to convince the citizens of Laurel that the White Knights are good and the mayor bad?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Were the statements designed to keep the community on your side so that, as set forth in Executive Lecture of March 1, 1964, "we can just about do anything to our enemies with impunity"?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, in the Executive Lecture of March 1, 1964, in the section on propaganda, instructions are given on the use of propaganda in documents not identified with the name of the organization, but independent in name. The documents which have been handed to you are—according to the committee's investigations—documents prepared by the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, even though the name "White Knights" does not appear upon these documents.

I will read the documents to you so that you can have a chance to examine them and then you may answer me whether or not the results of the investigation are factual.

Document 1 is captioned "Liberty Is a Boisterous Sea. Timid Men Prefer the Calm of Despotism." By "The Mississippi White Caps."

(Document marked "Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 3.")<sup>1</sup>

Document No. 2, captioned "WASP, Inc., A Christian, Non-Profit Organization Dedicated to the Christian American Heritage."

(Document marked "Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 4.")<sup>2</sup>

Document No. 3, a "Black List" unsigned but directed to the attention of "White Citizens of Meridian and Lauderdale County."

(Document marked "Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 5" follows:)

<sup>1</sup> See committee report, *The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement*, pp. 295, 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 294.

## SAM BOWERS EXHIBIT NO. 5

## BLACK LIST

## ATTENTION WHITE CITIZENS OF MERIDIAN AND LAUDERDALE COUNTY

Listed below are a few people and businesses who are traitors and parasites, who would sell their souls for thirty pieces of silver--  
INTERGRATION.

AL KEY	BUCK GREENE
HOPPER THOMAS	T. C. FULL
O. A. BOOKER	LOUIE LEE
ROY GUNN	LUCILLE DONALD
CECIL CURRIE	L. B. PAINE
WALLACE MILLER	CHAMP GIPSON
BILL READY	SAM NIEMETZ
BILLY NEVILLE	MEYER DAVIDSON
LAWRENCE RABB	OTHO SMITH--School Board
BILLY BIRDSONG	BORDEN MILK COMPANY
B. C. LIDE	HOLIDAY INN
CAROL SMITH--Hair Fashionist	ST. JOSEPH HOSPITAL
MRS. I. A. ROSENBAUM	ADS--DOLLAR STORE
R. B. RAINER	
W. R. RAMAGER	
TOM MINNIECE	
TOM BOURDEAUX	
GRANVILLE JONES	
SY ROSENBAUM	
DR. L. O. TODD	

The CHAIRMAN. What is the title, "Black List"?

Mr. APPELL. "Black List," yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me take a look at that.

(Document handed to chairman.)

Mr. APPELL. Document No. 4, "Questions all White Citizens of Lauderdale County and City of Meridian should ask your neighbors."

(Document marked "Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 6 follows:)"

## SAM BOWERS EXHIBIT NO. 6

## QUESTIONS ALL WHITE CITIZENS OF LAUDERDALE COUNTY AND CITY OF MERIDIAN SHOULD ASK YOUR NEIGHBORS

1. Why did your \* \* \* go out of his way to shake hands with 4 niggers in Weidmanns Cafe.

2. Is \* \* \* paying off his debt by installing nigger \* \* \* and nigger \* \* \* as directors of the Anti-Poverty program. Why should members of the civil rights group be directors.

3. Did nigger \* \* \* promise [sic] \* \* \* the nigger vote for other concessions.

4. Do you want a nigger as your Mayor or City Councilman the next election.  
PLEASE REGISTER TO VOTE

5. Did \* \* \* join the great society while in Washington for a few federal dollars.—Ask Humphrey

6. Why does \* \* \* praise all of the people working with the great society.

7. Why does \* \* \* try to advise the City Policemen how to live their private lives. Is he taking orders from nigger \* \* \* and nigger \* \* \*.

8. Why should some of our elected officials want to give all the federal money to the niggers who wouldn't work if they had a job. You can't help people white or black who won't help themselves.

9. Why was the Chamber of Commerce members a go between with Nigger \* \* \* for some of the cafe operators of \* \* \*.

10. Who is the white nigger lady who is dating the nigger sailor. She works at \* \* \*.

11. Who is the white waitress at \* \* \* who can't keep her hands off the white nigger boy who works in the \* \* \*.

12. Who is the white lady and her daughter who operate a \* \* \* on \* \* \* who is so fond of the nigger in the kitchen.

13. Why did some of the Board of Supervisors and all of the City School Board object to the white citizens of Bonita leasing the school building for a private school.

14. Are they planning to teach the young niggers how to be communist withe [sic] the Anti-Poverty money in the school building at Bonita.

15. Who is the \* \* \* owner and operator on \* \* \* who got on his knees at the red headed communist at COFO Headquarter.

16. Why did one of the \* \* \* have his child transfered [sic] from one first grade teacher to the other. Was it because he did not want his child in the room with a nigger.

17. Why are the city bus lines still operating. Is it because of the civil rights group in Meridian.

18. What are the questions \* \* \* is asking the people appling [sic] for jobs in the new store.

WHITE TAX PAYING CITIZENS OF  
LAUDERDALE COUNTY AND CITY  
OF MERIDIAN.

Mr. APPELL. Document No. 5, "The Christian Sentinel."

(Document marked "Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Document No. 6, the "Christian Constitutional Committee, Jones County Chapter."

(Document marked "Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. Bowers, I now ask you to affirm or deny the fact that these documents were prepared under the direction of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, on the "Black List" document, you will notice the name Billy Birdsong. Billy Birdsong has advised the staff that he was an investigator of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a personal investigator to yourself as the Imperial Wizard. Is the statement made to the staff by Billy Birdsong true or false?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. After Birdsong broke with the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, did you have him beaten by a group of Klansmen?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, I ask you to look at the "Black List" and indicate to the committee the identity of the other Klansmen who appear on that list because they broke with your organization.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Did you order Wallace Miller, whose name appears on that list, to be banished from the White Knights because you suspected that he was an informant?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, there is now being handed to you a document captioned the "Standard Examination Form." I ask you if this document was prepared by the White Knights, distributed to White Knight members, for use in attempting to embarrass agents of the FBI who might seek interviews with members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

(Document marked "Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 9" follows:)

## SAM BOWERS EXHIBIT No. 9

STANDARD EXAMINATION FORM

To be used by all Christian American Patriots as an aid in properly identifying all unknown Persons who may be seeking information. At least one other Christian American Patriot should be present when giving this EXAMINATION. Persons who refuse to take this EXAMINATION or who fail to answer the questions in a forthright and satisfactory manner should be regarded as ENEMIES of the Constitutional Republic of the United States of America and should be considered as Emieseries of the anti-Christ, Satan.

1. Do you believe in Almighty God, the ONE Supreme Creator, Ruler and Judge of the Universe?
2. Do you believe in the Redeeming Spirit of the Christ, Jesus, Son of the Living God and the SOLE Intecessor for the Sins of Mankind, by Whom NONE cometh unto the Kingdom of the Father, except by HIM?
3. Do you believe that the Holy Scriptures are the Greatest tangible asset which is possessed by man on this earth, and that the WORD contained therein must be the Prime Guide by which man must conduct himself here on earth?
4. Do you acknowledge the King James Version of the Holy Writ as the Prime Writ for Americans and recognize the attempts to "revise" and "standardize" and "merge" this version with other texts as nothing but a deliberate attempt to degrade and profane the "Word" into just another collection of religious writings?
5. Do you believe that any mortal man here on earth has the power to pardon or to redeem the sins of another, or that any mortal man can accumulate the power or ability whereby he could become an Advocate in the Court of Almighty God to intercede for the remission of the sins of another?
6. Do you believe that the Mercy and Advocacy of Christ is available to all those who humbly and honestly seek Him?
7. Do you believe that any Human Being has the power to cut another Human Being off from, and deny the Salvation of Christ to another?
8. Do you believe that the most any True Christian can do for a fellow Human Being is to help his fellow to see the Path to the Living Christ and try to gently lead him Up that Path, but that no one may or can be FORCED to accept Christ, and each individual must accept or reject Christ according to his individual will?
9. Do you believe that a powerful, supernatural Force of Evil, called Anti-Christ or Satan does exist in the world?
10. Do you recognize the Fact that all men are continually being torn between the Force of Christ and the Anti-Christ Forces of Satan?
11. Do you recognize the Fact that man is absolutely helpless before Satan until he truly and humbly Accepts the Living Christ as his own Personal Savior; and that all of man's intelligence, and his material gifts: his education, his prestige, his property, his money, his good intentions and his works are worthless against Satan, UNLESS there is an Absolute, Primary Foundation of an undying Belief in, Acceptance of and Reliance upon The Living Christ at the root-center of each man's Being?
12. Do you accept the Living Christ, Jesus as your Personal Savior and your ONLY Hope against Satan?
13. Do you recognize that all good intentions and works which are not founded in Christ are either meaningless or Evil?
14. Do you believe that Satan impels some men to rule and control the earthly life and destiny of other men, and gives them power to do so?
15. Do you believe that Almighty God so ordained man that he should live free of the control of the will of other men, and that no man has the right to initiate Trespasses against another, or initiate by any means whatsoever anything to bring another man under the control of his will?
16. Do you recognize that a True Christian American Patriot will turn the other cheek to those who wrong him, but will destroy those who attempt to destroy him, and will seek to destroy those who seek to destroy him, because anything less would be suicide?
17. Do you believe that Christianity requires that a True Christian should not resist having his earthly life taken by a killer?

## SAM BOWERS EXHIBIT No. 9—Continued

18. Do you recognize the fact that the United States of America is the only Governmental System ever built in the world with the announced intention and recognized purpose of protecting the Life, Liberty, and the RIGHT to pursue Happiness of each and every one of the Law-Abiding, responsible citizens under its jurisdiction, after FIRST recognizing the FACT that these Rights were God-given in the FIRST place and were therefore not within the province of any man, group of men, or government either to GRANT or to DENY?
19. Do you understand that this one point covered in Question #18 is the Basic and Fundamental point which makes the United States of America unique in the world and therefore absolutely different from, and therefore properly in opposition to every other governmental system in the world?
20. Do you recognize that the fundamental, founding purpose and Spirit of all True Law in the USA is to implement the Will of God which obviously decrees: That man shall live free from the control of the will of his neighbor, and not trespass against his neighbor?
21. Do you believe that the preceding principle is the True Spirit of American Law, which is of Divine Origin?
22. Do you recognize the fact that statutes and decisions must conform to this Spirit in order to be ranked as True American Law?
23. Do you recognize the fact that men under the influence of Satan are able to twist laws, enact laws and enforce laws under the material power of Governmental Authority which are contrary to the Spirit of American Law, and which, therefore, do not rank as True American Law?
24. If the Letter of the Law conflicts with the Spirit of the Law, WHICH will you adhere to, obey and enforce?
25. Do you acknowledge that those persons who cause or permit the Letter of the Law to conflict with the Spirit of the Law in America are the Prime Enemies of the Republic of the United States of America and of every innocent citizen and person under its jurisdiction?
26. Do you believe that your personal, physical survival is tied to the maintenance of a governmental administration in America which will continuously implement the Constitutional Spirit of American Law?
27. Do you regard an Enemy of the Republic of the United States of America and the Spiritual Ideals which are protected by its Constitution as YOUR personal enemy?
28. Do you differentiate between the Government of the United States of America and the PERSONS who hold offices and positions under its Constitution?
29. If the minions of material governmental authority threaten, attempt to, or use physical force and violence to enforce compliance with some letter of law which is in clear conflict with the Constitution and the Spirit of American Law, do you believe that the Private Citizens of America have a right to oppose them with physical force, using the Constitution and the Supremacy of the Will of Almighty God as their Authority?
30. Do you believe in Democracy?
31. Do you believe in Plebescite Cannibalism?
32. How can demagogues be controlled in a Democracy?
33. Are man-made laws more useful when they are aimed at doing "good", or when they are aimed at shackling Satan?
34. What is your definition of "communism"?
35. What is the motivating force behind "communism"?
36. Do you believe that the Spirit of American Law will be helped or be injured by becoming entangled in Foreign Affairs?
37. Do you believe that the International Bankers have anything worthwhile to offer America?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, with respect to burnings, bombings, and other acts of violence or intimidation, did the White Knights under their program of Christian militancy classify these acts into four categories, namely, No. 1, Project 1, threatening telephone calls or visits; 2, burning of crosses, usually on private property; No. 3, beating or flogging, burning of property, night shooting into property; and No. 4, extermination?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. As Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, did you ever authorize the extermination or elimination of a human being?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. You seem shocked by that question. Why don't you say "no" under oath?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Under your personal direction or with knowledge gained by you as the Imperial Wizard, did any human being die as a result of acts of violence or intimidation by members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Was a project of extermination issued on an individual who was described within the Klan by the nickname "The Goatee"?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know the identity of the person referred to as "The Goatee"?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Was "The Goatee" Schwerner, one of the three civil rights workers who lost their lives in Philadelphia in June 1964?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, at a State meeting of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, did you ever announce that the White Knights had 97 projects going throughout the State of Mississippi?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. At a meeting of the White Knights on November 15, 1964, held between Harrisville and Brandon, Mississippi, was a moratorium declared for 90 days on all third- and fourth-degree projects?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. In July 1965, after the moratorium was lifted, did you state at a meeting of the White Knights leaders that you wanted one act of violence in each province each week?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. On September 27, 1964, at a meeting held on the second floor of the Harris box factory<sup>1</sup> in Meridian, Mississippi, did you during a discussion on violence state, if it was necessary to eliminate someone, it should be done without malice and in complete silence and in the manner of a Christian act?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, in your position as Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, have you made statements and prepared leaflets which support the position—your position—that the Klan should fight the Zionists or Jews whom you believed to be the greater threat to this country?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever make a statement that you were considering joining the American Nazi Party because they had several goals that are the same as the Klan?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, as the Imperial Wizard, do you also hold your membership in the Klavern in Laurel, Mississippi, known under the cover name of the Bogue Homa Hunting and Rifle Club?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, information gathered during the committee's investigation establishes that at almost every meeting of the Bogue Homa Hunting and Rifle Club projects were discussed by the membership. These discussions rarely disclosed to membership the projects. An example of this happened at a meeting of June 9, 1964. The discussion on this night centered around the arrival in Laurel of Negroes and whites. B. F. Hinton, then the exalted cyclops of the Klavern and now one of the White Knights province giants told the 39 Klansmen assembled that it was planned to take no action against these people during the daytime, but that group leaders within the Klavern would take action against them during the night hours. It was further discussed that only the Klan leaders would know the identity of the Klansmen participating in the project.

Do you possess knowledge with respect to the factuality of that, Mr. Bowers?

<sup>1</sup> Harris Box Company, Inc.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, I now hand you three sheets of paper. The first column contains the date, the second column sets forth on that date whether there was a bombing and assault, a phone threat or cross-burning. The third column lists the identity of the individual or organization against whom it was carried out, and the fourth column shows the location of the place, all within Jones County, Mississippi.

Please review those dates and tell the committee whether you possess any knowledge with respect to any of the acts of violence or intimidation set forth on that document.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. APPELL. Have you reviewed the document, Mr. Bowers?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

(Document marked "Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 10" follows:)

# SAM BOWERS EXHIBIT No. 10

## SCHEDULE OF JONES COUNTY VIOLENCE

5/10/64	Bombing-----	Laurel Leader Call-----	Laurel, Miss.
8/11/64	Assault-----	Eugene Keys, Negro victim.	Kress Store, Laurel
8/16/64	Assault-----	on CR workers by Frank Upton.	Laurel, Miss.
8/18/64	Assault-----	V. L. Lee, Klansman-----	Laurel, Miss.
8/22/64	Assault-----	on CR workers—15 Klansmen went to COFO picnic.	Currie Farm, Jones County.
11/ 3/64	Assault-----	on CR worker by Henry De Bostel.	Laurel, Miss.
11/17/64	Assault-----	Ottis Matthews Norman Lee.	Laurel, Miss.
11/30/64	Assault-----	on white CR worker by KKK.	Kress Lunch ct. Laurel.
1/15/65	Assault-----	on white CR by Wm Kennedy & Harold Stringer, KKK.	Downtown parking lot—Laurel.
1/20/65	Phone threat-----	Laurel Leader Call for COFO ad.	Laurel, Miss.
1/29/65	Attempt house burning.	Ernest McClarion-----	Soso, Miss.
2/ 9/65	House shooting-----	COFO Headquarters-----	Laurel, Miss.
2/17/65	House burning-----	COFO Headquarters-----	Laurel, Miss.
3/ 4/65	House burning-----	Brewel Currie (negro)-----	Ellisville, Miss.
4/23/65	House burning-----	Wysess Johnson (negro)---	Ellisville, Miss.
5/16/65	House burning-----	Community Grocery (negro).	Mt. Olive, Miss.
5/16/65	House burning-----	Dunigan Grocery (negro)---	Laurel, Miss.
5/16/65	House burning-----	Rahaim Baseball Park---	Laurel.
5/16/65	House burning-----	Community Recreation Center.	Laurel.
5/17/65	House burning-----	Paradise Inn-----	Laurel, Miss.
5/17/65	House burning-----	Gaddis Service Station---	Meridian Ave. Laurel.
6/16/65	Shooting-----	Dr. B. E. Murph, State NAACP Vicepresident.	Laurel, Miss.
6/16/65	Shooting-----	Skylark Club (negro)-----	Laurel, Miss.
6/19/65	House burning-----	Charles Garrett (negro)---	Rt. 5, Jones County.

## SAM BOWES EXHIBIT No. 10—Continued

## SCHEDULE OF JONES COUNTY VIOLENCE—Continued

7/ 1/65	House burning-----	COFO house, Laurel-----	Laurel.
7/ 1/65	House burnings-----	(13 houses) Newcomer Quarters).	Laurel.
7/ 1/65	Store burning-----	Shady Grove—Big R. Drive In Restaurant.	Jones County.
7/ 1/65	Barn explosion-----	W. O. Ball—Sharon Comm.	Jones County.
7/ 1/65	House burning-----	W. D. Hinton-----	Mt. Olive Com- munity.
7/ 1/65	House burning-----	J. W. Cooley-----	Mt. Oliver Com- munity.
7/ 1/65	House burning-----	Vernon Patton-----	Mt. Olive Com- munity.
7/ 1/65	8 Cross burnings-----		Jones County.
7/ 3/65	Attempt house burnings.	Mrs. Clayton—negro CR supporter.	Laurel, Miss.
7/19/65	House burning-----	Lowell Tew (white attorney).	Laurel.
8/10/65	House burning-----	W. O. Ball, Sharon Comm.	Jones County.
8/10/65	Shooting & house burning.	Rev. Sam Page, Sharon Comm.	Jones County.
9/ 2/65	Explosion-----	COFO truck-----	Laurel.
9/ 6/65	Cross burning-----	Joe Atkins' house (white)	Laurel.
9/ 7/65	House burning-----	Unknown house-----	Sandersville, Miss.
9/14/65	House burning-----	Lula Sanders (negro)-----	Sandersville, Miss.
9/16/65	Shooting-----	Dr. B. E. Murph, State NAACP Vice-Pres.	Laurel.
9/26/65	Church burning-----	Royal Valley Negro Baptist.	Jones County.
9/30/65	Attempt house burn.	Dinah Hyde Woodland (negro).	Ovett.
10/11/65	House burning-----	Brewel Currie Farm-----	Ellisville, Miss.
10/26/65	Shotgun Shell-----	Fired into door of colored school.	Laurel.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, the Klavern in Laurel approved a project on April 29, 1964, against the *Leader-Call*, a newspaper in Laurel, which was bombed on the night of May 10. I think the documents that are in front of you reflect that. It is reported that just a small quantity of dynamite was used in that because they did not want to damage the wall of the bowling alley. Do you have vending equipment and pinball machines in the bowling alley and is that the reason why a small charge of dynamite was used?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, the document reflects that there was an assault on Ottis Matthews, the business agent of the local of the International Woodworkers of America, AFL-CIO in Laurel, Mississippi. Do you possess any knowledge of this assault on Ottis Matthews?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Listed on the document is a burning on February 17, 1965, of COFO headquarters in Laurel. The committee's investigation reflects that officers of the Ellisville-Jones County Klavern, stated that the COFO headquarters burning was a State project. What

knowledge can you give the committee about this being a State project?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, the committee's investigation established the following individuals to have held State office in the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: Sam H. Bowers, Laurel, as the Imperial Wizard; Julius Harper, Crystal Springs, as Grand Dragon; Billy Buckles, as the grand giant of Roxie, Mississippi; Paul Foster of Natchez, Mississippi, the grand chaplain, he being replaced by Petus G. Bilbo, Prentiss, Mississippi; Ernest S. Gilbert, of Brookhaven, the first grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation. He was replaced by Deavours Nix of Laurel. W. R. Mangum, who has acted as MC of the State executive meetings; John McGregor, Jackson, Mississippi, a Klan tudor or propaganda chief, who was replaced in October 1964 by Dr. Benny Hennington of Lincoln County.

Is the result of the committee's investigation factual?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Under the constitution, Mr. Bowers, the jurisdiction of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is divided into provinces, with each province having as province officer, the province giant and the province Klan Bureau of Investigation man. The committee's investigation established the following individuals to have held the positions of province KBI: H. L. Holmes, Jr., Jackson, Mississippi; Sidney Davis of Jackson, Mississippi; A. A. Rhoads, of Bolton, Mississippi; Wesley Kersey, Greenwood, Mississippi; Waites McNeil, Loum, Mississippi; Harold Lloyd, nicknamed "Cotton," Delk of Hattiesburg; George Kellem, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Emile Piazza, Bay Saint Louis, Mississippi; E. L. McDaniel, Natchez, Mississippi.

Are the results of the committee's investigation in this respect factual?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. E. L. McDaniel, who served as a province officer of the White Knights, is currently the Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America in Mississippi. Do you know that to be factual?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Province giants were identified by the committee during its investigation to be Gerald Whitehead, Crystal Springs, Mississippi; W. L. Barrett, Jackson; Clyde Seale, John Winstead, of Greenwood, Mississippi; Travis Ainsworth, Hattiesburg Manufacturing Company; Benjamin F. Hinton, of Laurel; C. J. Seal, Pearl River; and J. K. Greer, Fenwick, Mississippi.

Are the results of the committee's investigation as to province giants factual?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. C. J. Seal, who is currently or who was a province giant, do you know him to be currently an official of the United Klans of America?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. The committee's investigation established the following individuals to be kleagles or organizers: A. C. Herrington of Ruth, Mississippi; Woody Mathews, Utica, Mississippi; the Reverend Leak Boyte, Attala, Mississippi; Frank Breeland, Columbia, Mississippi; Ralph Edwards, Yazoo City; J. N. Fortenberry, of Jackson, Mississippi; Gordon Lackey of Greenwood, Mississippi; William Sullivan, Pearl, Mississippi; Douglas A. Byrd, Liberty, Mississippi; Dave Caraway, of Liberty, Mississippi; Billy Bird, Mendenhall, Mississippi; W. L. Barrett, Jackson, Mississippi; Louis A. DiSalvo, Bay Saint Louis and Waveland, Mississippi; G. W. Bubanks, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; P. L. Gray of Jackson, Mississippi; N. Gregory, Greenville, Mississippi; C. L. Jordan of Pattison, Mississippi; E. R. Killen, Philadelphia; A. T. Land, Bay Springs; James R. Lathram, Kilmichael, Mississippi; D. Moon, Pelahatchie, Mississippi; Q. B. Rutland, Wesson, Mississippi; Pete Russell, Magee, Mississippi; Mark Sandifer, Jayess, Mississippi; Clyde Seale, Meadville, Mississippi; N. Satterfield, Shaw, Mississippi; D. Shook, Winona, Mississippi; L. C. Sharp, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Edward Stagner, Tylertown, Mississippi; and R. C. Wall, Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

Are the results of the committee's investigation factual, Mr. Bowers? (Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Bursars identified during the meeting: Tommy Brock, Utica, Mississippi; Everett D. Wiggs of Woodland, Mississippi; Gordon Sykes, of Greenville; Joe Rusteci, Itta Bena, Mississippi; Jack Williams, Pelahatchie County, Mississippi; Donald Henshaw, who was replaced by Dewitt Mark Sandifer of Jayess; Vincent Purser, Gulfport, Mississippi.

Are the results of the committee's investigation factual, Mr. Bowers?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. On March 23, 1965, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that DeWitt Mark Sandifer turned over to you approximately \$2500.

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. What disposition was made of that money, Mr. Bowers?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, I put it to you as a fact that on May 2, 1965, a State meeting was held in Pearl River County, Mississippi, at which time a constitutional amendment was adopted whereby each member would henceforth pay 65 cents per month to the State treasury plus his local dues; that all province and district and grand officers must attend all State meetings of the organization or to be fined \$10; that failure to attend must be supported by an excuse which is accept-

able to the entire assembled State meeting; that all province, district, and grand officers shall be paid a maximum of \$60 per month at the rate of 10 cents per mile for travel in connection with Klan business; that any man arrested on any charge that admits he is a member of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi or admits doing the act for which he is charged will receive no help whatsoever from the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi; that the delegates voted to pay obligations as follows: \$1795 to pay an old printing bill in Jackson, Mississippi; \$300 to pay Imperial Wizard Sam Bowers for money he had advanced to the White Christian Protective and Legal Defense Fund; \$200 to W. R. Mangum for outstanding expenses; \$42 to the province giant from Province No. 2; \$50 each to the two men who were involved in the assault on a COFO worker in Vicksburg, Mississippi; \$300 to a man in Natchez, Mississippi, who was arrested during the fall of 1964 by the Mississippi Highway Patrol.

Mr. BOWERS, is that which was read to you growing out of the meeting of May 2, 1965, factual?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Bowers, the committee's investigation established the following officers, Klavern officers, of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi:

Ralph Edwards, EC, Yazoo City Klavern; Price Gray, EC of one of the Klaverns in Jackson, Mississippi; A. C. Herrington, EC of the Ruth, Mississippi, Klavern; N. Gregory, EC of the Greenville, Mississippi, Klavern; Billie Joe Lee, EC of the Lawrence County Klavern No. 2; F. M. Martin, EC of the Utica, Mississippi, Klavern; W. R. Mangum, EC of Magee, Mississippi, Unit No. 1; Felter Polk, EC of the Prentiss, Mississippi, Klavern; Roger Smith, EC of Union, Mississippi, Klavern; C. J. Seal, EC of the Crossroads Community Klavern. Seal was replaced as EC by Houston Dillard in April 1965. Robert Thornhill, the EC of the Improved Mississippi Unit at Sandy Hook, Mississippi; Clyde Wentworth, EC of the Franklin County Unit No. 1 in Meadville, Mississippi; W. R. Westmoreland, EC of the Klavern known by the cover name of Copiah Rod and Gun Club. Howard McLemore replaced Westmoreland as the EC of this Klavern. George Jasper Williams, EC of the Klavern in Learned, Mississippi; Frank Herndon, EC of Lauderdale County Unit at Meridian, Mississippi; Denson "Pee Wee" Lott, the EC of Covington County Unit No. 2 at Collins, Mississippi. He was replaced by Ledrun Spell. G. F. "Shorty" Roberts, who was EC and resigned when you reorganized the Hattiesburg Unit. He was replaced by Jimmy Watts; Ray, nicknamed "Speed" Lightsey, EC of Jones County Unit No. 1; Milton Howard James, EC of Jones County Unit No. 2, Ellisville; Henry Keith Dykes, EC of the Wolf Pack Unit No. 3, Jones County, Big Tree Community; Richard C. "Speck" Steward, EC of Unit No. 4, Jones County; Robert E. Rivers, EC, Unit No. 5, Jones County; Charles B. Holder, EC, Bay Springs, Mississippi; Herbert Houghton, EC of Covington County, No. 1, Mount Olive, Mississippi; Charles Francis Bishop, EC of the Old Raleigh Unit; Robert Lee Jones, EC of Taylorville Unit; Robert H. Turnage, EC of Mize, Mississippi, Unit; B. F. Hinton was EC of Laurel Unit known as the Bogue Homa Hunting and Rifle Club; Leonard McGee, EC of the East Group in

Laurel at one other time; S. T. Shook, EC of the Montgomery County Unit in Winona; Bert McDaniel, EC of the Smith County Unit; Howard Purvis, EC of the Popeville Klavern; Baxter Robinson, EC of the Burns, Mississippi, Unit; Edgar Ray Killen, EC of the Philadelphia Klan Unit.

Mr. Bowers, do you have any comment on the factuality of the committee's investigation as to members of the White Knights holding positions of exalted cyclops?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Edgar Ray Killen, who was the EC of the Philadelphia, Mississippi, Unit, do you possess knowledge whether he is the same Edgar Ray Killen that was arrested for the murder of the three civil rights workers in Philadelphia?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Bowers.

The CHAIRMAN. Before coming to that, Mr. Appell, I would like to ask two or three questions, just briefly.

Mr. Bowers, I read from your Imperial Executive Order of May 3, 1964. It is addressed to all officers and members and under subject, and after the colon, it reads: "Forthcoming Enemy attack and countermeasures to be used in meeting same." In that executive order you say that it must be read to and by, and understood by, every member of your statewide organization. Then you say, "This summer"—this is 1964—

This summer, within a very few days, the enemy will launch his final push for victory here in Mississippi.

You say:

A decree from the Communist authorities in charge of the National Government, which will declare the State of Mississippi to be in a Stae [sic] of open revolt, with a complete breakdown of Law and Order, and declaring Martial Law, followed by a massive occupation of the State by Federal Troops, with all known Patriotic Whites placed under Military Arrest. \* \* \*

Could you name, let us say, 100 of the Communist authorities in charge of the National Government at that time?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name 50?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name 20?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name 10?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name five?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name one?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. In that Imperial Executive Order you say: "A great deal of attention should be given toward detecting those" enemies—"enemy agents who bomb, burn and kill"—as you put it—"their own homes, churches and people in order to provide a sympathetic base for their National Propaganda Machine. These bombings and killings are always blamed on our side, but it is the Insane Communist agitators themselves who are doing it. \* \* \*"

Could you name a few of those Communist agitators?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name two?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you name one?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, it has come to the attention of this committee, time and time and time and time again, that the common practice of your outfit is to say that "all of these bombings and disturbances and killings are really done by foreigners, people from away from here, in order to blame these acts on us."

Could you name one single, solitary bombing or killing or act of violence anywhere in the State of Mississippi which was really performed by people from away from there and blamed on you and pinned on you? Could you give me one single, solitary case of that type? I will be frank with you. I have been intrigued by this question, and I honestly do not know of any one, do you? And if you do, why don't you tell me?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You wind up in your imperial decree by saying, "We must use all of the time which is left"—and you say that would be a matter of days—no, I am sorry, I will quote it exactly. It is better than I thought:

We must use all of the time which is left to us in these next few days preparing to meet this attack. Weapons and ammunition must be accumulated and stored; squads must drill; Propaganda equipment must be set up ready to roll; counter-attack maps, plans and information must be studied and learned; radios and communications must be established;

Then you wind up by saying—

and a Solemn, determined Spirit of Christian Reverence must be stimulated in all members.

Did you accumulate weapons and ammunition?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you store weapons and ammunition?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you drill squads?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you put your propaganda equipment to rolling?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. This was your propaganda equipment, wasn't it?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Appell. First I want to read from another document I have here which you put out, Mr. Bowers, what you call the Black List. It is headed in bold type:

**ATTENTION WHITE CITIZENS OF MERIDIAN AND LAUDERDALE COUNTY**

Listed below are a *few* people and businesses who are traitors and parasites, who would sell their souls for thirty pieces of silver \* \* \*.

Then you proceed to list—and I am not going to name them—a page of such individuals and businesses. How could you undertake to judge those people and pronounce them to be traitors and parasites?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I said I would not name them. I will name one. One of them on there is Billy Birdsong. You know Billy Birdsong, do you not?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Why, he was your personal investigator for a while; was he not?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you broke with him, did you not?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. As I recall, Mr. Appell related that we had investigative information to the effect that you yourself had stated that you had caused Billy Birdsong to be beaten up. Didn't you do that? Didn't you brag about that and say that at a meeting?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bowers, we get information under oath and we screen it out; we do the best we can. We never, without checking, take anything in particular at face value. As far as we are concerned, truth must prevail. If two people appear before us and give us divergent stories, apparently made for the purpose of evasion or plain lying, we do not hesitate to act on it and let whoever is subject to the pains and penalties of perjury take the consequence. But let me ask you this: Isn't it a fact that, as a matter of fact, you did send a goon squad to call on Billy Birdsong?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Goon squad, terror squad, underground wrecking crew, whatever you call it in Mississippi?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, I won't name it, but I see you have a hospital on that list. Why, of all things, a hospital among traitors and parasites, people who would sell their souls for 30 pieces of silver? Why a hospital?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claimed privilege and his consistent refusal to answer questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as it pertains to Mr. Bowers.

Mr. Bowers was born on August 6, 1924, at New Orleans, Louisiana. He resides at 816 South Fourth Avenue, Laurel, Mississippi. He has a partnership, in partnership with Robert Larson in operating the Sambo Amusement Company and the Magnolia Consolidated Realty Company, Inc., both of which are located at 820 South Fourth Street, Laurel, Mississippi. He attended the University of California School of Engineering for 2 years. He entered the Navy in December 1941 and was honorably discharged as Machinist Mate First Class in December 1945. Bowers in February of 1964 was elected Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

On February 15, 1964, 200 Klansmen met at Brookhaven, Mississippi, with those present formerly being members of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Realm of Mississippi, a Klan group headed by Royal V. Young and J. D. Swenson. These men had assembled because of a disagreement over the misappropriating of funds principally by J. D. Swenson.

On February 17, 1964, meeting of Natchez Klavern announced that the Klectokon, or initiation fee, for the White Knights be \$10; robe \$10; dues \$4.25 or \$4.50 plus \$1 for a building fund.

On February 25, 1964, a regular meeting of the Laurel Klavern was held. During this meeting it was discussed that a meeting had been called for February 21, 1964, at the Klavern hall, at which time the proposed cross-burnings on Saturday, February 22, 1964, were called off because they thought that the police had information regarding the burnings. It was also voted that two crosses would be burned February 28, 1964, to prove that they, the Klan, was not bluffing.

At this meeting, Sam Bowers, Grand Dragon or Imperial Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, reported that he attended a State meeting at Brookhaven, Mississippi, on Sunday, February 23, 1964. This meeting was for the purpose of creating changes in the constitution and bylaws. These changes were necessary since the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi had pulled away from the Klan in Louisiana.

On February 26, 1964, Imperial Wizard Bowers reported that the State would be divided into five districts, each corresponding with a congressional district, and that the White Knights hoped to have 30 chartered Klaverns by March 15.

June 7, 1964, the White Knights held a secret State meeting near Raleigh, Mississippi, with nearly 300 Klansmen in attendance. At this meeting all State officers were present. It was announced that money collected by Donald Henshaw would be turned over to Tommy Brock, chief bursar of Utica, Mississippi. At the time it was announced the White Knights had 62 Klaverns in 82 Mississippi counties. Speeches by State officers urged members to obtain firearms.

Imperial Wizard Bowers urged the younger members to travel to assist law enforcement and emphasized that they should stay out of trouble till they catch "them," referring to COFO workers, outside of the law and then under Mississippi law "you have the right to kill them." Bowers claimed this was the case at Ole Miss where six United States marshals were killed because they were illegally at Ole Miss. However, Bobby Kennedy had kept this fact secret and would not permit it to be made known. Bowers claimed there were 97 projects working which would be completed in the immediate future.

At the meeting on June 7, a printed instruction to Klansmen with respect to action to be taken during the summer of 1964 was passed out.

During June of 1964, efforts were being made by the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi to obtain two members from each Klavern throughout the State of Mississippi who would be in a position to leave their particular areas for 2 or 3 days at a time.

June 9, 1964. Meeting near Jackson, Mississippi. Billy Buckles, the grand giant, told those assembled that the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was sponsoring an ex-convict to do a job in the Jackson area. This would cost \$1,200—\$400 in advance and \$800 when the job was completed. Buckles claimed that the job was so big it would make the death of Medgar Evers "look sick." One hundred dollars toward cost was collected from members present.

June 24, 1964, a meeting of Hinds County Klaverns was held on Greave's Plantation on the banks of the Pearl River at the west end of Elton Road near Jackson, Mississippi. Current Klan officers were introduced, including Imperial Wizard Bowers, Grand Dragon Harper, Grand Giant Buckles, Grand Director of KBI Gilbert, Klan Kleagle Herrington, with Herrington announcing that the White Knights had 70 Klaverns in 81 counties in Mississippi.

Julius Harper, Grand Dragon, told those assembled that in all future jobs the county giant would select a unit to pull the job. The county coordinator would then select a meeting place, such as a motel or restaurant, and the exalted cyclops of the unit selected would then select the members to actually pull the job.

Billy Buckles, the grand giant of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, stated that there were to be no more bombings of any type by the Klan in Mississippi inasmuch as bombings drew attention to the Klan too rapidly. Buckles said that there are other ways to handle things and no matter what they tell you, arson is hard to prove. Buckles suggested that all members should not pay excessive prices for this material as he could obtain rifles for \$15 each, which price included three clips of ammunition. Buckles commented that the outside agitators must be stopped, even if it takes a few "busted" heads and if necessary the Klan would go further than this to stop these agitators. Buckles said that when the Klan members locate meeting places of Negroes, such as Negro churches, they should throw carpet tacks on the parking lot and disable the assembled cars by cutting their wires. Buckles suggested that any gasoline operators who were members should keep a good supply of sugar to pour into the gasoline tanks of vehicles of persons working for integration. Buckles said he assumed

that all of the members present had read about the disappearance of the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County and said—"Now, they know what we will do. We have shown them what we will do and we will do it again if necessary."

September 14, 1964. State executive meeting at the office of Norman Jackson, Crystal Springs, Mississippi. Present along with Bowers and other top officers was Thomas Edward Fling of Mount Olive, Mississippi, identified during investigation as an auditor for the White Knights.

September 20, 1964. At a State executive meeting of the White Knights which was held they discussed violence and the Philadelphia murders. A. C. Herrington, klan kleagle, opposed church bombings unless COFO workers were present. Ernest Gilbert, Klan Bureau of Investigation, favored throwing heathens out, but he opposed burnings or bombings. Harper, Grand Dragon, was against burnings. Buckles, grand giant, and Bowers, Imperial Wizard, expressed Herrington's view that they opposed church bombings unless COFO workers were present.

Bowers, Imperial Wizard, discussed the Philadelphia affair and stated that if anyone was indicted each member of the White Knights would be assessed \$10 each, and each State officer \$100. Bowers also stated that if indictments were handed down a mass campaign would be started against the Federal Government and the Communist Party. The theme would be that the Federal Government was aiding the Communists, who are pushing the integration movement and Negro vote campaign. This was forcing ignorant people into acts of violence.

September 27, 1964. A State executive meeting of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was held on the second floor of the Harris box factory in Meridian, Mississippi. Again the subject discussed was violence, with Herrington opposing church bombings unless COFO workers were present, and with Bowers and Buckles concurring in these views.

On October 11, 1964, a meeting of State officers was held at Crystal Springs, Mississippi. A resolution was adopted that the White Knights would issue no more literature and an order was passed down to commit no more felonies. Gilbert, the grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, desired that order read "no more violence" but this was rejected. There was discussion about the COFO house bombing at Vicksburg, Mississippi. Bowers and John McGregor of Jackson stated that "no one would find out anything about Vicksburg, Mississippi, COFO house bombing." On another occasion Bowers said that "they will not find out who did that one as I sent someone in from outside."

On October 29, 1964, Bowers attended a District 8 meeting near Petal, Mississippi. He stressed that no more churches should be burned or bombed and no bombs should be thrown in anyone's yard.

On November 12, 1964, the White Knights held a meeting at the Le Mar Hotel, Meridian, Mississippi. Bowers reported that Delmar Dennis was to be his personal representative and B. L. Akin in charge of all investigations in the Meridian area. All investigative matters should be brought to Akin's attention, with all administrative matters to be handled by Delmar Dennis.

On November 15, 1964, a State meeting was held between Harrisville and Brandon, Mississippi. Principal discussion centered around violence by the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. It was decided to declare a moratorium on all Projects 3 and 4, for 90 days. However, Imperial Wizard Bowers advised that if an approved project had been planned and would be completed by December 1, it could be carried out.

In January 1965, several meetings were called by Imperial Wizard Bowers for the purpose of raising funds on behalf of the defendants arrested for the murder of the three civil rights workers on June 21, 1964, in Philadelphia, Mississippi. Created for this purpose was the White Christian Protective and Legal Defense Fund. This fund was subsequently used for other purposes, including providing defense funds for members of the White Knights subpoenaed by the committee.

On January 31, 1965, a Klan cabinet meeting was held in an abandoned farmhouse near a lake off Raymond Road, outside Jackson, Mississippi. Present were B. L. Akin, Birdsong, and Bowers, together with other State and Jackson Klavern officials. Discussion centered around lifting the moratorium against Projects 3 and 4 and the establishment of the defense fund known as the White Christian Protective and Legal Defense Fund. Bowers appointed Elmore D. Greaves as the fund head.

Bowers told those assembled that he had confidential information from high influential sources that African troops were being landed in Cuba for extensive military training. This is why he and the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had long-range plans for the buildup and burial of arms. He elaborated that after these troops were trained they will lead an invasion of the United States at Biloxi and Gulfport, Mississippi. When the invasion commences, Defense Secretary McNamara will nationalize the State Guard and turn the Southern States over to the Negro. Whites will be relocated and moved to the North. The Klan will be the only element to fight the invasion. Bowers said the choice would be "to be smart and move or to be right and fight."

On March 23, 1965, at a State meeting at Jackson, Mississippi, Dewitt Sandifer turned over to Bowers approximately \$2,500, with Bowers giving J. K. Greer \$700 to \$800 for legal expenses.

On June 27, 1965, at a State meeting near Greenwood, Mississippi, 100 members were present, including Bowers and other officers. At this meeting they voted to send \$500 to the man at Bogalusa who was charged with killing the Negro deputy sheriff. They also gave out instructions that each Klavern was to burn two crosses on July 1, 1965.

Buckles suggested that the job of KBI be filled temporarily at this meeting. Bowers disagreed and said it was a permanent assignment and should be filled through an election by the officers. Deavours Nix was elected; 34 units of the Klan were present at this meeting—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say at a certain meeting a certain amount was discussed as having been sent, or would be sent, to the Bogalusa area? Read that again.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir. The meeting was on June 27, 1965, near Greenwood, Mississippi, and it was voted to send \$500 to the man in Bogalusa who was charged with the killing of the Negro deputy sheriff.

The CHAIRMAN. As I said before, this committee has no objection,

I have no objection, nobody can have any objection, to providing defense counsel or funds to pay defense counsel for anyone, I don't care who he is. I am wondering, though, if that \$500 reached its destination. And if we don't know that, we had better take a look at it.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in our Louisiana phase of the hearing we identified, as the result of the committee investigation, the boy arrested in that as being a member of the Klan in Louisiana.

The CHAIRMAN. That was not my question.

Mr. APPELL. We do not know whether this money has been received.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send it?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. We have evidence, Mr. Bowers, to the effect that the White Christian Protective and Legal Defense Fund, as a matter of fact, was—it was described to us as placing buckets and jugs, as I remember the testimony, throughout Mississippi restaurants, hotels, motels, places of business, and elsewhere, and that it was pretended that this was a project of non-Klan members, but that in fact it was a Klan operation and that large sums of money were raised during that campaign. Do you have anything to say about that?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Information came to us that, despite the allegations, protestations, about sobriety and Christianity and everything else, as I recall, large sources of revenues were picked up by this defense fund, from buckets or jugs placed in drinking places, and that the more the people imbibed, the more they put in the buckets and jugs. You don't have any knowledge about that?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. APPELL. At the meeting of June 27, a printing bill was submitted for \$396 for printing costs of posters "I Want You" for the White Knights of Mississippi.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the poster that was exhibited to us some time ago?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In my opinion, that is a low blow, Mr. Bowers. And I say that as chairman. I am sorry to say that. I don't use that kind of language when presiding, but the use of a poster "I Want You" imitating the famous poster of Uncle Sam calling soldier boys—"I Want You"—in my opinion is a low blow.

Go on.

Mr. APPELL. On July 11, 1965, a meeting of province officers was held in Room 337, King Edward's Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi. Bowers instructed them to have a "job" in each province throughout Mississippi and that this plan was designed to spread thin the agents of the FBI located in Mississippi. Bowers reported that Billy Birdsong, who had given him more trouble than any other Klansman, had been whipped.

On July 18, 1965, a meeting of kleagles was held south of Jackson, Mississippi. Nix, the grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, shook everyone down for "bugs" or recording devices. Bowers

claimed that the White Knights in the Laurel area were responsible for over 16 burnings and bombings in the Laurel area. He referred to Laurel as the "Smokestack City."

On August 8, 1965, a meeting was held at Byram, Mississippi, south of Jackson. Bowers offered a resolution forbidding White Knights of Ku Klux Klan to associate with members of the United Klans of America.

On August 22, at a meeting near Florence, Mississippi, \$500 was sent to assist three men arrested for arson in Greenwood, Mississippi.

On November 10, 1965, Bowers discussed reorganizing the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan under a plan described as Rule 5. Under the rule, the exalted cyclops picks four unit heads and they in turn each selected four trusted Klansmen to meet with each group separately. By this reorganization Bowers hoped to frustrate the FBI infiltration.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Bowers is in possession of additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid Congress in the enactment of remedial legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bowers, you have heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator. You now have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement, to confirm or challenge the accuracy of the information, or to explain any part of it. In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter the committee may deem relevant to this inquiry. Do you care to take advantage of that opportunity?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I must inform you, Mr. Bowers, that I indeed agree with Mr. Appell's statement to the effect that you possess a great deal of information which you could supply this committee as an aid in providing remedial legislation. But in any event, you may now, if you desire, offer any other matter the committee may deem relevant to this inquiry. Do you care to take advantage of that opportunity?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Witness, I must inform you that, absent your rebuttal or other facts that may come to the attention of the subcommittee, the committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation. Having that in mind, do you now want to say anything? And by that I mean, and specifically include, relating to the objects, the purposes, the objectives, the good that you know about klanism. I invite you to do that. You may say anything you want. You may praise it to the sky. I have asked so many witnesses that the record is going to look very odd when not a single leader—including Imperial Wizards, if you don't come forward—has volunteered to say one single, solitary word about what is good about klanism. Why don't you say what is good, in your opinion? You joined this; you must have believed in it. Let's put it in the record right now. Do you care to take advantage of that opportunity?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Anything else?

Mr. APPELL. The staff has no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Bowers, you are quoted as having said something to the effect that if it is necessary to eliminate someone, it should be done in silence, without malice, in the manner of a Christian act. Am I to understand if murder is committed in silence and without malice it can become a Christian act?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No further questions.

Mr. APPELL. I would like to make a closing statement for the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. APPELL. The subpoena of Mr. Bowers called upon him to produce retained copies of corporate tax returns relating to the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. I do not ask Mr. Bowers to produce those documents because we have been advised by the Treasury Department that no return was filed.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you filed individual income tax returns?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. According to our information, and I believe it is right, corporate returns were not filed either. Did you receive any money of any kind, from one nickel on up, as a result of your association with the Klan group that you headed?

Mr. BOWERS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused and the subcommittee stands in recess until 2:30.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Willis and Buchanan.)

(Whereupon, at 1:30 p.m., Tuesday, February 1, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1966

(The subcommittee reconvened at 3 p.m., Hon. Edwin E. Willis, chairman, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis and Buchanan.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Call your first witness for the afternoon, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Ernest S. Gilbert, Jr.

The CHAIRMAN. Please raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear, sir, that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GILBERT. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF ERNEST S. GILBERT, JR., ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, state your full name for the record.

Mr. GILBERT. Ernest S. Gilbert, Jr.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on the 30th day of October 1965, at 114 Main Street, Natchez, Mississippi, by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, 114 Main Street, Natchez, Mississippi, is that the headquarters of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reasons that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, Investigator Sullivan, who sits to my right, advises me that the place that you were served was the headquarters of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, in Natchez, Mississippi. Is the information which he supplies factual?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to give for the record his place and date of birth.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I will order and direct you to answer that question. It is preliminary exploration. It is perfectly usual. It cannot possibly incriminate you. It is a fact that ought to be in the record.

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, in 1963, were you a member of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana, the Realm of Mississippi?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. When a group of members of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana broke from that organization and several of its leaders were banished by Royal V. Young, the Imperial Dragon, was a temporary organization to become known as the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi organized?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Prior to the election of Sam H. Bowers as the Imperial Wizard of the new organization known as the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, were you temporarily placed in charge of that organization?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that with the election of Mr. Bowers as the Imperial Wizard you were elected to the position of grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, as grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, you possess knowledge of violence carried out by members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It is the results of the committee's investigation that many of these persons who held membership in the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan now hold membership in the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi.

Is this information factual?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, as grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, did you make an investigation to determine whether or not members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were involved in the murder of Henry Dee and Charles Moore, whose bodies were found in the "Old River"?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. James Ford Seale, one of the two arrested, is he now a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. In a recent release put out by the United Klans of America, the Imperial Wizard, Mr. Robert Shelton, acknowledged what, in my recollection, was the first time that there are possibly misfits within the United Klans of America. Are these people who were engaged in acts of violence while members of the White Knights and who are now members of the United Klans of America some of the misfits to whom Imperial Wizard Shelton was referring?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, when Mr. Shelton spoke at a rally of the United Klans of America near Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and he charged that Mayor Henry Bucklew's charges linking the White Knights with violence in Laurel, Mississippi, and described that as political expediency, had he discussed with you, as the former grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, as to whether or not members of the White Knights had been involved in a series of bombings and burnings in Laurel, Mississippi?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, was Paul Foster the first grand chaplain of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that he is presently the Grand Klaliff or vice president of the Realm of Mississippi of the United Klans of America.

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Gilbert, I hand you several newspaper clippings relating to the removal of a body from its grave because of complaints made by the Klan that Black Muslims were concealing arm caches in this and other graves.

The newspaper account that I handed you reveals that the original complaint was made to the deputy sheriff of Washington County by J. R. Wood of Greenville. Do you know him to be a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. The account in the Jackson, Mississippi, *Clarion-Ledger* reads that:

The Mississippi Kleagle of the United Klans from Brookhaven, Ernest Gilbert, accompanied by fellow Klansman, F. L. Malone of Brookhaven, arrived on the scene in Malone's specially equipped radio car \* \* \*.

Please tell the committee the use made of citizens band radios and walkie-talkie radios by the United Klans in Mississippi.

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Documents marked "Ernest Gilbert Exhibit No. 1." The *Clarion-Ledger* article follows:)

ERNEST GILBERT EXHIBIT NO. 1

[Jackson, Miss., *Clarion-Ledger*, November 16, 1965]

# Report Of Arms Cache False; Officials Begin Probe Of Klan

By KENNETH TOLLIVER

(See picture on Page 6.)

GREENVILLE — An apparent bid for publicity by the United Klans of America in Mississippi may have backfired Tuesday as authorities blasted the organization and began an investigation of KKK activity.

The rumble of the wrath of Washington County law enforcement agencies rolled across the state touching the Attorney General's office, the Governor's Mansion and the Highway Patrol.

The wave of indignation was sparked by charges brought by members of the United Klans of America Sunday that weapons for the Black Muslims were buried in Negro churches and cemeteries across the state.

In Greenville Klansmen led Washington County deputies to a recent Negro grave and told them it contained — "automatic weapons, ammunition and maybe a machinegun."

## NO GUNS

When the grave was opened Monday morning, it was found to contain a simple coffin and no weapons of any kind.

In a special press conference called by authorities, reporters were told that "the wraps were being taken from the Klan operation."

Referring to the opening of the grave Monday morning, Washington County Chief Deputy Earl Fisher said, "This was done to disprove once and for all that Negroes are not stashing guns. The Black Muslims and the Deacons for Defense are not in here creating an uprising."

Working in the dark foggy graveyard, heavily armed police lifted the lid from a wooden vault holding the casket and found nothing to further such suspicions.

"We had reason to believe that a felony, that of grave tampering, might have been committed and we obtained permission from the next of kin to open the grave," Fisher said. "We did not have a court order to open the coffin itself, but our investigation indicated it had not been tampered with."

## RELATES INCIDENTS

In the press conference Deputy Fisher related the chain of incidents with Klan members which led to the event.

He revealed that Sunday morning J. R. Wood, a suspected Klansman, summoned Deputy Fisher to his home to give him details about some hidden arms.

"He told me last week he believed the Black Muslims were sneaking guns into the area, but at that time he said he didn't know where they were kept," Fisher said.

Fisher said that while at Wood's house he saw "stacks of Klan literature" and while he was talking with Wood, "suddenly these three rough looking characters stepped out from behind a curtain."

He said they told him they knew where the Black Muslims were hiding guns and they wanted to make a deal. "They wanted a reasonable portion of the guns and ammunition," he explained. "They said they wanted to use them to protect white people."

Fisher left saying he could not make such a deal, but later when he returned to talk further with the group they told him they had "been in touch with headquarters and it's okay to cooperate with you."

They then led Deputy Fisher to a Negro cemetery near Greenville and pointed out the grave of James Turner, 64, who had been buried Nov. 4.

## WANTED REPORTERS

"They said they had been watching the cemetery and were pretty sure that guns were in the grave. They wanted ABC, NBC, CBS and the Jackson newspapers on hand when the grave was opened," Fisher told reporters.

Fearing a riot if the rumors reached the public, Fisher said he requested a riot squad from the Greenville police. He then telephoned the Attorney General in Jackson and told him about the situation. "He said to continue the investigation," Fisher said.

"The Klan insisted on guarding the grave to keep anyone from taking the guns and I told them they could patrol up and down the highway that borders the cemetery in their radio equipped cars, Fisher explained. "But I had hardly turned around before one of them had an M-rifle and a bandoleer of bullets over his shoulder all set

to march up and down the road. I put a stop to that."

Fisher told reporters that as darkness fell the KKK became more anxious to have the grave opened and called him constantly on the phone asking for results.

"I finally called the county executive Cyclops of the United Klans, Dr. Everett Mitchell, a Greenville physical therapist, and asked him if he was in touch with his members and when he said yes, I told him I was doing all I could and they must be patient," Fisher continued.

The Mississippi Kleagle of the United Klans from Brookhaven, Ernest Gilbert, accompanied by fellow Klansman, F. L. Malone of Brookhaven, arrived on the scene in Malone's specially equipped radio car, Fisher said.

## SOUGHT NO CREDIT

They told reporters they wanted "the local law enforcement people to get full credit."

The Kleagle told newsmen that he estimated "more than 5000 guns had been smuggled into the state and were hidden in Negro graves and Churches."

Deputy Fisher said that Kleagle Gilbert offered the services of his men. Fisher said that Gilbert told him, "One of our members is in tears out there thinking about those guns."

Greenville Chief of Police W. C. Burnley referred to the Klansmen as a "bunch of nuts with crazy ideas fighting for the survival of their stupid organization."

A suspected Klansman accompanied the authorities to the grave and reported back to Gilbert after the grave was opened.

Meanwhile Klansmen with two-way radio equipped cars, some with Tennessee tags, cruised the highway near the cemetery.

Special investigators from the Highway Patrol arrived in Greenville Tuesday to begin their own investigation into the incident. They were apparently interested in the Klan claim that "we have been watching the burials of Negroes for three years." It is a felony to tamper with a grave.

A check with the governor's office indicated that Gov. Johnson "is interested."

Mr. APPELL. The news account then quotes you as saying, "more than 5,000 guns had been smuggled into the state and were hidden in Negro graves and Churches." If that statement is factual, Mr. Gilbert, please give the committee the benefit of the knowledge the United Klans of America possesses in this regard.

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Did the United Klans of America have any basis upon which to make this charge to the Washington County Sheriff's Department, which resulted in the removal of a body from the grave and a search of his coffin for concealed arms?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Gilbert.

Ernest S. Gilbert was born on June 13, 1925, in Smith County, Mississippi. His educational background is unknown to the staff. During the early part of 1965, he was employed as a driller with the Smith Petroleum Company, Brookhaven, Mississippi. Mr. Gilbert was a leader of the Realm of Mississippi of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which had its headquarters in Louisiana. In late 1965, because of mismanagement of Original Knight funds—

The CHAIRMAN. You say the headquarters in Louisiana. Is that in the area of the Bossier-Shreveport area?

Mr. APPELL. As a result of mismanagement of Original Knight funds by J. D. Swenson, dissension grew and resulted in certain Mississippi Klansmen being banished. After the banishment of Douglas A. Byrd and E. L. McDaniel and others, they and their followers broke from the Original Knights and formed the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. Ernest Gilbert was elected or appointed temporary head of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi in late 1963. Mr. Gilbert, E. L.—nicknamed Tiny—Lewis, and Douglas Byrd were part of a committee which drafted the White Knights constitution. With the election of the White Knights officers in February 1964, Gilbert was chosen grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, a position he held until June 1965, when he joined the United Klans of America, becoming its grand kleagle or State organizer, a position which he presently holds. Gilbert was the exalted cyclops of the original Klavern in Lincoln County, Mississippi. As grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, Gilbert was responsible for gathering intelligence necessary for the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi to carry out acts of intimidation or violence by the State or by local Klaverns with State approval. Gilbert attended numerous meetings at which violence was planned or discussed.

In May 1964, he attended a meeting in the Salvage House of Algene Price located at Key Field, Meridian, Mississippi, at which Preacher Edgar Ray Killen presided. Killen was later arrested in connection with the slaying of the three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi.

On June 7, 1964, he attended a meeting near Raleigh, Mississippi, where Klansmen were urged to obtain firearms and members were advised that the White Knights had 97 projects working through the State. At this meeting a printed instruction captioned "Harrasment" [sic] was given to the some 300 Klansmen present.

On June 24, 1964, Gilbert attended a meeting of Hinds County Klavern near Jackson where the grand giant discussed future projects, in which he stated that the province giant would select a unit to pull a job; the county coordinator would select a meeting place for the unit to discuss the details; thereafter the EC of the unit selected to pull the job would select the members to carry out its completion.

On September 20, 1964, Gilbert was part of a discussion on violence, in which he opposed burning or bombing churches but approved other forms of violence against what he described as "heathens" who used churches to hold meetings.

On September 29, 1964, Gilbert and V. T. Purser requested Grand Dragon Julius Harper for the State to burn or stinkbomb the Menonite School for Wayward Girls, which was being used as COFO headquarters.

In January 1965, Gilbert attended the first of several meetings relating to the formation of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Christian Protective and Legal Defense Fund.

July 16, 1965, spoke at a public rally held at the Crossroads Community, Poplarville, Mississippi. He was introduced as grand kleagle for the UKA. He was accompanied on the platform by former members of the White Knights, C. J. Seal, now a titan of the United Klans of America; E. L. McDaniel, Grand Dragon for the United Klans of America; Louis DiSalvo, also on the platform; and Saxon Farmer and Ovied Dunaway.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that Farmer of Louisiana?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir. And Ovied Dunaway, exalted cyclops of the Original Knights in Bogalusa, together with Jack Helm, a Louisiana Realm official from New Orleans, Louisiana.

On October 28, 1965, Gilbert was on the platform at a public rally with Imperial Wizard Shelton near Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Gilbert possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gilbert, you have heard the statement of Mr. Appell, who you know is under oath just like you are. You now have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement, confirm or challenge the accuracy of the information, or to explain any part of the statement. In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter the committee may deem relevant to this inquiry. Do you care to take advantage of this opportunity?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. In that case, Mr. Gilbert, absent your rebuttal or other facts which may come to the attention of the committee, this committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation. Bearing this in mind, do you have anything to say?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything more?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Gilbert, I hand you two photographs taken during the rally held at Crossroads Community in Poplarville, Mississippi. I ask you to advise the committee as to the reason or purpose that persons shown in this photograph are dressed in black robes with black hoods, and even those in white robes carrying sidearms.

The CHAIRMAN. Doing what?

Mr. APPELL. Carrying sidearms, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to say what you were explaining to your counsel? And I don't want to pry into consultations at all now. But if you have anything to say, sir, now is the time to say it. If you don't know anything about it, why don't you say so?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Let me hand you back the one photograph and invite your attention to the man who has a camera in his hand whose back is in the photograph. I ask you whether or not that is yourself.

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you another photograph and ask you to observe the Klansman in a red robe. I then ask you if that is Charles Stewart whom you have been seated with this morning and who is on the front row on the seats to the left as you look to the rear of the room.

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I see in this photograph, the one just handed to you, where it was indicated that you were the person in the photograph with your back turned, that some of the individuals, some of the people in this photograph, have red marks or Indian signs or something on their faces. Do you know what that stands for?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Honest to goodness now, Mr. Gilbert, isn't that silly? Take a look at that.

(Photograph handed to witness.)

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet, on the other photograph that I hand you I see some people with sidearms, meaning pistols, with gun belts and cartridges all around their belts. That doesn't seem to be silly, that seems to be deadly serious to me. What does it seem to you?

Mr. GILBERT. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Photographs marked "Ernest Gilbert Exhibit No. 2" follow:)

ERNEST GILBERT EXHIBIT NO. 2



ERNEST GILBERT EXHIBIT NO. 2—Continued





Photographs taken during rally at Crossroads Community, Poplarville, Miss.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any further questions?

Mr. APPELL. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Joseph Carlton Brown.

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, this witness affirms.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly affirm to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. BROWN. I do.

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Appell asks the witness any questions, the subpoena has written over it "James Carlton Brown" and "James" is stricken out and above it is written "Joseph." I would like for the subpoena that I have to be corrected or the one the committee has to be corrected by letting me ask the reverend his true name.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. CHALMERS. It is Joseph Carlton Brown, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

**TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH CARLTON BROWN, ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

**Mr. APPELL.** Mr. Brown, would you state your full name for the record?

**Mr. BROWN.** Joseph Carlton Brown.

**Mr. APPELL.** Are you appearing here today in accordance with the subpoena served upon you on the 29th day of October 1965 by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

**Mr. BROWN.** Yes.

**Mr. APPELL.** Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Brown?

**Mr. BROWN.** Yes.

**Mr. APPELL.** Will counsel identify himself for the record?

**Mr. CHALMERS.** Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

**Mr. APPELL.** Mr. Brown, when and where were you born?

**Mr. BROWN.** I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of America.

**Mr. APPELL.** Would you give the committee the benefit of your educational background?

**Mr. BROWN.** Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

**Mr. APPELL.** Will you give the committee a résumé of your employment background from 1960?

**Mr. BROWN.** Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

**The CHAIRMAN.** I don't think you ought to do that, Reverend. I understand you are a minister and I really don't think you ought to do that. Why don't you tell us what you do?

**Mr. BROWN.** Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

**Mr. APPELL.** Mr. Brown, are you acquainted with an individual who resided in McComb by the name of Billy Earl Wilson?

**Mr. BROWN.** Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

**Mr. APPELL.** Mr. Brown, Billy Earl Wilson testified before this committee on January 18, 1966, in public session. In the course of his testimony, after he had identified himself as being a onetime member of the United Klans of America in Mississippi and after he had testified that he was assigned to a Klavern of the United Klans of America, which he did not know the number of but which the committee investigation establishes to be No. 700, he identified as the exalted cyclops of that Klavern Ray Smith, who is employed by the telephone company in McComb, Mississippi. He was asked in connection with the officers of that Klavern as to the identity of the kludd or the chaplain, and he identified as the kludd or chaplain the Reverend J. C. Brown. Was Mr. Wilson's testimony truthful?

**Mr. BROWN.** Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

**Mr. APPELL.** Mr. Wilson testified that after he was arrested he was visited, together with his other nine codefendants, by the Reverend J. C. Brown. Is his testimony truthful?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Would you tell the committee why you visited Billy Earl Wilson and the other defendants while they were in jail following their arrests?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. The other defendant, Paul Dewey Wilson, at the time you were the kludd or chaplain of the Klavern, was he the klaliff or vice president of the Klavern?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Murphy John Duncan, another of the defendants, was he the klabee or treasurer of the Klavern?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Did you also know Murphy John Duncan to be the grand klabee or grand treasurer of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. At the time you visited Billy Earl Wilson in jail, did you advise him that the Imperial Wizard Shelton was going to assess every member of the United Klans of America to help pay their attorney fees, court costs, and other expenses?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Brown, I will now read you from Billy Earl Wilson's testimony, who was asked about his plea, and he said that he pleaded nolo contendere, and continued:

Yes, sir, nolo contendere, I was sentenced to 6 months in jail and a \$500 fine. This 6 months was to be suspended, and the \$500 fine had to be paid within a week's time, plus the cost of court, which was \$78. So all told, I had to get hold of \$578, I believe, is the right amount.

About Wednesday of that week Brother Brown sent word to me for me to stop over at his home, which I did. He gave me \$250, which was half of my fine, and also gave me \$78, which was all the costs of the court. That, as far as I knew then, I was just about in the same shape as I was in before, because I didn't have the money, you know, to match the other, for the half of it.

So my grandad—I might say he is a real nice guy—let me have the other half of the money, which I went down immediately the next afternoon from work, and I paid all my fines and everything.

Mr. APPELL. What about the fee that you had to pay for an attorney to defend you in this action?

Mr. WILSON. My aunts and uncles, and what little money I had, they all went together and tried for a lawyer, and I think they asked about two, I think, and finally wound up with Mr. L. S. McClaren. As a retainer, he said he had to have \$500, which they all went together and made up the money, and they didn't have it, and he was my lawyer.

Mr. APPELL. So that of the \$500 that you had to pay your attorney and the \$500, plus court costs, that you were fined, the United Klans of America, of which you were a formal member and for which you engaged in these acts as a result of action formally taken within a Klavern chamber, paid then \$100, I guess, toward your attorney fees, one-half of your fine in the amount of \$250, and the \$78 court costs, or a total of \$428.

Mr. WILSON. As far as I know, that money that was raised that we received was raised right there, you know, in town, by—it may be some members that were in the Klan, but I imagine there was a lot of them that wasn't in the Klan

that let us have some money. So far as I know, to actually say that I received money, I can't, because I don't know.

Did Billy Earl Wilson receive from you a total of \$428?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Where was the money obtained which you used to reimburse Billy Earl Wilson and the other nine defendants in that action?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. If Billy Earl Wilson received \$428 and there were defendants and they each received equal shares, it would be close to \$4,000 that was collected. Did any of this money come from the United Klans of America imperial office in Tuscaloosa, Alabama?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact that none of this money came from the United Klans of America imperial office in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. I ask you to affirm or deny that fact.

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Reverend Brown, can you explain to me how it was that Imperial Wizard Shelton would deny to me, in an interview, that these McComb people were even members of the United Klans of America?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of Mr. Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir, my information is that you are a minister of the Gospel, and I am not, believe me, undertaking to delve into your religious beliefs or to reproach you or lecture in the least. It is my recollection—and this recollection is in general terms—that Mr. Wilson did not say that you had obtained the money that you gave him from Klan members or from Klan headquarters or from Klan leaders. In fact, I got the general impression—and I may be wrong as to the details—that Mr. Wilson was at least implying you might have or probably did raise this money locally. I want to tell you, sir, as I have said many, many times before, if you did raise money for the defense of this young man or anybody in trouble, you would be doing absolutely nothing wrong. Could you tell us how you went about raising that money?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. I would even tell you, sir, that, if you did relate that, it wouldn't subject you to a continuous line of cross-examination on my part. I would be curious to know how you did raise that money and do what I assume you thought to be an act of kindness. Why can't you tell us that?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. It is my recollection also that this young man, Wilson, who got himself in an awful mess of trouble, said that he joined the Klan organization because he believed what had been represented to him, to the effect that that organization, in addition to standing for other things, such as Christianity, which we will overlook for the time being, stood for segregation of the races. He said that. I think it is true, and that brought no opposition from me, nor did it subject him to any cross-examination on my part.

Anyway, after having said what he was going to stand on and having gotten in trouble, and believing in it originally, he came to the conclusion that klanism was not the answer to racial segregation or integration. Would you care to address yourself to that?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Brown, you have been identified by our investigation as the kludd or chaplain of a Klavern, and therefore I assume you are its spiritual adviser. Do you feel there are circumstances which justify bombings and make them acceptable or Christian acts?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You are a man in a position of some influence and are in a position to influence young people to join or not to join such an organization as the Klan. Do you feel that the activities of the Klan are such that this is a good and healthy organization for young people who might be under your influence to join?

Mr. BROWN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis and Buchanan.)

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p.m., Tuesday, February 1, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, February 2, 1966.)

# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 2 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Joe R. Pool (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas, chairman; Charles L. Weltner, of Georgia; and John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool, Weltner, and Ashbrook.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Philip R. Manuel, investigator.

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order.

The Chair wishes to make this announcement: Mr. Edwin Willis, the chairman of this subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is not able to be here today, and he has redesignated the subcommittee to hear the witnesses this morning, and here is the authority for that:

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Honorable Joe R. Pool as Chairman, and Honorable Charles L. Weltner and Honorable John M. Ashbrook as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., on Wednesday, February 2, 1966, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 30th day of March, 1965, authorizing hearings concerning the activities of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 2nd day of February, 1966.

Mr. Appell, are you ready for your next witness?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir; Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Mr. Emmett Thornhill, Sr.

Mr. POOL. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing by the truth, so help you God?

Mr. THORNHILL. I do.

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Chairman, Louis Alford, attorney.

Mr. POOL. Just a minute.

**TESTIMONY OF JOHN EMMETT THORNHILL, SR., ACCOMPANIED  
BY COUNSEL, LOUIS ALFORD**

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. THORNHILL. John Emmett Thornhill.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on the 29th day of October 1965 by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. ALFORD. Louis Alford, attorney at law, McComb, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, when and where were you born?

Mr. THORNHILL. In 1908, in Walthall County, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. If you will, put that microphone a little bit closer to you, as the acoustics in this room are terrible.

Mr. THORNHILL. All right, sir.

Mr. APPELL. We will hear you a little better.

Now, would you tell us where, the month, and the day? I didn't get that. I heard the year 1908.

Mr. THORNHILL. October the 29, 1908, in Walthall County, State of Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, would you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. THORNHILL. I didn't get any education.

Mr. APPELL. Would you give the committee a brief résumé of your employment background since 1960?

Mr. THORNHILL. In 1960?

Mr. APPELL. Since 1960, sir.

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, farmer, and in the oil business. Independent operator.

Mr. APPELL. In the oil business?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And what was the first thing that you said? I didn't hear that.

Mr. THORNHILL. Farming.

Mr. APPELL. Oh, farming.

Mr. THORNHILL. I own my own farm.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. Thornhill, under the subpoena served upon you, there is an attachment which is made a part of the subpoena, and it commands for you to bring with you and to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or past member of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

I ask you, Mr. Thornhill, whether you have any such documents in your possession, and if you will produce them in accordance with the subpoena?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I have none.

Mr. ALFORD. Mr. Chairman, the only thing that may be interpreted as falling within that category are three canceled checks, which—

Mr. POOL. Well, now, I would like to have the witness say whatever he wants to on that.

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I have no records.

Mr. POOL. You have no records?

Mr. APPELL. Would you produce the checks which—

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, the first check which you produced is a check drawn on the First National Bank of McComb, Mississippi, payable to Radio Station WHNY, in the amount of \$17, dated June 1, 1964.

The other is a check on the same bank in the amount of \$25, dated June 2, 1964, to Radio Station WAPF; and the third check on the same bank, dated June 3, 1964, in the amount of \$63, is payable to the *Enterprise-Journal*, all checks signed J. E. Thornhill.

Mr. Thornhill, can you explain to the committee how these checks fall within the purview of the subpoena and the purpose for which they were drawn?

(Witness confers with counsel.)


Mr. POOL. Let's see the checks.


Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; I can answer that.


Those checks were give—they got me to run an ad on each radio, put spots on the radios for Mr. Shelton's speech, which he was going to make at the fairground in McComb; also, run an ad in the paper. So that's what the checks was give for.

(Checks marked "John Thornhill Exhibit No. 1" follow:)

## JOHN THORNHILL EXHIBIT NO. 1

MR. OR MRS. J. E. THORNHILL		404	<u>85-91</u> 653
P. O. BOX C			
SUMMIT, MISSISSIPPI			
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	<i>Radio Station WAPP</i>	<i>June 1</i>	19 <i>64</i>
	<i>\$17.00</i>		
FOR			
		<i>J E Thornhill</i>	
⑆0653⑈0091⑆		52 602 4⑈	

MR. OR MRS. J. F. THORNHILL		405	<u>85-91</u> 653
P. O. BOX C			
SUMMIT, MISSISSIPPI			
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	<i>Radio Station WAPP</i>	<i>June 2</i>	19 <i>64</i>
	<i>\$85.00</i>		
FOR			
		<i>J E Thornhill</i>	
⑆0653⑈0091⑆		52 602 4⑈	

MR. OR MRS. J. E. THORNHILL		406	<u>85-91</u> 653
P. O. BOX C			
SUMMIT, MISSISSIPPI			
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	<i>Enterprise-Journal</i>	<i>June 3</i>	19 <i>64</i>
	<i>\$63.00</i>		
FOR			
		<i>J E Thornhill</i>	
⑆0653⑈0091⑆		52 602 4⑈	

Mr. APPELL. And the Mr. Shelton that you are referring to is the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Who approached you for the purpose of paying the radio stations and the newspaper for this advertisement?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I just don't remember. I can't recall right now just who did do that.

Mr. APPELL. At the time that you were approached to make these payments, covering advertisement for a speech to be made by Imperial Wizard Shelton, were you a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And when did you first join the United Klans of America?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't remember that.

Mr. APPELL. Can you fix it roughly as to the early part of 1964 or late 1963?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; I don't remember.

Mr. APPELL. At the time that you gave the checks in June, can you recall approximately how many months you had been, at that time?

Mr. THORNHILL. Three or four months, something like that.

Mr. APPELL. Three or four months?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Explain to the committee the circumstances under which you became a member of the United Klans of America.

Mr. THORNHILL. What do you mean by that, now?

Mr. APPELL. Well, how did you become? Did you seek membership or did someone approach you for the purpose of becoming a member or just what were the circumstances?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; someone approached me to join the United Klans.

Mr. APPELL. And who approached you?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, now, I——

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Mr. Chairman, with respect, I decline to answer on the grounds that my answer might tend to involve me. I refuse to answer it, based on the right give me under the 1st, 4th, 5th, and 14th amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, in refusing to answer that question, do you rely upon an oath of secrecy which is administered to Klansmen?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I didn't hear you.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. In other words, your refusal to answer that question is because as a Klansman, you were administered an oath of secrecy which you subscribe to?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; and this I just read.

Mr. APPELL. I think that for the purpose of the record, if you will say, when you desire to refer to the constitutional privileges which you invoked earlier, if you say that it is for the grounds previously stated, the record will reflect all of the reasons which you state.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, on the grounds that previously just was stated.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that Mr. Thornhill, in response to a question, stated that among the reasons he refused to answer was the oath of secrecy that he took, I ask that he be directed to answer the last question.

Mr. POOL. Well, as I understand him, he took the fifth amendment also.

Mr. APPELL. Not with respect to whether or not among his reasons was the oath of secrecy which was given to Klansmen.

Mr. POOL. Why don't you restate your question. You are talking about his reasons, and that is a little different from trying to get a factual answer.

I don't think I should direct him on that. Restate your question, and maybe I can direct him.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, I asked you if, in refusing to answer the question as to the identity of the person that solicited your membership in the United Klans of America, you were relying upon an oath of secrecy administered to Klansmen. You said "yes."

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I then asked you whether or not you relied upon the oath of secrecy which you took as a Klansman, and you then invoked constitutional privileges, the reasons previously stated.

Have I summarized that properly?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, I understand it better now; yes. Well, that's the same answer.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. On the grounds previously stated on the matter.

Mr. POOL. Well, Mr. Thornhill, you are refusing to answer on the fifth amendment and not on your oath of secrecy that you took as a Klansman; is that correct?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; on the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. It was my opinion, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Thornhill had waived his invocation by his "yes" answer to the first question asked.

Mr. POOL. But you are satisfied with his answer now.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Fine.

Mr. APPELL. In addition to the three checks that you submitted in payment for two radio advertisements and a newspaper advertisement of a rally at which the Imperial Wizard, Mr. Shelton, was going to speak, have you made any additional financial contributions to the United Klans of America, or for its use?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you pay an initiation fee into the United Klans of America?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you purchase a robe within the organization?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you pay dues to the organization?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And what was the rate of dues that you paid?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Dollar and a half a month.

Mr. APPELL. In summary, the \$10.00—and I might ask, did you pay a fee of \$10.00 as an initiation fee, or did you pay more?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. \$10.00.

Mr. APPELL. In addition to the \$10.00 initiation fee and \$10.00 for the robe and a dollar and a half per month dues and the money paid to the radio stations and the newspaper, is this all of the financial contributions that you ever made for the benefit of the United Klans of America or its members?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. How long did you remain a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. THORNHILL. I just don't remember that. I don't remember. I can't recall just back, the month that I gotten out. I don't recall that.

Mr. WELTNER. I didn't understand that answer. What was that?

Mr. APPELL. He does not recall the month or the time that he ceased being a member.

Did you cease being a member?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And why did you cease being a member?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, they was doing some things that I didn't approve of too much, so I thought maybe I would get out.

Mr. APPELL. Well, can you explain to the committee some of the things that were happening that you didn't like too much that caused you to get out?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, there was something I didn't know. They didn't let me know anything that was going on. I didn't know whether the Klan was doing it or not, but everybody knew that I was in the Klan and they thought that I was the head of it, which I didn't know a thing about what was going on, and I didn't think the Klan was doing it. And so everybody was accusing me of doing it anyway, and I said, well, I would just get out of it.

If I was the only one that was open, that didn't care who knew, didn't care if people knew that I was a member, which I didn't care. I thought at that time that it was a mighty good organization, still think it is, but I didn't want everybody thinking that I was doing those things, when I was completely innocent of them.

Mr. APPELL. Did you determine that it was members of the United Klans?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; never did determine that it was in the United Klans, the Klan was doing this work until they picked them up, and I couldn't believe it then.

Mr. APPELL. Well, I mean after they picked them up, did you then realize that they were Klansmen?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. After they plead guilty to it; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And did you know them to be members of the United Klans of America after they picked them up?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir—well, I don't know they was a member until they picked them up, and they admitted that they were a member and were the ones that did the work.

Mr. APPELL. And at the time—we are talking now, are we, about the 11 people who were indicted in McComb, Mississippi, for engaging in a series of bombings and burnings of churches and other property?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. At the time these people were in jail, did you visit with them?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; I went to see them one time.

Mr. APPELL. And what was your purpose for going to see them?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, just went down to see the boys, being neighbors, as far as I know.

Mr. APPELL. Were you there also for the purpose of satisfying yourself that they were members of the United Klans of America?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I asked them and I also asked them, did they do it, and I wanted to satisfy myself on the thing. I couldn't believe it.

Mr. APPELL. And did you satisfy yourself?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, when they pleaded guilty to it, I said, well, I just can't understand it. I guess they was the ones that done it.

Mr. APPELL. But with respect to the personal interview that you had with them, did that convince you that they had—

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; it did not.

Mr. APPELL. Did they admit to you that they had engaged in it, prior to the plea?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; no, they denied it to me right up to the last.

Mr. APPELL. They denied it to you.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. When you went to prison to visit them, were you accompanied by anyone?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; Brother Brown went with me.

Mr. APPELL. Brother Brown.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; had prayer with him; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Now, did you know Brother Brown to be a member of the Klan also?

Mr. THORNHILL. Not at that time; no, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Not at that time.

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; did not.

Mr. APPELL. But you did learn that he was a member of the Klan.

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, later on; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Now Mr. Thornhill, to what Klavern of the Klan were you assigned for membership purposes?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. On the grounds previously stated, I will take that.

Mr. APPELL. Prior to the arrest of the McComb boys, did you know any of them personally?

Mr. THORNHILL. Two of them; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And what two did you know?

Mr. THORNHILL. I knew the Duncan boy and the little Zeeck boy.

Mr. APPELL. Now did you know Duncan to have been elected in September of 1964 to the position of treasurer for the—

Mr. THORNHILL. No.

Mr. APPELL. —Realm of Mississippi?

Mr. THORNHILL. Did not.

Mr. APPELL. You didn't.

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know that Duncan had gone to Birmingham, Alabama, to attend the United Klans of America klonvokation?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever meet, attend meetings, of the Klavern in McComb of which Ray Smith was the exalted cyclops?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I decline to answer that on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Paul Wilson, one of the boys involved in that, at the time of his arrest gave a statement to the Mississippi Highway Patrol that you sometimes attended meetings there.

Was his statement factual?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I decline on the grounds previously stated on that.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, an examination of records of the United Klans of America reflects that some payments which appear on an analysis to be dues payable to the Imperial Realm were signed by H. H. Mathews, payable out of a personal account.

Do you know Mr. Mathews?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would you have been assigned to a Klavern of which Mr. Mathews was the exalted cyclops?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I decline to answer on the grounds stated on that.

Mr. APPELL. The McComb bombers were arrested in October of 1964 and thereafter pleaded guilty and were given suspended sentences and fined; some fined, some not. How long after they entered their plea and you determined that they were United Klansmen did you drop out of the United Klans of America because it did not stand for what you thought the organization should stand for?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; I stated the reason a while ago, the reason I got out of the Klan. I got out of the Klan because my name was open, and they was accusing the Klan of dropping those sticks of dynamite and, of course, everybody, white and colored, thought that I was the head of it, and which was unbeknownst to me. I didn't know anything about it, and that was my reasons for getting out of the Klan at that time.

Mr. APPELL. But you did not approve of bombings.

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, no, I didn't approve of going out there and stirring up a lot of trouble and getting a lot of publicity for something they can't buy.

Mr. APPELL. As a matter of fact, you were so convinced at one time that the people engaging in these acts were not Klansmen that you offered a thousand dollars reward for the apprehension?

Mr. THORNHILL. Certainly was; yes, sir. Put up a thousand dollars reward, put it in my paper. I just didn't believe our boys would have done anything like that. I couldn't believe it.

Mr. APPELL. And when you found out that some of the United

Klans of America boys had done it, was this one of the things that caused you to drop out of the organization?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, I was done out. I was done out, then, way before then, before they found that out. They was kind of putting me on the spot. If they was doing it or if they wasn't doing it, if the colored people was doing it themselves, like we figured at one time, that they was doing it to get some publicity, I was getting out for this thinking I was the head of it, anyway.

Mr. APPELL. Well, at the time you visited the boys in jail, by that time, were you already out of the Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir. Done out.

Mr. APPELL. Now the series of bombings started sometime in July.

Mr. THORNHILL. You remember what day it was? Do you recall what day it was? I can tell you what day I got out.

Mr. APPELL. Well, let's see if we can do it this way. On July 27, 1964, the newspaper reported your posting of a thousand dollar reward.

Mr. THORNHILL. I was in the Klan when I did that.

Mr. APPELL. So that it was sometime after that. Can you recall approximately how much later?

Mr. THORNHILL. Now, however, the bombs hadn't been throwed at that time. The church bombs, at that time, burning of the church at that time. And there is not a church in my county that I hadn't donated money to, one way or another, colored or white.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, some of the newspaper accounts quote you as saying that the bombings were carried out not by members of the White Knights, but by—not by members of the United Klans of America, but by the other Klan group in Mississippi.

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I think that was all a bare mistake there. I don't know anything about the other Klan in Mississippi and I don't know anything about what they do, and I might have said I didn't—I know what I told the reporters. I told them that I didn't believe that the United Klans done the bombing, which I didn't.

Now that Drew Pearson column you got, well, I think the only truth you can find in that thing is the day it was printed.

Mr. APPELL. Well, I don't have a column by Mr. Pearson; I am referring to an article in the *Christian Science Monitor*. But why did you leave the Klan, or was there any other reason for leaving the Klan prior to the apprehension of these people than the fact that everyone thought that you were the head of the Klan and that you were responsible for these acts?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, now, that is going back to that Drew Pearson column, you see. He puts in your paper, up here in your paper, that I was the head man of the United Klans, but I never was a officer in the Klan, and of course people of my county and my State reads his papers, and I reckon one or two of them might believe it. I don't know. But that's what he run in that paper, well, the colored people read it, the white people read it, and such as that happened, well, J. E. Thornhill is the head of it, he is backing it up, see, which I didn't know anything about.

Mr. APPELL. Have you since the time that you left the Klan, sometime after July 27 and sometime before October, have you ever been approached for the purpose of reorganizing the Klan in that area?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, no. No, sir. I haven't.

Mr. APPELL. You seem a little uncertain, Mr. Thornhill. Is it just the way you express yourself, or was there some discussion about the reorganization?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, not reorganization; no. I have never been approached to come back and reorganize; no, sir, never have.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of Mr. Thornhill.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Thornhill, I take it that after the arrest of some 11 persons who were charged with the various bombings in your area, that was the time that you determined to resign from the Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. When was that?

Mr. THORNHILL. I was already out, way before that.

Mr. WELTNER. Before then?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Was it before the bombings?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Was it between the bombings and the arrests that you resigned?

Mr. THORNHILL. No; now it was when they began to burn down the churches, the people in there, everybody was accusing me of being the head of it, and it was all done unbeknownst to me. I didn't know anything about it and I didn't believe that they was the ones doing it, but to clear myself, I got out and had it run in the paper that I was out of the Klan.

Mr. WELTNER. I see.

So after the various acts of violence in that area, you resigned and got out and made a public notice to that effect.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; I had to work those colored boys. They work for me, and I don't want any of them having any hard feelings at me, thinking that I was doing such things as that.

Mr. WELTNER. You do not approve of burning churches, bombing homes, and that sort of thing; do you?

Mr. THORNHILL. Absolutely not. The United Klans don't approve of anything like that, either.

Mr. WELTNER. Beg your pardon?

Mr. THORNHILL. The United Klans of America don't believe that, either. If a man in our Klavern—will you let me talk just a minute?

If a man would get up in the Klavern and bring up something like that, to go bomb a place of business and burn down a church, he wouldn't be a member long.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, did anyone ever do that in any Klavern discussion?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; no, sir; didn't.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, sir, now you say, or I believe your testimony previously was, that everyone had the idea that you were the head of this organization and that you were the only one who didn't care whether or not the people knew you were in the Klan. Is that right?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And your testimony is that everybody else in the Klan was anxious that their membership in the Klan be not publicly known?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes.

Mr. WELTNER. That people not know?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, really; yes. You see, a lot of the members working for people were probably companies, maybe, railroad companies; well, if they knew they belonged to the Ku Klux Klan, they would want to maybe take their jobs, see. But they can't take my job, I can get a job, so I didn't care who knew it. It was a fine organization, was set up for a good purpose, and I think it was to do a lot of good.

Mr. WELTNER. But you were the only one in there who was willing to have your membership known to the public. Is that right? Do I understand this correctly, that everybody else in the Klan that you knew was anxious that the public had no knowledge of their membership in the Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, it is supposed to be a secret organization.

Mr. WELTNER. What is the purpose of the secrecy of it, Mr. Thornhill?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, as I just stated, maybe you are working for, myself, for J. E. Thornhill, and J. E. Thornhill don't approve of the Klan. Well, if I find out you are a member, well, naturally I would fire you, get me somebody that wasn't a member of the Klan. There are lots of people like that.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, there is a reason for the secrecy. Is the reason for the secrecy to protect the jobs of members of the Klan, to keep them from being fired?

Mr. THORNHILL. Pardon me again, now?

Mr. WELTNER. Is the reason for the secrecy of the Klan to protect the jobs of the members of the Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I am not educated much, but that's what I figure it was; yes.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I didn't make the rules. I didn't make the constitutions of it, and when I got in there, I taken one of the—I made an oath that a man can take. When you join the United Klans, you take an oath that you will uphold the law and the Constitution of the United States until death, and that's pretty good.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, I will grant you that, sir. It is a very worthwhile oath to take to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and I am just wondering why members should be fearful that the public knows they take such an oath, to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know nothing about why—well, I don't know why they didn't let me know they were going to do those jobs. I believe I could have done a better job, but when I was 16 years old, that was my job, blowing up stumps on the highway.

Mr. WELTNER. Beg pardon?

Mr. THORNHILL. That was my job, blowing up stumps. That was my job when I was a 16-year-old boy.

Mr. WELTNER. A better job than what, Mr. Thornhill?

Mr. THORNHILL. Throwing those sticks of dynamite.

Mr. WELTNER. I still can't understand you. A better job of what?

Mr. THORNHILL. Throwing those sticks of dynamite. I believe I could have placed them a little better. Dynamite blows up, not sideways.

Mr. WELTNER. You mean if you had been in charge of this operation, you could have done a better job of blowing up things than they did?

Mr. THORNHILL. I could have done a better job, I believe. I don't think they intended to hurt anybody. That's my belief.

Mr. WELTNER. I thought you said you didn't approve of blowing things up like that, either.

Mr. THORNHILL. I didn't say then I did, either.

Mr. WELTNER. You just think technically the job was not well done. Is that it?

Mr. THORNHILL. No; for what they was trying to do, probably might have been all right.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, wait a minute now. What they were trying to do was to blow up houses and burn churches, wasn't it, Mr. Thornhill?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't think they was trying to blow up any houses. I think they tried to throw the dynamite out in the yard.

Mr. WELTNER. Wasn't it really just designed to blow up and explode in the yard and not hurt anybody or damage any property?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes. Now I don't know whether you have the paper, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, did you happen to have an opportunity of looking at any of these houses or properties that were blown up in that area?

Mr. THORNHILL. I saw one church.

Mr. WELTNER. Saw one church?

Mr. THORNHILL. That was blowed up. I saw several churches that was burned down, a couple of them.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you see property owned by a person named Quinn that was destroyed on September the 20th?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you know where that property is?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. But you know that was one of the houses that was blown up around there at the time; don't you?

Mr. THORNHILL. I read it in the paper, heard about it, sure did.

Mr. WELTNER. Look at these photographs there.

(Documents handed to witness.)

Mr. THORNHILL. My boy that worked for me lived about a hundred yards from that house, but I never did see it.

Mr. WELTNER. Now you will notice, looking at those photographs, that it appears as though one whole side of the house has been blown in, and the furniture and contents in a state of disarray, ceilings falling down. But you did not see that yourself.

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir. I heard that bomb go off, though.

(Photographs previously marked "Billy Wilson Exhibit No. 1." See pp. 2853, 2854.)

Mr. WELTNER. You heard that Quinn explosion go off?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, I sure did.

Mr. WELTNER. All right.

Now did I understand that you think it was that the boys just made the mistake, threw this thing too close to the house, so that it blew up the house, instead of blowing up out in the yard?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know about that; no.

Mr. WELTNER. But if you had been doing that, you would have fixed it so it just blew up out in the yard; is that so?

Mr. THORNHILL. I wouldn't have done it at all.

Mr. WELTNER. But if you had done it, you would have done a better job.

Mr. THORNHILL. I tell you, four or five sticks of dynamite is too heavy for me to pick up, so I am not going to be bothered about doing that.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Thornhill, I don't exactly understand some of these matters.

Did you have any reason for—let me back up a minute. You quit because you didn't want people thinking you were head of this Klan operation that was conducting all these bombings. Is that right?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Church bombings. I was out before the bombings started.

Mr. WELTNER. What was that?

Mr. THORNHILL. I was out of the Klan before the bombings started, before they ever done any of the burnings.

Mr. WELTNER. You resigned before the first bombing?

Let me put the question again. You say you were not a member of the Klan when the first bombing took place?

Mr. THORNHILL. No.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, and you resigned before that time.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. But you resigned after the burnings? Is that correct?

Mr. THORNHILL. Church burning; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. I see.

Now how many churches had been burned before you resigned?

Mr. THORNHILL. I couldn't answer that.

Mr. WELTNER. Sir?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, on July 17, the Zion Hill Free Baptist Church, McComb, Mississippi, was burned; on July 18, the Sweet Home Church in McComb, Mississippi, was burned. Was that about the time that you resigned, sometime after that?

Mr. THORNHILL. It was about in that.

Mr. WELTNER. Then on July 21, the Mount Vernon Missionary Baptist Church was burned; and on the 22d of July, the Rose Bower Missionary Baptist Church was burned; then on the 5th of August, the Mount Canaan Missionary Baptist Church in Smithtown(?) was burned. That was sometime in that area; wasn't it?

Mr. THORNHILL. Sometime in that area; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And you resigned about in that time. And you said you didn't want people thinking you were responsible for these burnings.

Mr. THORNHILL. Right. White and colored.

Mr. WELTNER. I believe you also said that you didn't believe the Klan had anything to do with those burnings.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. At that time, I did not.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, do you know they did now?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, I don't know that they did. All I know is what they say.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, you know they pleaded guilty; don't you?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, but I have never seen one of them do it.

Mr. WELTNER. You resigned because you didn't want people thinking you had anything to do with burning those churches.

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I stated a little while ago, I have to work people. I don't do it myself and I hire people to do it. Most of it is colored workers, and naturally, it is getting to where it looked like it was hard for me to get anybody. When I wanted somebody to do anything, it was hard to me to get them; they thought I was the head of the bombings and burning churches, and things, and I just got out and made it public that I was out of the Klan.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, when you made that public, was it easier to get help after having resigned from the Klan?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I don't have to do my own work; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. That means, I take it, you could get help now. Right?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes.

Mr. WELTNER. So you resigned for economic reasons, because it was affecting your ability to hire Negro employees; is that right?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. No, it wasn't that, altogether. I just didn't want people thinking that I was doing things and having things done that I didn't know anything about and accusing me of things like that. Every time a couple of FBI would be sent to my State, to my town, they—it didn't matter who he approached, they would say, "Why don't you go pick up the big man, the head man?" See?

Mr. WELTNER. And you were known as the head man of the Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. Pardon me?

Mr. WELTNER. You were known as the head man.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, because of Drew Pearson, I was.

Mr. WELTNER. Were you the head man?

Mr. THORNHILL. I have never been an officer in the Klan in my life.

Mr. WELTNER. Who was the head man?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know. Mr. Shelton, as far as I know, the Imperial Wizard.

Mr. WELTNER. Who was the head man in your Klavern?

Mr. THORNHILL. I decline to answer that.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you have any reason, other than the economic reasons, for not wanting people to believe you were a member of the Klan?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I just didn't want my friends thinking that I was the one doing all that. And you have got to understand, I am in the oil business. I made millions of dollars off of the colored people and the white people's land, by buying their lease and drilling their oil wells. And naturally, if a colored man reads that paper that J. E.

Thornhill is the head man of the Ku Klux Klan, you think I can walk up to his house and tell him I want to buy his oil lease for \$10.00 an acre or \$25.00 an acre? He wouldn't let me have it. That's how I make my money, how I make my living.

Mr. WELTNER. This public notoriety or public knowledge that you were a member of the Klan hurt your ability to make profitable oil leases from colored landholders.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, did you ever have any discussion in the Klavern about any action that the Klan—what was the program of the Klan after the time you joined it? From the time you quit?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WELTNER. I mean, what was the policy of the Klan, what was the purpose of it?

Mr. THORNHILL. I respectfully decline on the grounds previously answered.

Mr. WELTNER. But did you testify a moment ago that no suggestion was ever made in the Klavern meeting that any acts of violence be conducted against any individual?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Not in my presence, there never was; no.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, did you go to Klan meetings regularly, the Klavern meetings?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, I went to my meetings regularly.

Mr. WELTNER. Was that every week?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, practically every week.

Mr. WELTNER. Where did it meet?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, we had a building there, what we call the Hinton Building, I believe, and that's where we met at, but we discussed, we had a committee of four men. Would you like me to tell you about that?

Mr. WELTNER. Yes, I sure would.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WELTNER. I would like very much to accept your offer and to have you tell us about it, Mr. Thornhill, and I wish you would proceed. And I am sure this committee is anxious to accept your offer.

You are the first member that has come here that has offered to testify anything about the Klan, and we have had a lot of members of the Klan here who refused to, and I appreciate your offering to tell us about it, so you have all the time you need, and we accept your offer, sir.

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I stated a while ago that if a man would get in a Klavern and mention about a bombing, he would be throwed out of the Klan right then, not after while, but right then, if he had brought up a subject like that.

We had a committee of men appointed to go see the sick in the hospital, preachers, and deacons of the church. We had another committee, appointed to see about the needy in the community. Women with children, no groceries in the house, and we carried them groceries, white and colored.

We didn't discuss any bombings of churches, burning churches, and bombing houses, nothing like that, wasn't never brought up.

Mr. WELTNER. You mean the only thing you did in the Klan was to help the needy and the sick, and those were the only discussions you ever had in the Klan meetings about which needy and which sick you were going to help?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Are you testifying that as a fact now, Mr. Thornhill?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir. Yes, sir. We had another committee of men to go around to the schools, screen the libraries.

Mr. WELTNER. Screen the libraries?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir. Get the books out of there.

Mr. WELTNER. Now there is another thing you talked about. What were the books?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know. I don't have that much education. We had a committee of men to do that.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you recall the names of any books?

Mr. THORNHILL. No. No.

Mr. WELTNER. Which committee did you serve on?

Mr. THORNHILL. I wasn't on the committee. I haven't got that kind of education.

Mr. WELTNER. Who was the head of the book committee?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know that, either.

Mr. WELTNER. What libraries did they go to see?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, the ones in the schools.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, is that the public schools?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And how many public school libraries were there involved in that work of the book committee?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, we had two or three in our unit. They were supposed to screen and see about it.

Mr. WELTNER. You don't recall the names of any books?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; but we found one, we found the books in one library, and we also, that company that put those books in there will never sell any more books in Mississippi, but I can't call the company that put the books in there.

Mr. WELTNER. What was the book about?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Some sex book.

Mr. WELTNER. And it was in the public library?

Mr. THORNHILL. A little girl 15 years old checked the book out; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. From the public library?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And you don't know the name of the book?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, I sure don't.

Mr. WELTNER. You don't know the name of—

Mr. THORNHILL. I wish I did.

Mr. WELTNER. What library was that, Mr. Thornhill?

Mr. THORNHILL. North Pike School.

Mr. WELTNER. North what?

Mr. THORNHILL. North Pike.

Mr. WELTNER. P-i-k-e?

Mr. THORNHILL. P-i-k-e; yes sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And that is some members of the Klan library committee called upon the school principal? Is that the way it would work?

Mr. THORNHILL. Let's go back again now.

Mr. WELTNER. How did you work that? You decided this book needed to come out of the library, and then the members of the committee called on the librarian?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know the complete details on it, but I guess that's way it was; yes sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And then they took the book out of the library?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, a little girl checked the book out, and the Klan somehow or another got hold of the book. I don't know how, but—and then they appointed a committee to go to the library and check the books and screen the libraries and get those kind of books out. We didn't need them in there, and I still don't believe we need them in there.

Mr. WELTNER. What other books, other than the sex books, were they?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know the name of the book.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you mean a book about the physical and physiological aspects of marriage? Is that the kind of book you are talking about, or was this a—

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know. They didn't tell the book. All I know is of course they said we didn't need this kind of books in there, and we got them out, and I can't read a newspaper and I can't read a book, so how would I know what kind of a book it was?

Mr. WELTNER. Yet you think this book ought to come out of there. (Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. From what they said, it ought to come out; yes.

Mr. WELTNER. What did they say about it, Mr. Thornhill?

Mr. THORNHILL. I said they didn't have any business a teenager reading the book, and I didn't think they did, either. I am a pretty good-sized taxpayer in my county, and the principal didn't think they ought to be up there screening the library, and I went to see him and talked to him, and he told us that—my committee that did screening—the library lady just hadn't had time to separate the books, and that book got in there accidentally, some way.

Mr. WELTNER. You say the principal at first thought the Klan didn't have any business screening the library?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Right.

Mr. WELTNER. And then you went to call on the principal.

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And the principal decided that the Klan actually did have some business screening the library. Is that right?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, not necessarily the Klan, but the people of the community. The taxpayers. I have a little daughter. She is 17 now. And if my little girl had brought that book home, it would have been more sand raised than there was, I expect.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, sir, and this book-screening took place in every public library in the area.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WELTNER. In addition to the North Pike School?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, we had our own territory to screen; other units had theirs, I guess.

Mr. WELTNER. What was your territory?

Mr. THORNHILL. North Pike School.

Mr. WELTNER. Just one school?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. But you weren't on that book committee, were you?

Mr. THORNHILL. No.

Mr. WELTNER. Your Klavern, though, had jurisdiction?

Mr. THORNHILL. I am a businessman. I haven't got time to be on any kind of committee like that.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WELTNER. Your Klavern had jurisdiction just over screening books in the North Pike School?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And as I understand, then, that other Klaverns had the other schools in the area, the other public schools?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't really know, but they are supposed to.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, what is your understanding of it?

Mr. THORNHILL. My understanding was that they did; yes.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, you had a sick committee and a needy committee and a book committee. Where did the Klan get its funds to take groceries to poor people, if the dues were only a dollar and a quarter or a dollar a month?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, it passed the hat around, and they would take up collections for donations like that.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you ever contribute to any fund for the needy, food for the needy?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, yes, there has never been anybody come to me needing funds that I didn't help, in the last 10 years.

Mr. WELTNER. All right. Let's get this straight now. You are under oath and you are on the record. A while ago, you testified the only contribution you made to any Klan activities—

Mr. THORNHILL. That wasn't in the Klan.

Mr. WELTNER. —was the klectokon?

Mr. THORNHILL. That didn't go in the Klan treasury at all.

Mr. WELTNER. Permit me, please, to finish my statement. You will have full time to answer.

—was the klectokon, the initiation fee, the monthly dues, and these three checks. Now in addition to that, you testified you contributed money for the needy?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, we were talking about a while ago what went into the Klan treasury. This didn't ever get into the Klan treasury. This went for a purpose donation.

Mr. WELTNER. Who collected the money?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I can't even recall who—

Mr. WELTNER. Was there—

Mr. THORNHILL. Maybe half a dozen passed the hat around.

Mr. WELTNER. Was there a chairman of the needy committee?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. It varies from time to time. It wouldn't be the same one. Maybe I would grab a hat and go around, "Here, \$3.00, \$25.00, \$2.00," or something, and maybe if you had been in there, you would have grabbed the hat. Well, you can't remember such things as that goes on, but that's the way it was worked, and that money didn't ever get into the Klan at all.

Mr. WELTNER. Who would deliver the groceries, Mr. Thornhill?

Mr. THORNHILL. The committee would be appointed.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, the committee was secret, though; wasn't it? I mean, they wouldn't let anybody know they were in the Klan; would they?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, when they delivered those groceries, he didn't let anybody know it, either.

Mr. WELTNER. So did you ever go on a grocery-delivering committee?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; I didn't ever. No, sir; I didn't. But I do deliver a lot of them.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, they wouldn't tell——

Mr. THORNHILL. But not in the Klan; no.

Mr. WELTNER. You mean they would just go give these groceries and not tell anybody it was a gift of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, they would tell them it was a gift. I just didn't know it. They had on the robe and hood, when they delivered.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you say they delivered groceries to colored families?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Did they wear hoods and robes when they delivered those groceries to colored families?

Mr. THORNHILL. They would have on their hood and robe; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Did those colored families appreciate it?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know about that. I guess they did.

Mr. WELTNER. I would just as soon go hungry, if I were under circumstances like that.

Mr. THORNHILL. I think they might be proud to get them.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, you had a sick committee and a needy committee and a book committee.

What other committees did you have?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. That's all I can recall right now. All the committees.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you have a wrecking crew?

Mr. THORNHILL. Have a what?

Mr. WELTNER. A wrecking crew?

Mr. THORNHILL. Wrecking crew?

Mr. WELTNER. Wrecking crew?

Mr. THORNHILL. What would they wreck? No, we never had no wrecking crew in my unit. Of course I had a wrecking crew, but he wasn't in the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. WELTNER. Who was that?

Mr. THORNHILL. A boy that worked for me, a colored boy that worked for me. He tore up three cars that I bought him. I give him a

motor bike then, and he wrecked that motor bike the first week. The next week I give him another motor bike, and he got killed on it.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, Mr. Thornhill, if you did all these good works and kept those dirty books out of the schools and delivered those groceries to those poor colored folks down there, why do you have to keep the membership secret?

Mr. THORNHILL. Have to keep what, now?

Mr. WELTNER. Have to keep the membership secret, if this is no more than a charity group?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know. I didn't keep mine secret. I could tell anybody I was a member, but I taken an oath that I couldn't tell anybody that you belonged.

Mr. WELTNER. Is that why you are not telling me who the members of this Klan were?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. No.

Mr. WELTNER. Why are you refusing to tell us the name of the member of your Klavern?

Mr. THORNHILL. On the fifth amendment.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. POOL. Mr. Ashbrook.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Thornhill, I am interested very much in one particular facet of your testimony. You impressed me with your business background, and so forth, as being a man of considerable intelligence, notwithstanding education.

I happen to be one who believes that a person can succeed, regardless of education. You obviously have, and yet with your intelligence, which you obviously have, you still don't seem to want to believe that the Klan has participated in bombings or acts of violence in your area.

It seems to me all the questions that have been propounded, you pretty well insist that the Klan has not perpetrated acts of violence. Is that a meaningful position that you take? Do you honestly believe the Klan has not?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't believe the Klan has ever, the United Klans of America has ever participated in agitating any kind of work like that, no.

Mr. ASHBROOK. What about the pleas of guilty of the Klan members?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, that's the same thing in your church. A preacher will get up there and preach to you all day long, but you ain't going to do what he tells you to do. That's the boys in that United Klan, some of them won't do what you tell them to do.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I think you mentioned at one point that you had never seen any acts of violence. Is that the basis for your refusing to believe that the Klan had participated in any acts of violence?

Mr. THORNHILL. They claimed that. They never admitted it. Sometimes you think, "Well, I guess they did do it," and then again, you think, "they done that just to get out of court," so I just don't know.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Then in asking you a straight question, do you believe the Klan has participated in violence in your area, what would be your answer?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; no, sir.

Mr. ASHBROOK. How do you possibly square that with testimony you made a few moments ago, and I recall because I wrote down almost specifically what you said, and you said, and I quote roughly what you said, at one point, you believed the Negroes were doing these bombings to get publicity.

Is that not correct? You stated that just a few moments ago.

Mr. THORNHILL. That was the rumor around, yes, in town. That they was doing it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That was the purport of what you said. You said, "At one point we believed," and obviously, you were a part of that.

Mr. THORNHILL. I did, I believed they were doing it, some of it; yes. They were throwing it out in the yard, not in the house, and it looked to me like that; yes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You weren't present when any Negroes bombed, were you?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, I wasn't.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Then how could you possibly want to believe that Negroes were doing this, when you had no evidence, but you can't possibly bring yourself to believe that the white Klanners were doing this, when there is considerable evidence?

Mr. THORNHILL. It just looked to me like if I was going to bomb my house, wouldn't I throw it out there in the yard with a stick of dynamite at my house? Would it to you?

Mr. ASHBROOK. The question I am raising is you have already expressed an indication that you believed and thought that the Negroes were doing this to gain publicity, when there was no real evidence, or at least you haven't cited any.

Mr. THORNHILL. I have reasons to believe.

Mr. ASHBROOK. When there is a record full of evidence that Klan members were doing this, you do not want to believe in their case that they had done these acts of violence. It just does not seem to me that that is consistent and can't possibly be a position that you, as an intelligent, successful man, can take.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I am quoting the rumors. It was going around in town, see.

Mr. ASHBROOK. What about the rumors of the Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. And my own belief, too, now. If I was going to bomb my house, and make somebody think that somebody else done it, naturally, I would throw it where it wouldn't do any damage, and that's where the sticks of dynamite was hitting there to start with.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Okay, admitting that there were rumors going around your town that the Negroes were doing it to gain publicity, a rumor which by your own statement you admitted that you tended to believe, what were the rumors that were going around town regarding the Klan involvement in these bombings?

Did you choose not to believe these?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I guess so. I never had heard anything in the organization on that line at all. And——

Mr. ASHBROOK. Well, not in the organization. I am talking about rumors around town. You are talking about rumors regarding the

Negroes. There certainly must have been rumors regarding the Klan. I find it a very interesting inconsistency and one which, I might say, is a pattern of the Klan, to want to believe the worst about the Negro, but not to recognize, even when evidence is demonstrated, that any of your own members, any of your own people, could possibly be participants in these matters. And I merely want to point out for the record what I think is a very glaring inconsistency and a very unfair inconsistency as far as your statement is concerned, your willingness to believe the Negroes were doing this to get publicity, but your unwillingness in the face of a mountain of evidence to think that any Klanners could be participants in these bombings.

And that, Mr. Chairman, is all I have to say.

Mr. POOL. I want to ask you: I think during the testimony you said that the reason that, I think something to this effect, that they would take their jobs. You remember that a while ago? Why would they take their jobs?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, as I stated a while ago, maybe a man was working for you, and you didn't believe in the Klan and you didn't like the Ku Klux Klan. Maybe you had read a whole lot about Klans accused of them that they didn't do, and they laid off, but anyway, you didn't believe in the Ku Klux Klan, but I was working, see, and that's the only way I had of making a living, working for you, and you find out I was in the Klan. Naturally you would fire me, wouldn't you? You didn't like the Klan, didn't believe in the Klan, you would get rid of me and get somebody that didn't belong to the Klan.

Mr. POOL. Well, then, is it prevalent in your area that the Klan is unpopular?

Mr. THORNHILL. With some people they are; yes, sir. Yes, sir. Certainly are.

Mr. POOL. Would you say a majority of the people in your area?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, I wouldn't say that much; no. I wouldn't say that.

Mr. POOL. Would you say a majority of the people approve of the Klan in your area?

Mr. THORNHILL. I wouldn't say that either.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. POOL. What is your opinion?

Mr. THORNHILL. There are a few that disapproves of it.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. The large majority, I don't know which way they go, but there are a few of them that don't approve of the Klan, I think. but of course, I think, the large majority understands what the organization was for and what it means, and I think the large majority approves of the Klan.

Mr. POOL. Well, is the Klan losing membership in your area?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I wouldn't know about that. I haven't been in it in a long time.

Mr. POOL. What is the talk around town? What do they say around town?

Mr. THORNHILL. I never discuss it any more.

Mr. POOL. You never discuss it?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; I don't talk about that. I talk about my business. I have got enough business of my own to talk about, without talking about somebody else's.

Mr. POOL. What is your feeling about your activities as a Klansman? Are you proud of the fact that you were a former Klansman?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. POOL. Or are you ashamed?

Mr. THORNHILL. Pardon me, now?

Mr. POOL. Are you proud of the fact that you are an ex-Klansman?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I would rather not answer that. I think it is a good organization, put it that way.

Mr. POOL. You think it is a good organization?

Mr. THORNHILL. I certainly do.

Mr. POOL. You think it still is?

Mr. THORNHILL. One of the finest, help a lot of people.

Mr. POOL. Why did you resign? What was your reason for resigning?

Mr. THORNHILL. What was my reason for resigning?

Mr. POOL. Yes.

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, because of all the publicity I was getting. I didn't approve of that. I don't like that publicity. The only place a man ever sees my name, if it is left up to me, is in a telephone book, and I was getting too much publicity, bad publicity and some good publicity, and I just didn't approve of that, so I thought maybe if I would get out, I would stop some of it.

Mr. POOL. You still obey your Klan oath?

Mr. THORNHILL. Pardon me, now?

Mr. POOL. Do you still obey your Klan oath that you took?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I fully decline on the ground that——

Mr. POOL. Well, I would consider that you do, because you have refused to name other people, even though you are using the fifth amendment, but I would assume that the Klan oath also has quite an effect on your answers.

These boys that you testified lived 100 yards from the Quinn house, were they boys that worked for you?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir; one boy. That was the boy that managed my ranch, my farm.

Mr. POOL. That was a colored boy?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes.

Mr. POOL. Lived within a hundred yards?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I say a hundred yards. It might have been 200 yards. Somewhere near. But the Quinn house was up on this block. I would come in, whenever I wanted him, and maybe he wouldn't show up this morning, I would want him in, and I would come in thisaway, and I never had any reason to go down Sumter Street at all.

Mr. POOL. Did you know the Quinn people?

Mr. THORNHILL. Pardon me, now?

Mr. POOL. Did you know the Quinns?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, I know her now. Yes, I know her now, but I didn't know her until after this house was bombed and all, and all the publicity got out on her, I didn't ever know her.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Appell, I think you have some questions.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thornhill, you talked about the oath that you took as a Klansman, about how it is sworn to uphold the Constitution.

Will you explain to the committee that part of the oath that you took in which you swore, and I quote it; "I swear that I will keep secure to myself a secret of a [Klan]\*sman"—

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. [Continues reading:]

—when same is committed to me in the sacred bond of [Klan]\*smanship, the crime of violating THIS solemn oath—treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder alone excepted.

Why did you—what is the purpose of that oath?

Mr. THORNHILL. That's not in the United Klans.

Mr. APPELL. I beg to differ with you, Mr. Thornhill. I show the series—

Mr. THORNHILL. That's not the oath that I taken.

Mr. APPELL. Let me show you. This is not in the form that the United Klan prints it. It is in the reprinted form, because we needed so many of them, but let me show you this.

Mr. THORNHILL. Read that off to me again. Let me hear that again. I want to hear that.

Mr. APPELL. Well, I want you to see the entire series of oaths, a section on obedience, a section on secrecy, a section on fidelity, and a section on Klanishness.

Now I give you this.

Mr. THORNHILL. I can't read that thing. You just read it off.

Mr. APPELL. [Reading:] "I swear that I will keep secure to myself a secret of a [Klan]\*sman."

Now you are shaking your head.

Mr. THORNHILL. In the United Klan, you can tell anybody that you are a member, but you can't tell the other members.

Mr. APPELL. Well, that is one of—that which you are talking about is also here, but then it says, it goes on, the secret—

when same is committed to me in the sacred bond of [Klan]\*smanship, the crime of violating THIS solemn oath—treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder alone excepted.

Now why would you be required to keep a secret of a fellow Klansman, except in the case of treason, rape, and malicious murder, if the Klan did not engage in acts other than that?

Mr. THORNHILL. I don't know.

(Document previously marked "Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 4." See committee report, *The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement*, pp. 343-346.)

Mr. APPELL. Now you testified that you attended Klan meetings in the Hinton Building. On what nights did you attend Klan meetings? (Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Thursday night.

Mr. APPELL. Thursday night. Now did you have knowledge that there was another Klavern that also met there on Tuesday nights?

Mr. THORNHILL. Yes, sir. Yes. I reckon on Tuesday night. I knew that there was some more Klansmen meeting there. I didn't know what night. I don't recall what night.

Mr. APPELL. And did you know that the exalted cyclops of that Klavern was Ray Smith?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I decline to answer that, on the grounds.

Mr. APPELL. And did you also know that the members of that Klavern were the members who engaged in acts of violence that they later admitted and confessed to?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir. I did not know those boys. I didn't even know they was in the Klan.

Mr. APPELL. Didn't know any of them in the Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. I knew one of the boys. I knew Duncan, is the only boy that I knew that they picked up.

Mr. APPELL. You knew him to be a member of the Klan?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; I didn't know he was a member of the Klan. He wasn't in my Klavern. I didn't know he was a member. But I knowed him. I knowed that boy all my life. The only one of the 10 or 9 or 11 that they arrested that I knew. I knew the faces; by name, I didn't know them. I knew the Zeeck boy, I knew him.

Mr. APPELL. Well, now, can you explain to me how this happens, that one of the Klansmen who were involved in an act of violence, attempted burning of a church, becomes a delegate to a supreme convention of this organization, which you say is a good organization, and doesn't engage in these things?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Don't know about that. I don't know that.

Mr. APPELL. Did you make an investigation to determine whether or not this organization met your ideals or whether or not its members did engage in such things?

Mr. THORNHILL. No. No, I didn't. I thought it all just like ours. I thought that all the units was like my unit, and I know things like that were never brought up and discussed in our unit.

Mr. APPELL. Now can you explain to the committee if this sort of thing is not condoned by the United Klans of America, why the Grand Dragon of Georgia solicited funds for the boys that were arrested and why the Realm of Louisiana submitted money to the Grand Dragon of Mississippi for a defense fund?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, now, that's something I wouldn't know. I couldn't answer that.

Mr. APPELL. Well, if you knew that they were financing attorneys' fees and helping to pay costs of expenses of people who were involved in bombing, what would your reaction be with respect to the worthwhileness of the organization?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I don't think I would have liked that too much.

Mr. POOL. I did not get your answer to that.

Mr. APPELL. He said he did not think that he would like that too much.

Well, Mr. Thornhill, I suggest that you make an investigation, because there are many acts of violence.

Mr. THORNHILL. I am not going to make no investigation now. If I am out, I intend to stay out.

Mr. APPELL. There are many acts of violence which are still unsolved, which this committee's investigation establishes to have been committed by Klansmen and members of the United Klans of America,

and your investigation could satisfy to yourself whether the organization that you say is a worthwhile organization is in fact worthwhile.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I am out of it now, and I intend to stay out of it, and I hope the boys will do as we intended to do to start with, if they are going to stay in. But—it is not up to me to investigate, if I am out of it now. And I don't think it would be my duty to go around investigating.

Mr. APPELL. Would you encourage someone to join a Klavern of the United Klans of America?

Mr. THORNHILL. No, sir; no, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Weltner.

Mr. WELTNER. Why could you not encourage someone to join?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. I am out of it, and I don't reckon it would be my duty to encourage anyone to get into it now, for I am out of it personally, myself, and that's up to him. If he wants to join, that's his opportunity, not mine.

Mr. WELTNER. But you would not encourage anyone to join that?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. No.

Mr. WELTNER. If someone asked you your opinion as a former Klan member as to whether or not to join the Klavern to which you were assigned what would you advise him?

Mr. THORNHILL. Well, I think I would tell him that I got out of it for my own personal reasons.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. And he would have to decide that his own self.

Mr. WELTNER. Let me ask you just one or two questions about these business reasons here. How many employees do you have?

Mr. THORNHILL. How many what?

Mr. WELTNER. How many people working for you?

Mr. THORNHILL. You mean—oh, well, I couldn't answer that exactly. Maybe one day I will have maybe six or eight, and another day I will have two, but I have two maids regular and one man to oversee.

Mr. WELTNER. How many oil leases do you have now?

Mr. THORNHILL. How many what?

Mr. WELTNER. How many current oil leases?

Mr. THORNHILL. What are you talking about? Oh, I don't know. I have interests in over 200 wells, producing now. I bought about 43,000 acres up here in Ohio, drilled 23 wells up there, and haven't raised a bit yet.

Mr. POOL. I did not get the last statement.

Mr. THORNHILL. Drilled 23 wells and haven't raised a bit yet.

Mr. WELTNER. Does that mean you have not struck any oil?

Mr. THORNHILL. Haven't struck any oil yet in Ohio; right.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The Klan has been about that successful, too.

Mr. POOL. I want to ask you about these leases that you took from these colored people.

What did you pay them for their leases? Do you remember?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. THORNHILL. Oh, man, that price runs up. I paid as high as \$3,000 an acre for some of them, \$75.00 an acre, two and a half, \$3.00 an acre for others. It depends on what's going on, your activities.

Mr. POOL. Were they satisfied with the leases that you took?

Mr. THORNHILL. Pardon me?

Mr. POOL. Were they satisfied in the leases that you took from them?

Mr. THORNHILL. I have never had a lawsuit. I have never had one to sue me yet for fraud, getting something, taking with a gun. I always buy it with money and I have never had a lawsuit, one of them to sue me yet, and that is something that I am very, very proud of.

Mr. POOL. Further questions?

Mr. WELTNER. No.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. No further questions.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused.

Call the next witness.

Mr. APPELL. John Dawson.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DAWSON. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF JOHN DAWSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Dawson, state your full name for the record.

Mr. DAWSON. John Dawson.

Mr. APPELL. You will have to speak up a little louder.

Mr. DAWSON. John Dawson.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 30, 1965, by John D. Sullivan, a member of the investigative staff of this committee?

Mr. DAWSON. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. DAWSON. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. POOL. Let me ask the witness: Are you familiar with the chairman's opening statement of this hearing?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; all of my clients have been advised of the chairman's opening statement, Mr. Pool. So stipulated.

Mr. POOL. You have read it and are familiar with the contents of it?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Dawson, the subpoena served upon you had an attachment to it, which was a part of the subpoena, and commanded you to bring with you and to produce items set forth in the subpoena.

Part 1 of the subpoena reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated or-

ganizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or past Grand Klabee of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In a representative capacity, set forth in the subpoena, I ask you to produce the documents called for in paragraph 1.

(At this point Mr. Weltner left the hearing room.)

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. DAWSON. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in the subpoena dated October the 6th, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by the committee under the subpoena dated October the 6th, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by the Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January the 4th, 1965.

Mr. POOL. The reasons you have given for your refusal to produce the documents called for by the subpoena did not really justify your refusal. These reasons are rejected. I order and direct you to produce these documents.

And, Mr. Witness, is it understood by you that the request of the interrogator, pursuant to the terms of subpoena, is to produce the documents called for therein, in the representative capacities stated in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. So stipulated, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DAWSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. That is not acceptable.

Go ahead to the next one.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, before proceeding to part 2 of the subpoena, I desire to show the witness a readable copy of a bank signature card filed in connection with a bank account of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, account maintained at the Britton & Koontz, B-r-i-t-t-o-n, and K-o-o-n-t-z, National Bank, Natchez, Mississippi, and put it to Mr. Dawson as a fact, and ask him to affirm or deny the fact, that the "John Dawson," which appears on the signature card that will be handed to him, is his signature.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. DAWSON. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reasons I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights that are guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

(Document marked "John Dawson Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

## JOHN DAWSON EXHIBIT NO. 1

ACCOUNT NUMBER	NAME <i>United Klans of America</i>		
	ADDRESS <i>Realm of 4155</i>		
THE BRITTON & KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK, IN NATCHEZ, MISSISSIPPI is hereby authorized to recognize the signatures extended below in payment of funds on deposit, or in the transaction of other business with the undersigned. All conditions printed on reverse side of this card have been read and are hereby agreed to.			
SIGNATURE	<i>E. J. ...</i>	POSITION	<i>New Cards 5-21-65</i>
SIGNATURE	<i>...</i>	POSITION	
SIGNATURE	<i>J. C. ...</i>	POSITION	
SIGNATURE	<i>(copy only)</i>	POSITION	<i>13-11-65</i>
BUSINESS	<i>...</i>		
ADDRESS	<i>2456 ... Natchez, Miss</i>		
DATE	<i>7/26/65</i>	OPENED BY	PHONE <i>442-5340</i>

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Dawson, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that in May of 1965 you were elected to the office of grand klabee or treasurer—

Mr. POOL. Mr. Appell, just a second.

Are you going into the second part of the subpoena?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Mr. APPELL. That in May of 1965 you were elected to the office of grand klabee or treasurer of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, and I ask you to affirm or deny that fact.

Mr. DAWSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. And these are the grounds which include the fifth amendment, not the ground relating to production of documents?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Dawson, part 2 of the subpoena calls upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or past Grand Klabee of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In a representative capacity set forth in part 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. DAWSON. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October the 6th, 1965, for the reasons that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

And I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by the committee under subpoena dated October the 6th, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January the 4th, 1965.

Mr. POOL. The reasons you have given for your refusal to produce the documents called for by this subpoena do not legally justify your refusal and these reasons are rejected. I order and direct you to produce those documents.

Mr. WITNESS, it is understood by you that the request of the interrogator pursuant to the terms of the subpoena is to produce the documents called for therein, in the representative capacities stated in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. So stipulated, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DAWSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the committee, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Your answer is not acceptable. Go ahead, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, paragraph 3 called upon Mr. Dawson in his position as treasurer to produce the corporate tax returns of the Realm of Mississippi, the United Klans of America, also under cover name of the Mississippi Rescue Service.

We have been advised by the Internal Revenue Service that no returns were filed, so I shall not make demand for production of those documents.

Mr. Dawson, I hand you two documents. One is a request for a reservation at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama, from John Dawson, 3809 Ridgewood Road, Natchez, Mississippi, advising the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel that you intend to, or that John Dawson plans to, attend the convention of the Alabama Rescue Service; and the second document is a copy of the original hotel registration card which shows that John Dawson of the same address registered on September 4 in the year 1964.

Did you, Mr. Dawson, file the request for a reservation and did you, in fact, sign the registration card, a copy of which was referred to?

Mr. DAWSON. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reasons that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

(Documents marked "John Dawson Exhibits Nos. 2-A and 2-B," respectively, follow:)

## JOHN DAWSON EXHIBIT No. 2-A

**MAKE YOUR HOTEL RESERVATIONS NOW!**

I will be attending the convention of the

ALA. RESCUE SERVICE

(name of group or association)

I will arrive (day) SAT. (date) 9-5-64 (hour) 2 A. m.A. I will depart (day) SUN. (date) 9-7-64 (hour)      m.

Reserve for me the following accommodations . . .

(check one) ☐ single☒ double bedroom☐ twin bedroom☐ suiteYOUR NAME JOHN DAWSONADDRESS 3809 RIDGEWOOD RDCITY NATCHEZ, MISS

## JOHN DAWSON EXHIBIT No. 2-B

955 DAWSON JOHN 5/03 65660

NAT MISS

9-4 RB

H 65660

PLEASE CHECK YOUR BAGGAGE OR SEND SAME TO YOUR ROOM OTHERWISE THE HOTEL COMPANY WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR LOSS

**Dinkler Tutwiler**DIRECTION  
DINKLER HOTEL CORPORATION  
"DISPENSERS OF TRUE SOUTHERN HOSPITALITY"

GUESTS ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED THAT THE COMPANY WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR VALUABLES, MONEY, JEWELRY, CLOTHING ETC. UNLESS THE SAME ARE DEPOSITED IN SAFE

Name John Dawson  
 Address 3809 RIDGEWOOD City NATCHEZ State MISS  
 Room No. 955 Rate 5.03 Clerk SMT W T F S

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that in addition to delegates from Mississippi to that klonvocation or convention was Murphy John Duncan, who was later arrested and pleaded guilty to a charge involving conspiracy to violate Mississippi law for illegal use of explosives?

Mr. DAWSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of Mr. Dawson's refusal to answer questions on the claim of privilege, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Dawson.

Mr. POOL. Go right ahead.

Mr. APPELL. First, I will ask you, Mr. Dawson, when and where were you born?

Mr. DAWSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. John Dawson was born on July 11, 1924, at Gloster, G-l-o-s-t-e-r, Mississippi. In April 1943 he entered the United States Navy, while a senior at the Oxford Consolidated School of Amite County, Mississippi. He was discharged in May of 1944.

In 1949 he began employment with the International Paper Company, where he is presently a field inspector.

Dawson joined the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, in 1964. He was a delegate to the Imperial Klonsvokation held at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel, Birmingham, Alabama, on September 5-6, 1964.

Dawson replaced Murphy John Duncan following his conviction along with other UKA Klansmen, for his role in the series of bombings and burnings in the McComb, Mississippi, area.

At a state convention on May 15-16, 1965, Mr. Dawson was elected the grand klabee or State treasurer for the Realm of Mississippi.

Through subpoena duces tecum, Mr. Chairman, the committee subpoenaed certain bank accounts, one in the name of the Mississippi Rescue Service, the other in the name of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi. This first bank account of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, was opened in September 1964 under the name of the Mississippi Rescue Service.

The authorized signature to this account was Murphy J. Duncan, one of the 10 McComb Klansmen arrested in connection with burning and bombing in McComb area. Duncan used the alias of John K. Duncan. The account was closed in October 1964, after Duncan's arrest. Documents seized from Duncan established these facts.

The next account located by the committee was at the Britton & Koontz National Bank, Natchez, Mississippi. This account was opened on July 26, 1965, with Edward L. McDaniel signing as Grand Dragon as the authorized signature.

(Signature card marked "John Dawson Exhibit No. 3." Not reproducible; retained in committee files.)

This designation was changed on September 21, 1965, when any two signatures of the following names were required on all checks: Edward L. McDaniel, Grand Dragon; John Dawson; L. C. Murray, field secretary. (See Dawson Exhibit No. 1, p. 2984.)

From July 26, 1965, to October 12, 1965, the date covered by the committee's subpoena, \$9,948.39 was deposited to the account. Checks written against the account during the same period total \$9,337.65.

Checks of interest in this account to the committee's investigation are as follows: Checks dated 9/24/1965 and 10/8/1965 paid to L. C. Murray, \$75 each, and comakers of the checks were John Dawson and Edward L. McDaniel. The purpose for which drawn was "salary."

Check of 10/2/1965, made payable to cash, in the amount of \$2,766, the comakers: L. C. Murray and John Dawson. The endorsers on the check: L. C. Murray and John Dawson.

9/26/65 check to E. L. McDaniel in the amount of \$177.40, the makers: L. C. Murray and John Dawson; the endorser: E. L. McDaniel. Purpose for which drawn: Expenses.

A check of October 15, 1965, payable to cash, in the amount of \$2,000. The makers: L. C. Murray and Edward L. McDaniel; the endorser: Edward L. McDaniel.

Mr. Dawson, I show you this check payable to cash in the amount of \$2,766, with the endorsers of the check being the same as the makers, L. C. Murray and John Dawson, and ask you to advise the committee the purpose for which that check was drawn and the money used?

(Check handed to witness.)

Mr. DAWSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Checks marked "John Dawson Exhibit No. 4" follow:)

JOHN DAWSON EXHIBIT No. 4

P.C.C. CASH		<b>BRITTON &amp; KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK</b>		No. 20
		NATCHEZ, MISS.	9-24	1965
PAY TO THE ORDER OF		L. C. Murray		\$75.00
Twenty-five and <sup>00</sup> / <sub>100</sub>				DOLLARS
Salary		Edward L. McDaniel John Dawson		
		United Klans of America, Inc. Baton Rouge, Mississippi		
		0653-0040		

P.C.C. CASH		<b>BRITTON &amp; KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK</b>		No. 31
		NATCHEZ, MISS.	10-8	1965
PAY TO THE ORDER OF		L. C. Murray		\$75.00
Salary 10-4-65 10-8-65		John Dawson Edward L. McDaniel		
		United Klans of America, Inc. Baton Rouge, Mississippi		
		0653-0040		

JOHN DAWSON EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

**BRITTON & KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK**

No.

IN NATCHEZ

NATCHEZ, MISS. 10-2-1965 85-40  
653

PAY TO THE  
ORDER OF

*Cash*

\$ 2,766.00

DOLLARS

*Five thousand seven hundred and sixty six and 00/100*

**PAY TO THE ORDER OF**

OCT 4 1965

**REC**

**BRITTON & KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK**

**REALM OF MISS**

1:0653-0040-35-40

*John Dawson*  
**KLANS**

*John Dawson*  
*L.C. Murray*

85-40	PAY TO THE ORDER OF	85-40
653	ANY BANK, CASH OR THE ST. LO	653
ALL FROM ENCLOSED ARE GUARANTEED		
<b>B&amp;K</b>		
<b>OCT 2 65 00003</b>		
<b>B&amp;K</b>		
<b>BRITTON &amp; KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK</b>		
85-40	IN NATCHEZ	85-40
653	NATCHEZ, MISSOURI	653

## JOHN DAWSON EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

**BRETTON & KODOLZ NATIONAL BANK** No. 21  
 Natchez, Miss. T & B 116-  
 111/96

**PAY TO THE ORDER OF**  
*E. L. McDonald*  
*One Hundred Twenty Seven Dollars & 7/10*

**UNITED KLANS  
 REALM OF MISS**

*John Dawson*

**EXPENSE**

**ONE HUNDRED TWENTY SEVEN DOLLARS & 7/10**

**10 DOLLARS**

*E. L. McDonald*

**B&K**  
**65**

**B&K**  
**65**

**BRETTON & KODOLZ NATIONAL BANK**  
**NATCHEZ, MISS.**  
**116-111/96**

JOHN DAWSON EXHIBIT No. 4- Continued

**BRITTON & KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK** No. 39  
IN NATCHEZ

NATCHEZ, MISS. 10-15 1965 85.40 653

**PAY TO THE ORDER OF** Cash

*Three hundred and no/100*

**PAID** OCT 14 1965

*B. Murray*

*Donald L. McDaniel*

**BRITTON & KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK**  
IN NATCHEZ  
NATCHEZ, MISSISSIPPI

**DOLLARS**

**THREE HUNDRED AND NO/100**

**UNITED KLAN**  
**REALM OF M.**

*Donald L. McDaniel*

**85.40** PAY TO THE ORDER OF **85.40**  
**653** ANY BANK, CASH IN **653**  
ALL CHECKS MUST BE COUNTERSIGNED BY **B&K**

**OCT 14 65 00003**

**B&K**  
**BRITTON & KOONTZ NATIONAL BANK**  
IN NATCHEZ  
NATCHEZ, MISSISSIPPI

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused permanently.

Mr. CHALMERS. Thank you.

Mr. POOL. The committee will stand in recess until three o'clock.

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool and Ashbrook.)

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., Wednesday, February 2, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 3 p.m., the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1966

(The subcommittee reconvened at 3:20 p.m.)

Mr. APPELL. I have been asked by the chairman of the committee to announce that because of business on the floor of the House that the committee will not be able to resume its hearings this afternoon and that witnesses under subpoena are excused until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, and they are to report in Room 313-A.

The committee's hearings tomorrow will be in that room.

(Whereupon, at 3:21 p.m., Wednesday, February 2, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, February 3, 1966.)

# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*  
PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 3 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:25 a.m. in Room 313-A, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Joe R. Pool (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas, chairman; Charles L. Weltner, of Georgia; and John H. Buchanan, Jr., of Alabama.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Philip R. Manuel, investigator.

Mr. WELTNER (presiding). The subcommittee will come to order.

I wish to file and make a part of the record a designation of a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Pool and myself and Mr. Buchanan as members.

(The order of appointment of the subcommittee follows:)

FEBRUARY 2, 1966.

To: Mr. Francis J. McNamara,  
*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Honorable Joe R. Pool as Chairman, and Honorable Charles L. Weltner and Honorable John Buchanan as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C. on Thursday, February 3, 1966, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 30th day of March, 1965, authorizing hearings concerning the activities of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 2nd day of February, 1966.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis  
EDWIN E. WILLIS

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

Mr. WELTNER. The committee now sitting, being a quorum of that subcommittee, will proceed.

Mr. APPELL, will you call the first witness?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Charles Stewart.

Mr. WELTNER. Stand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STEWART. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF CHARLES MELVIN STEWART, ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stewart, state your full name for the record.

Mr. STEWART. Charles Melvin Stewart.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you at the offices of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, in Natchez, Mississippi, on October 30, 1965?

Mr. STEWART. I am.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. STEWART. I am.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Stewart?

Mr. STEWART. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in the violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stewart, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena and commanded you to bring and produce documents listed in the attachment.

Paragraph 1 reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as Kligrapp (Secretary) of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In a representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. STEWART. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 6, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by his committee under subpoena dated October 6, 1965, for that information is not relevant or germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the con-

sideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a direction of the witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; the same stipulation that has heretofore been entered into by all the clients that I have represented is hereby stipulated with respect to the service of the subpoena in the capacity as stated.

Also, with respect to the fact that the witness has been apprised of the chairman's opening statement.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, thank you, Mr. Chalmers.

I advise the witness that this committee does not accept his reasons for refusing to produce the documents and, accordingly, this committee orders you to produce the documents required in that subpoena.

Mr. STEWART. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stewart, paragraph 2 of the subpoena calls for you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or past member or Kligrapp of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

Mr. STEWART. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Witness, the committee does not accept your claim of privilege in this matter, and I take it we have the same stipulation with regard to this paragraph?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Consequently, the committee directs you to produce the documents called for in the subpoena.

Mr. STEWART. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, paragraph 3 called for the production of corporate tax returns covering the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi. We have been advised by the Internal Revenue Service that no returns have been filed, and I shall not ask for production of those returns.

Mr. Stewart, I hand you a series of photographs, taken at a United Klans of America rally, in the Crossroads community of Poplarville, Mississippi.

The first photograph shows a Klansman in a red robe. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that that is yourself.

Mr. STEWART. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my rights might tend to incriminate me

(sic) in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Photographs two and three show Klansmen, some with black robes and black hoods, others merely in black hoods, and at least one Klansman in a white robe, each with sidearms, gunbelt, holster, which shows outside of the uniform.

Can you explain to the committee the necessity of Klansmen in this type of outfit at public rallies of the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEWART. I respectfully decline to answer. I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Photographs previously marked "Ernest Gilbert Exhibit No. 2." See pp. 2949, 2950.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stewart, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that in May of 1965 at a State meeting of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, you were elected to the position of kligrapp or secretary?

Mr. STEWART. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Under the "Constitution and Laws" of the United Klans of America, reports from subordinate units known as Klaverns are to be forwarded to the secretary. The committee has obtained financial records relating to Klaverns within the State of Mississippi.

I shall read these to you, and ask you at the conclusion to identify the position that each holds in the Klavern in the location represented by financial records:

E. C. Nutty III, Ackerman, Mississippi; <sup>1</sup> [William C. Long]; Robert Hudspeth, H-u-d-s-p-e-t-h, Ashland, Mississippi; John Wayne Hudson and Alton L. Stubs, Beulah, Mississippi; George Ballard, B-a-l-l-a-r-d, Brookhaven, Mississippi; E. B. Scott and Hoyt Phillips, P-h-i-l-l-i-p-s, Carthage, Mississippi; James Atkins, A-t-k-i-n-s, 415 Wilbright, Columbus, Mississippi; Morris H. Aust, A-u-s-t, DeKalb, Mississippi; Perry Taylor, T-a-y-l-o-r, Box 281, the city is Desaute, Mississippi; John W. Brewer, Greenville Unit 736, Greenville, Mississippi; R. D. Hunt, H-u-n-t, 508 Erie Street, Jackson, Mississippi; Jimmie King, Louise, Mississippi; Bruce Williamson, Louisville, Mississippi; Archie Pinnix, P-i-n-n-i-x, Maben, Mississippi; Gene C. Deer, D-e-e-r, McComb, Mississippi; C. C. Warner, W-a-r-n-e-r, McComb, Mississippi; F. J. Jones, McNeill, Mississippi; Woodrow Spiers, S-p-i-e-r-s, McNeill, Mississippi; W. J. Means, M-e-a-n-s, Route 4, Morton, Mississippi; Adams County No. 719, Natchez, Mississippi; S. Davidson, 1202 Magnolia, Natchez, Mississippi; J. H.—L-y-e-r is the spelling of the last name—Natchez, Mississippi; Cecil Bennett, B-e-n-n-e-t-t, Picayune, Mississippi; T. V. Carlisle, Kon Klave Klub, K-o-n K-l-a-v-e K-l-u-b, Quitman, Mississippi; W. L. Overby, O-v-e-r-b-y, Raleigh, Mississippi; J. P. (Billy) Ambrose, Ripley, Mississippi; Earl G. Cardwell, C-a-r-d-w-e-l-l, Ripley, Mississippi; Wallace Turner, Ripley, Mississippi; Eva M. Perkins, at Starkville, Mississippi; <sup>1</sup> [Vernon Holloway]; Charles Speed, Stonewall, Mississippi; J. D. Pusock, P-u-s-o-c-k, Sturgis, Mississippi; Dale O. Wal-

<sup>1</sup> Bank official issuing money order. The committee has no knowledge of, nor does it imply, any Klan affiliation.

ton, Tupelo, Mississippi; D. A. Hendry, H-e-n-d-r-y, Route 5, Waynesboro, Mississippi.

The names that I have read to you all are makers of checks paying money to the United Klans of America, Alabama Rescue Service.

I ask you what position each of them holds within the organization?

Mr. WELTNER. Well, put the first name to him, Mr. Appell, and ask him that.

Mr. APPELL. E. C. Nutty III.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. STEWART. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. The second name I read to you from Ashland was Mr. Robert Hudspeth, H-u-d-s-p-e-t-h.

Mr. STEWART. Sir, I respectfully——

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact——

Mr. WELTNER. Wait. Let him respond to the question.

Mr. CHALMERS. I don't believe there was a question asked, Mr. Chairman. No question posed.

Mr. APPELL. I just said, "The second name was," and I was going to continue, Mr. Chairman.

I put it to you as a fact that he is the secretary-treasurer of a Klavern which operates a bank account at the Bank of Blue Mountain, Blue Mountain, Mississippi, under the name of the White People's March for Freedom.

Mr. STEWART. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that in the Pearl River area or county of Mississippi there is a Klavern which is known by the name of the United Conservatives of Miss., Inc., #1, and I might say, Mr. Chairman, that according to the records of the secretary of state, this organization has never filed incorporation papers.

According to the records subpoenaed from the Washington Bank and Trust Company of Bogalusa, Louisiana, the officers of that Klavern, as of October 11, 1965, were Charles J. Seal, president; Pat Moak, M-o-a-k, vice president; J. L. Simmons, treasurer; B. L. Sellers, secretary; T. P. Wheat, assistant treasurer; Cecil Bennett, assistant secretary.

I ask you to affirm or deny the fact that as of the date of October 11, 1965, they were the officers of that Klavern, and they were making financial reports to the secretary of the Realm of Mississippi in their capacity.

Mr. STEWART. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "George Harris Exhibit No. 3." See p. 2632.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stewart, can you explain to the committee the workings of a klokann committee?

Mr. STEWART. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that a klokann committee, on a Klavern level, on a province level, or on a State level, is comprised of people whose sole responsi-

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 1, p. 2996.

bility is to make investigations and to carry out acts of violence on behalf of a Klan organization?

Mr. STEWART. I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Have you ever served on a klokann committee?

Mr. STEWART. I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness will be excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Paul L. Foster.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you shall give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FOSTER. I do.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated.

### TESTIMONY OF PAUL LAFAYETTE FOSTER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Foster, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. FOSTER. Paul Lafayette Foster.

Mr. WELTNER. Just a moment.

Proceed.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on the 30th day of October 1965 at 114 Main Street, Natchez, Mississippi?

Mr. FOSTER. I am.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Foster, I put it to you as a fact——

Mr. WELTNER. One moment. The witness is represented by counsel?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Will counsel state his name?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Foster, I put it to you as a fact that 114 Main Street, Natchez, Mississippi, the place where you were served by Investigator Sullivan, is the office headquarters of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi.

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reasons that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Foster, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you were the first grand chaplain of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Foster, do you know James K. Greer, G-r-e-e-r?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(At this point Representative Pool entered the hearing room.)

Mr. APPELL. In October 1964, Mr. Foster, Mr. Greer was arrested for an act of violence by the Mississippi Highway [Safety] Patrol and in the course of interrogation of Mr. Greer, he made the following statement to the Mississippi Highway Patrol, referring to people that he knew in the Klan.

The report of interview states:

Greer states that these individuals advocate violence and are extremely strong segregationists: Ernest Finley, Frank L. Gaston, Charles L. James, Jeff Luke, Cecil Roberts, Paul L. Foster, Nelson Haney, Tommy L. Jones, Ed McDaniel, Myron Wayne Seale.

Is the statement made by Mr. Greer to agents of the Mississippi Highway Patrol factual?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Foster, did you join with the following individuals whose names I just read to you—Charles James, Frank L. Gaston, E. L. McDaniel—and Thomas Young in forming a cover name for a Klavern under the name of the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you two documents, one, the minutes of organization; two, the copy of filing of incorporation with the secretary of state of Mississippi, both of which reflect that Paul L. Foster is an officer of the organization; and I ask you if these documents are factual?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Documents marked "Paul Foster Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," respectively. Exhibit No. 1 retained in committee files. Exhibit No. 2 appears in committee report, *The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement*, pp. 359-361.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Foster, did there appear in the issue of the *Natchez Democrat*, a newspaper published in Natchez, Mississippi, on November 1, 1964, an article which states that the "Adams County Civic and Betterment Association" protests action by the Highway Patrol?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Paul Foster Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

#### PAUL FOSTER EXHIBIT No. 3

[*Natchez (Miss.) Democrat*, Nov. 1, 1964]

#### IN THIS AREA—PROTEST ACTION HIGHWAY PATROL

The Adams County Civic and Betterment Association, which was formally organized here a short time ago and which is chartered in Mississippi, has adopted a Resolution deploring the unlawful arrest and search by the State Highway Patrol in Natchez and Adams County and launching a campaign to raise funds to employ necessary legal counsel for their defense.

The Resolution also requests the representatives from Natchez and Adams County in the Legislature take the necessary and appropriate action "guarantee our constitutional rights of freedom from unlawful searches and seizures."

The Adams County Civic and Betterment Association is reported by its officials [sic] as a civic organization which does not condone any type of violence of any nature. The general purpose of the club, they said, is to advance the

educational, civic and social interests of Adams County, Mississippi; to promote integrity [sic] and good faith among the citizens of Adams County; to acquire, preserve and distribute educational, civic and social statistics and information of value to the people of Adams County; to develop an interest on the part of its members and citizens in Adams County in registering to vote and voting in state, local and national elections; and to encourage and foster the active interest of members in civic, social and moral welfare of this community.

We are taking this means of presenting this petition to the people with the hope that there are others who feel as we do about the activities that are taking place among us today. If you are concerned and want to help, "you may send your donation to P. O. Box 1111, Natchez, Miss., and be sure that all of your contribution will be used for the sole purpose of helping those who need financial help," Paul L. Foster, President, said.

The Resolution which was adopted by the organization was as follows:

#### RESOLUTION AND PETITION

WHEREAS, during the past several months, many citizens of Adams County have been arrested in connection with recent bombings and have been illegally harassed and searched by the Mississippi Highway Patrol (acting under recently passed legislation), and a "Police State" now exists in this section of the State of Mississippi, in direct violation of our fundamental constitutional rights; and

WHEREAS, such action causes tension, turmoil and strife to the people of our state and community and, if continued, will necessarily result in forceful resistance to such unlawful action by the state officials; and

WHEREAS, the undersigned believe in constitutional government, in obeying the laws of our land, and, specifically, that a citizen is innocent until proven guilty in a court of law, regardless of his color, creed or nationality; and

WHEREAS, the unlawful state activities, above, have been brought about through actions and pressures of NAACP, CORE, COFO, SNCC and the National Council of Churches and other communist-front organizations not only pressuring our government, but in spending millions of dollars to create strife within the State of Mississippi; and

WHEREAS, NAACP, COFO and the other above named organizations are spending millions of dollars to create hatred between the Negro and white races in Mississippi and it is necessary that white Americans defend our traditions and race;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the undersigned that in support of our traditional way of life and in support of maintaining [sic] law, and order and peaceful relations between the white and Negro races, we do pledge ourselves to raise funds for the support of those persons who have been unlawfully arrested by the State Highway Patrol, and urge other citizens to contribute toward their defense,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the undersigned do hereby request our local representatives in the State Legislature to take appropriate action to guarantee our constitutional rights of freedom from unlawful searches and seizures.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we do seek from the public funds for the defense of our white citizens and for the protection of our traditional way of life, requesting that any such funds be sent to the undersigned organization.

This money will be used solely for LEGAL FUNDS ONLY

ADAMS COUNTY CIVIC  
AND BETTERMENT [sic]

ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENT:

Paul L. Foster

TREASURER

C. E. James

John D. Druetta

Mail any donations to

Adams County Civic and

Betterment Club

P. O. Box 111

Natchez, Miss.

Mr. APPELL. In this statement or according to the article which was adopted by the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association, the article shows that it was issued by Paul L. Foster as president.

The Highway Patrol and other agencies, law enforcement agencies, were accused of illegal arrest and illegal search and seizure.

Was this resolution adopted by the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association, a cover of a Klan, in order to protect Klansmen who were being arrested for acts of violence in which they were engaged?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a registration, copy of the original registration of the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel, in Birmingham, Alabama, September 4, and the year is 1964, and ask you after you review that signature, whether or not you attended the Imperial Klonsvocation held in Birmingham in September 1964?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Paul Foster Exhibit No. 4" follows:)

PAUL FOSTER EXHIBIT NO. 4

958 FOSTER PAUL L 7-54 65659

H 65659

NAT MISS

9-4 R8

PLEASE CHECK YOUR BAGGAGE OR SEND SAME TO YOUR ROOM; OTHERWISE THE HOTEL COMPANY WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR LOSS

## Dinkler-Tutwiler

DIRECTION  
DINKLER HOTEL CORPORATION  
"DISPENSERS OF TRUE SOUTHERN HOSPITALITY"

GUESTS ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED THAT THE COMPANY WILL NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR VALUABLES, MONEY, JEWELRY, CLOTHING ETC. UNLESS THE SAME ARE DEPOSITED IN SAFE

Name

Street

Firm

Room No.

City

City

Rate

State

State

Check

SMTWTFSS

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Foster?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Foster.

Paul Lafayette Foster was born on July 28, 1923, at Newhebron, Mississippi. He was educated at, and I don't know the proper pronunciation, so I will spell it, H-e-u-c-k's Retreat, located in Lincoln Coun-

ty, Mississippi; for 1 year at the Copiah-Lincoln Junior College, Wesson, Mississippi; 3 years at Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi.

He served in the Army from December 7, 1942, to September 21, 1945, with the rank of Pfc., and was honorably discharged.

Since 1952, he has been employed as a schoolteacher, a salesman of stationery supplies; and since 1956, with the International Paper Company. He presently holds the position of payroll control clerk.

Foster, a member of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi became the organization's first grand chaplain in February of 1964. In June 1964, he was the exalted cyclops of the combined Morgantown and Adams County Klavern of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

In July 1964, Paul Foster and other members discussed the disaffiliation with the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi and joining the United Klans of America.

On August 8, 1964, Charles E. James, Frank L. Gaston, E. L. McDaniel, Paul Foster, and Thomas Young, all former members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, met for the purpose of chartering a UKA Klavern under the cover name of the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association.

E. L. McDaniel is the present Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America for the Realm of Mississippi. Corporation papers were filed with the secretary of state by Charles E. James, Frank L. Gaston, and Paul L. Foster, on August 16, 1964.

Paul Foster thereafter became president of the association, and exalted cyclops of the Klavern. Charles E. James became the kligrapp or secretary of both organizations.

On November 1, 1964, there appeared in the *Natchez Democrat* a resolution passed by the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association. This petition was intended to give support to fellow members of the United Klans of America who had been arrested by the Mississippi Highway Patrol. The resolution accused the Mississippi Highway Patrol of having made illegal search and arrest, and declared a "Police State" now exists in this section"—referring to Adams County—"of the State of Mississippi."

This Klavern of the United Klans of America resolved in its resolution, among one of its resolves, that—

in support of our traditional way of life and in support of maintaining [sic] law, and order and peaceful relations between the white and Negro races, we do pledge ourselves to raise funds for the support of those persons who have been unlawfully arrested by the State Highway Patrol, and urge other citizens to contribute towards their defense.

The resolution was signed by Paul L. Foster, president, C. E. James, and John D. Druetta. (See Paul Foster Exhibit No. 3.)

James Kenneth Greer, in a statement to the Mississippi Highway Patrol on October 25, 1964, identified as Klansmen who advocated violence and are extremely strong segregationists: Paul L. Foster, Ernest Finley, Frank L. Gaston, Charles E. James, Jeff Luke, Cecil Roberts, Nelson Haney, Thomas L. Jones, Ed McDaniel, and Myron Wayne (Jack) Seale.

Mr. WELTNER. Is that Ed McDaniel, E. L. McDaniel?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

In May of 1965, Paul L. Foster was elected the Grand Klaliff or vice president of the Realm of Mississippi. This information, Mr.

Chairman, indicates that Mr. Foster possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. POOL (presiding). Does that finish your statement?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Witness, you have heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator.

You now have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement, to affirm, deny, or admit the truth of any allegation, and to explain or modify any part of that statement. In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matters which the committee may deem relevant to this inquiry.

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Foster, I must inform you that, absent your rebuttal or other facts that may come to the attention of this committee, this committee will reply upon the accuracy of its investigation, and bearing this in mind, have you anything to say?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead, Mr. counsel.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Foster, I hand you a sheet of paper upon which there is typed the names of nearly 50 employees of the International Paper Company, Natchez, Mississippi.

I ask you to review this list and to advise the committee as to which individuals appearing on that list you knew to be members of either the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi or the United Klans of America.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Paul Foster Exhibit No. 5." The list follows:)

PAUL FOSTER EXHIBIT No. 5

Aldridge, J. C.	Edwards, Charles M.	Nall, Louis C.
Aldridge, Virgil G.	Elledge, Clinton H.	Nash, David C.
Allen, William T.	Elveston, James	Pickering, R. A.
Anderson, Robert M.	Elveston, James F.	Roberts, Alton I.
Ashley, Buford W.	Felter, William Thomas	Scarborough, J. L.
Avants, James A.	Foster, Paul L.	Spring, Claude D.
Avants, Ernest H.	Freeman, Frankie Gene	Spring, James W.
Bruitt, Harvey, Jr.	Freeman, Joel Ray	Spring, Warren E.
Buckles, Billy D.	Fuller, Claude W.	Story, E. R.
Burchfield, Jasper W.	Gardner, A. J.	Sturgis, James W.
Burgess, Lavon	Germany, Otis K., Jr.	Sutton, C. L.
Chisholm, Vernon E.	Greer, James K., Jr.	Thurmon, F. H.
Clanton, Oscar R.	Griffin, Claude A.	Torgersen, Thore L.
Cloy, Ware Thomas	Griffin, David C.	Trevillion, S. R.
Cothorn, Alfred M.	Hardy, Joe Lee	Tynes, Charles R.
Cowart, Walter R.	Hinson, Leslie W.	Tyson, Oliver L., Jr.
Davidson, Charles O.	House, Marion L.	Wheeler, Earl
Dawson, John	Howington, Charles A.	Wheeler, Herman R.
Dillon, William M.	Howington, Fred W.	White, Charles, Jr.
Druetta, John D.	Jones, Tommy L.	Wilkinson, Donald H.
Duncan, Ben G., Jr.	Kepper, Dudley E.	Wright, Raymond S.
Dungan, Frank P.	Klar, F. C.	Young, Joseph Lloyd
Edwards, Charles E.	McManus, L. E.	Young, Lloyd C.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the reason the list was submitted to Mr. Foster was in hopes that he could confirm the results of the committee's investigation that the persons listed thereon have held membership in either the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi or the United Klans of America.

Mr. POOL. That is the results of your investigation?

Mr. APPELL. That is the results of the staff's investigation; yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you want to include this list in the record?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask that that list and the other documents referred to of this witness be introduced at the place referred to.

Mr. POOL. No objection?

So ordered.

Mr. WELTNER. Let me ask the witness if any of the persons whose names appear on that list is a member of either the White Knights or the United Klans of America.

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Are any of the employees on this list not members, to your knowledge, of the Klan organization?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. The reason I ask you that, in all fairness, if you know for a fact they are not members, you should speak up now.

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Foster, I understand you were the first grand chaplain of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, or at least our investigation so indicates.

Now according to Article II, Section 18 of the constitution of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Gordon Lackey Exhibit No. 2), the grand chaplain, and I quote:

The Grand Chaplain shall serve in the capacity of Christian advisor on all questions of morals and idealistic Klavern conduct.

A. In cases of extreme penalties the advise [sic] of the Grand Chaplain shall be sought and considered.

As grand chaplain, was your advice sought and considered in extreme penalties?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. What are those extreme penalties?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Our investigation has revealed there are four kinds of projects carried out by the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and Project No. 4 is extermination. Is this an extreme penalty?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You have been a high-ranking officer of first, White Knights, and then the United Klans in Mississippi, from our evidence. I note that you are a graduate of a Christian college, a

former school teacher. What good things can you tell us about either of these Klan organizations that would make them worthwhile for people to join and support?

Mr. FOSTER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Well, I wish you would tell us something good. We haven't heard anything in all our weeks of investigation to date.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, we heard about that "needy committee" yesterday, which was a faint light on an otherwise dark horizon.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Well, we also heard that the White Knights were instructed by their Imperial Wizard not to associate with the United Klans people. I suppose one might consider that a stroke for one organization or the other; I am not sure.

Mr. WELTNER. No questions.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused permanently.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Ernest Parker.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PARKER. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF ERNEST BUCHANAN PARKER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. PARKER. Ernest Buchanan Parker.

Mr. APPELL. We have no microphone in this room, Mr. Parker, so that you will have to speak up so that the committee and others can hear you.

Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 30, 1965, at the United Klans headquarters in Natchez, Mississippi, 114 Main Street?

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, may I state, sir, that the witness here that I represent, Ernest Buchanan Parker, is here as a result of a subpoena served upon him, dated the 6th day of October 1965.

Mr. POOL. Have you identified yourself, counsel?

Mr. CHALMERS. No, sir; I will. I am Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. POOL. And you are representing the witness?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer as to whether or not he was served by Investigator Sullivan of this office, as the return reflects at 114 Main Street, Natchez, Mississippi.

Mr. POOL. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. What was the answer?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Now the Chair wishes to make this statement, and the Chair wishes to state to the witness and ask the witness, have you been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement of October 19, 1965, and are you familiar with its contents?

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, so stipulated.

Mr. POOL. In other words, the stipulation in the directions of the subpoena to produce the documents called for made——

Mr. CHALMERS. I don't think that has been asked yet.

Mr. POOL. That has not been asked?

Mr. CHALMERS. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right, that is not stipulated up to this point.

All right, go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, when and where were you born?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me under the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, do you know Myron Wayne——

Mr. POOL. Just a moment, please.

Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, do you know Myron Wayne—who is popularly known as "Jack"—Seale?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, Mr. Seale was arrested by the Mississippi Highway Patrol in connection with an assault upon a white male, Bruce Lloyd Payne. In the course of an interrogation by the Mississippi Highway Patrol, I will read from a report of statements made by Mr. Seale:

Seale stated that his closest associate in Natchez is Ernest Parker. He stated that he considered Ernest Parker to be his best friend and that they hunt and fish together frequently. He further stated that he often goes with Parker in Parker's airplane. He stated Parker has a four-seater plane which is white with red stripes. He stated Parker is a very cautious pilot. Parker and Seale usually fly from Natchez up to "Palmyra" [P-a-l-m-y-r-a], which Seale described as an island on the Mississippi River. He stated that this is a 35,000-acre island and that Parker owns 25,000 acres of the island. Parker has at least 500 head of cattle on this island and Seale and Parker often fly up to the island to take care of these cattle. He stated that sometimes they drive up to the island or to Tallulah, Mississippi, where they visit friends. He stated that Ernest Parker and his brother Lee Parker own a large barge which they can take out to the island. He stated that last summer while bringing a truck with 26 head of cattle from the island to the mainland, the barge tilted, causing the cattle and truck to go overboard. \* \* \*

Do you own 25,000 acres on an island called Palmyra Island?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, according to the McComb, Mississippi, *Enterprise-Journal*, two bodies were found in what is known as the Old River, Charles Moore and Henry Dee.

Do you possess any knowledge of how those bodies got into the Old River?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. In putting the case together, Mr. Parker, it was reconstructed that, in order to get two bodies tied by chains and tied to an engine block of a jeep, there was only a certain type of boat that could be possibly used, and the only type of boat on the river which could be used for this was a barge similar to the one that you own.

Was your barge used for this, with or without your knowledge?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Investigation found several old Willys jeep chassis on your property, and the bodies were weighted down with a motor block from a jeep. Was the motor block from any jeep chassis that was on your property?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, according to your Federal income tax returns, in April of 1964, as reflected by your 1964 tax return, you purchased mobile radios costing \$783.97. Were those radios used to carry out projects of Klan organizations, either the White Knights or presently the United Klans of America?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Ernest Parker Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. POOL. Mr. Appell, is that two-way radios? Citizens band?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, we have not located an application for a citizens band radio at this time, which does not infer that there is not one. However, the only knowledge that we at this moment possess is the deduction on \$783.97 on Mr. Parker's tax returns for the purchase of mobile radios.

Mr. POOL. It is possible to use these radios without having a license. Is that correct?

Mr. APPELL. I don't think that they can be used without a license, sir.

Mr. POOL. Well, as a practical matter, though, they could use them.

Mr. APPELL. Illegally.

Mr. POOL. Illegally, but they could be used.

Mr. APPELL. Oh, yes, sir. One of the problems that the Federal Communications Commission has is attempting to monitor the citizens band radios for any illegal use. There are too many in existence.

Mr. POOL. They are supposed to call out the call letters, before and after a conversation, I believe. Is that correct?

Mr. APPELL. I am not that familiar with the requirements, sir.

Mr. POOL. I think it is.

Just a minute.

Under the rules of the House, this hearing shall not be recorded on a tape machine. I understand that one of the people in the audience has a recording machine and has the microphone out.

Will you officers check that to see if that is true?

Mr. Scoggin? Under the rules of the House, you are violating the rules by having the machine in operation while these hearings are going on, and the Chair will not give you another warning on it. Don't do it any more.

Will you come here to the Chair? Mr. Scoggin? Come up here to the Chair and bring your machine up here.

Mr. Chalmers, will you come up with him?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. POOL. Will the reporter show on the record that Mr. Scoggin says that he has not been playing the tape recorder and that there is nothing on the tape at this time?

All right, go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, in March of 1964, were you the exalted cyclops of a Klavern of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi known as the Morgantown Klavern?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Have you used your airplane for the purpose, either you as the pilot or authorized the use for the purpose of dropping Klan literature in various sections of Mississippi?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claims of privilege and his refusal to answer questions, I present to the committee the results of its investigation on Mr. Parker.

Ernest Buchanan Parker was born on May 4, 1930, at Natchez, Mississippi.

He served in the U.S. Navy Reserve from 1947 to 1952, when he was honorably discharged.

He is a self-employed farmer and cattleman, with financial interests in oil and timber. He owns a four-seater airplane, make unknown.

In March 1964, he was the exalted cyclops of the Morgantown Klavern of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

In April 1964, he purchased mobile radios costing \$783.97.

In August 1964, he withdrew from the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi and affiliated with the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi. He is a member of the Klavern known as the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association.

With regard to the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association, Parker is known to have stated that at public UKA rallies, nothing is discussed, but at meetings of the new "civic" club, the Klan is able to make plans and carry on any "real business."

Parker's plane was flown by himself or with a pilot having permission from Mr. Parker, and was used to drop Klan leaflets over Brookhaven, Mississippi, over Philadelphia, Mississippi, in August 1964, and in the Neshoba County Fair in 1965.

Parker is presently holding a position in the Realm of Mississippi, United Klans of America.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Parker possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. POOL. Does that complete your statement?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Witness, you have heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator.

You now have an opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement to confirm, admit, or deny the truth of any allegation, and to explain or modify any part of that statement.

In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter that the committee may deem relevant to this inquiry.

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. I must inform you that, absent your rebuttal or other facts that may come to the attention of the committee, this committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation.

Bearing this in mind, have you anything to say?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Parker, what is the "real business" that can be discussed within the Klavern which is known as the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association which can't be discussed at public Klan rallies?

Mr. PARKER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. The staff has no further questions to ask of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Weltner?

Mr. Buchanan?

The witness is excused permanently.

Mr. APPELL. Myron Wayne Seale.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SEALE. Yes, sir.

### **TESTIMONY OF MYRON WAYNE (JACK) SEALE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Seale, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. SEALE. Myron Wayne Seale.

Mr. APPELL. Are you popularly known by the nickname of Jack?

Mr. SEALE. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you at 114 Main Street, Natchez, Mississippi, on October 30, 1965, by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

Mr. SEALE. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SEALE. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, is it so stipulated the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement of October 19, 1965, and that he is familiar with its contents?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Seale?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, for the reasons that I honestly feel that my answers might tend to incriminate me in violations of my rights, and guaranteed by me by amend-

ments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Seale, the name Seale in Mississippi is a name used by many families. Some spell it S-e-a-l-e, some S-e-a-l, some S-e-a-l-s. It is the correct spelling of your last name S-e-a-l-e?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; Mr. Chairman. It is stipulated that his last name is S-e-a-l-e, as stated in the subpoena.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Seale, do you hold a position within the Klan of Mississippi, the United Klans of America, within their security guard and the rank of major?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know John D. Sullivan, who sits across from me, the investigator of the committee?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a photograph taken on October 30, 1965, in Natchez, Mississippi, showing yourself, dressed in a military-type uniform, major's rank, holding a walkie-talkie radio, and I ask you if the person photographed next to you is John D. Sullivan, investigator of this committee?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Photograph marked "Myron Seale Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

MYRON SEALE EXHIBIT NO. 1



Photograph taken October 30, 1965, in Natchez, Miss. Person at left in military-type uniform with walkie-talkie radio is Myron Wayne (Jack) Seale; the other is John D. Sullivan, HCUA investigator.

Mr. POOL. How could that incriminate you, to make a statement like that?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Seale, do you know L. C. Murray, who is the field secretary to Mr. McDaniel of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a reproduction of a photograph that appeared in the *Clarion-Ledger* of Jackson, Mississippi, Monday, July 19, 1965, which contains two individuals in Klan robes, and according to the caption these two Klansmen were in Bogalusa, Louisiana, drumming up business or interest for a United Klans rally to be held in Crossroads, Mississippi, July 19 or 21 of 1965.

In handing you this photograph, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that the two Klansmen shown are yourself, Jack Seale, and L. C. Murray?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Photograph marked "Myron Seale Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

MYRON SEALE EXHIBIT NO. 2

[Jackson, Miss., *Clarion-Ledger*, July 19, 1965]



**KLAN PARADES IN BOGALUSA**—Two hooded white men who identified themselves as members of the Knights of the Ku Klan of Natchez, Miss. pass Louisiana state troopers, one of which gives a big grin to the Klansmen. The Klansmen walked the streets of Bogalusa recently to remind Bogalusa residents of a KKK rally at Crossroads, Miss.—AP Wirephoto.

[No. 1 Myron Wayne (Jack) Seale; No. 2 is L. C. Murray.]

Mr. APPELL. I hand you another photograph which appeared in many newspapers throughout the United States, this one from the Emporia, Kansas, *Gazette*, which has a caption to the photograph which reads "Klan Guard Eyes Marchers":

Jack Seale, who identified himself as a major in the security guard of the Mississippi chapter of the Ku Klux Klan at Natchez, watches as nearly 1,000 civil rights marchers pass in downtown Natchez. Seale said that he and 14 other KKK security guards were on hand "to keep the peace" during the demonstration.

I hand you that photograph and ask you: Why is it necessary for the security guard of the Ku Klux Klan organization to be around in order to keep the peace?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question on the basis previously stated.

(Photograph marked "Myron Seale Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

MYRON SEALE EXHIBIT NO. 3  
[Emporia, Kansas, *Gazette*, November 1, 1965]



KLAN GUARD EYES MARCHERS — Jack Seale, who identified himself as a major in the security guard of the Mississippi chapter of the Ku Klux Klan at Natchez, watches as nearly 1,000 civil rights marchers pass in downtown Natchez. Seale said that he and 14 other KKK security guards were on hand "to keep the peace" during the demonstration. (AP)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Seale, were you arrested in connection with an assault on a boy by the name of Payne and another by the name of Green?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a reproduction of a photograph which appeared in the *Natchez* (Mississippi) *Democrat*, of October 24, 1964, and the caption to the photograph reads:

Collection of weapons—Federal Bureau of Investigation and State Highway Patrol officials stationed in Natchez yesterday uncovered this collection of weapons and ammunition in connection with their investigations here. All the weapons and ammunition with the exception of the two pistols, came from the home of M. W. "Jack" Seale, arrested here early yesterday morning and charged with assault and battery with intent to kill in connection with an assault on two civil rights workers near Port Gibson on Oct. 31. Seale was the fifth Natchez man charged in the assault.

In looking at that photograph, explain to the committee why anyone needs such an arsenal?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Photograph marked "Myron Seale Exhibit No. 4." See committee report, *The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement*, p. 109.)

Mr. APPELL. Were any of the weapons shown in the photograph, which includes a carbine, used for any illegal purpose by you?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Seale, you were in the room when I read to Mr. Parker the portion of a statement which according to the Mississippi Highway Patrol you made to them on October 26, 1964. Is that which I read to Mr. Parker factual?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Now Mr. Seale, it is the committee's understanding and knowledge that James Seale, arrested in the connection with the disappearance of Charles Edward Moore and Henry Ezekiel Dee, is your brother—

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully—

Mr. APPELL. —and that Charles Marcus Edwards, also arrested, is your cousin.

Do you possess any knowledge of the picking up of Moore and Dee and of any subsequent actions taken by the 12 to 15 Klansmen who Charles Marcus Edwards said participated in the beating, which resulted in their bodies winding up in the Old River near Palmyra Island?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Did you participate in the acts against Henry Dee and Charles Moore?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you possess any knowledge as to the type of transportation used to take these bodies to the river or the location from where the jeep motor block was obtained?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Seale, Bruce Lloyd Payne and George Green were beaten in October 1963, and a car driven by them was shot at in November of 1963.

Did you participate in either the beating or the firing into their vehicle?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Seale.

Myron Wayne "Jack" Seale was born September 4, 1926, at Brookhaven, Mississippi.

He completed 11 years of formal education. He served in the United States Navy from October 1944 to December of 1947.

He operates a garbage collection business in Natchez, Mississippi. He is the son of Clyde and the brother of James Ford Seale, both of whom have been witnesses during the current investigation.

He joined the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in 1964 and transferred to the United Klans of America. He is a member of the Adams County Klavern, known as the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association.

In May of 1965, he was elected to the office of grand night-hawk for the Realm of Mississippi.

The *Natchez Democrat*, issue of October 24, 1964, reported that Myron Wayne "Jack" Seale was arrested in connection with an alleged attack on two civil rights workers in Clarion County, Mississippi, on October 31, 1963.

At the time of his arrest, rifles, ammunition, and knives were seized. Arrested along with Mr. Seale on the same charge were Ernest Henry Avants, Frank Hyman Thurman, John William Barber, and James Kenneth Greer. Charges were dropped when the civil rights workers refused to return to Mississippi for the trial.

At the time of arrest, Seale denied membership in the Klan. He acknowledged knowing the following all identifiable Klansmen: Ernest Parker, Charles Edwards, Douglas Byrd, James L. McKinney, Ernest Avants, and Alton Roberts.

James Kenneth Greer, arrested for the same offense, identified Myron Wayne Seale as a Klansman who advocated violence.

On October 18, 1964, he purchased a greenish-blue Chevrolet, which was observed on November 2, 1963, pursuing a car bearing the same two civil rights workers assaulted in October 1963. Three shots were fired into the rear of the civil rights workers' car after they sped away from their pursuers. Seale's car is equipped with a radio receiver capable of monitoring police calls. Seale is a major in the United Klans of America security guard.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Seale possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Seale, you have heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator.

You now have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement, to confirm, admit, or deny the truth of any allegation, and to explain or modify any part of the statement.

In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter the committee may deem relevant to this inquiry.

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. I must inform you that, absent your rebuttal or other facts that may come to the attention of the committee, this committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation.

Bearing this in mind, have you anything to say?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer this question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Seale, what use do you make of the radio which is located in your car?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. What use is made of the walkie-talkie radios which are very popular among Klansmen?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I refuse—I respectfully refuse to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Investigation establishes, Mr. Seale, that under the night-hawk, there is appointed a klokann committee; that this klokann committee is responsible for investigations on, in your case, the State level, and for the selecting of men who might carry out acts of violence or acts of intimidation.

Can you explain to the committee how the klokann committee works in the State of Mississippi?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. As grand night-hawk, have you ever commissioned a fellow Klansman to engage in an act of intimidation or violence?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Was it under your orders as grand night-hawk or under the orders of the Grand Dragon for the State of Mississippi, Mr. McDaniel, that according to the State Highway Patrol, some 70 crosses were burned throughout Mississippi in protest of the renewal of hearings of this committee?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chairman, I have a question.

Mr. Seale, on this photograph that was exhibited to you a few moments ago, I note you have what appears to be a five-cell flashlight in a holster, strapped to a webb belt.

Now the photograph clearly shows this was a daytime rally. I wonder if you will tell me why you had a flashlight such as this for a daytime rally?

(Photograph handed to witness.)

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, is that flashlight ever used as a weapon, as a club?

Will you answer that?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. I have been advised that, on occasion, those long flashlights, which are about 20 inches long, do not have batteries in them, but that the cartridge is filled with a lead pipe. Is that true? Have you ever carried a flashlight filled with a lead pipe?

Mr. SEALE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. No further questions.

Mr. POOL. The witness is permanently excused.

The committee will stand in recess until 1:15.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., Thursday, February 3, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:15 p.m., the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1966

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:45 p.m., Hon. Joe R. Pool, chairman, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool, Weltner, and Buchanan.)

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Ernest Henry Avants.

Mr. POOL. Hold up your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. AVANTS. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF ERNEST HENRY AVANTS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, TRAVIS BUCKLEY AND CHARLES J. MAY III

Mr. APPELL. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. AVANTS. Ernest Henry Avants.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with the subpoena served upon you on the 3d day of November 1965 at the International Paper Company, Natchez, Mississippi?

Mr. AVANTS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. AVANTS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify themselves for the record, please?

Mr. BUCKLEY. Travis Buckley, attorney at law, Bay Springs, Mississippi.

Mr. POOL. Will you stipulate that the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement of October 19, 1965, and is familiar with its contents?

Mr. BUCKLEY. Yes, sir, we do so stipulate.

Mr. MAY. My name is Charles J. May III, attorney at law, Laurel, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Avants, when and where were you born?

Mr. AVANTS. It has changed its name from the time I was born. It has changed names. Now it is—it was Pine Grove. Now, you say Bogue Chitto, Mississippi.

Mr. APPELL. The month, day, and year.

Mr. AVANTS. The 23d of January 1931.

Mr. APPELL. What is your educational background?

Mr. AVANTS. High school.

Mr. APPELL. A graduate?

Mr. AVANTS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Since 1960, Mr. Avants, will you give the committee the benefit of your occupational background?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question and invoke as a defense the privilege guaranteed to me by the 5th, 4th, 1st, and 14th amendments of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Are you presently an employee of the International Paper Company in Natchez, Mississippi?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. POOL. The fact that you are employed at the paper company would incriminate you?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. POOL. I wonder what that paper company is going to think about that.

Mr. AVANTS. For the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. POOL. You are saying that your answering that question would incriminate you?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show that Mr. Avants has been employed by the International Paper Company since 1950 except for a period of military service and that he presently holds the position of a bleach washman.

Mr. POOL. Bleach washer?

Mr. APPELL. Washman.

Are you acquainted with James K. Greer?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. James K. Greer and yourself were arrested for assault upon Lloyd—Bruce Lloyd Payne and George Green in October 1964?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. On October 22, 1964, did you make a statement to agents of the Mississippi Highway Patrol following an arrest?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reason previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Avants, I have in front of me a copy of a statement obtained from the Mississippi Highway Patrol which statement contains the substance of an interview given by you on October 22, 1964. In the course of the interview the report states that you advised that you did not desire to furnish the names of any individuals who were involved in any of the various bombings. You stated that this group of individuals involved was a small militant group of the United Klan in this area:

He said that he knows the identities of these individuals but refused to furnish their identities. He stated that he feels it would be difficult to obtain explosives or dynamite in Adams County; however, he stated that there is avail-

able in Pike County all types of explosives which would be readily available to anybody known in the area. He stated that he has no personal knowledge of anyone in Adams County in possession of dynamite or other explosives other than himself.

Who are the individuals about whom you possess knowledge as to their involvement in various bombings in the Adams County area of Mississippi?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. The report continues: "During the course of this interview he," referring to Avants—

voluntarily expressed an opinion that a small militant group of members of the Klan were responsible for the bombings of the residence of Mayor John Nossor and the Willie Washington residence at Natchez, Mississippi.

Who were involved in these bombings, Mr. Avants?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Were you one of those involved?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. WELTNER. Will counsel identify the incidents a little more closely?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, the residence of the mayor of Natchez, Mayor Nossor.

Mr. WELTNER. The date of that?

Mr. APPELL. I do not have the date in this record.

And the residence of a resident of Natchez by the name of Willie Washington.

Continuing the quote from the interview :

He said he has never resorted to the use of any type of explosives for any purpose and possessed no knowledge of the existence of dynamite in this area. However, he added a large quantity of explosives had been entrusted into his custody and care. He pointed out that he was not a member of the organization who furnished these explosives to him and refuse to identify this particular organization. He stated that no weapons were included in this armament and consisted entirely of ammunition, hand grenades and a quantity of C-3 explosives.

What are C-3 explosives, Mr. Avants?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Appell, what are C-3 explosives?

Mr. APPELL. I have no knowledge.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Mr. APPELL. [Continues reading:]

According to Avants, this quantity of ammunition and armaments would be utilized only upon the instructions and command of the Governor of the State of Mississippi or the Sheriff of Adams County. At that time he indicated he would also receive instructions as to the ultimate disposition of these explosives. He described these explosives as being contained in metal containers of unknown sizes and power of detonation. Upon receipt of this ammunition and explosives he stated he personally concealed it in numerous locations in this area. He claimed he acquired knowledge of the use of explosives through his military service and National Guard association. He identified his wife as the only other person who is in the possession of information as to the specific location of the explosives and ammunition originally concealed by him. He said he was unaware of the fact that this ammunition consisted of stolen U.S. Government property but indicated that the mark "U.S." appeared on a large quantity of this ammuni-

tion. He said that he believed that there are other caches throughout the country which contain the weapons to fire the ammunition in his possession, and that in case of an emergency these caches would be joined together for use.

Will you give to the committee the benefit of the knowledge as expressed in the paragraph which I read to you, Mr. Avants?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. WELTNER. Let me ask a question: Is there such a cache of ammunition or explosives?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. POOL. In other words, you are going to let this statement stand that there evidently is such a cache of explosives.

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Avants, James K. Greer, who was arrested at the same time, identified you as a member of a Klavern of the White Knights which you shot up after getting drunk because you were disturbed over the fact that members were not paying their dues. Is the statement of James K. Greer given to the Mississippi Highway Patrol factual?

Mr. AVANTS. Sir, for the reasons previously stated, I respectfully decline to answer that question.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask the witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Appell, does the committee investigation indicate that to date there is presently in existence in this area a supply of hidden ammunition or explosives?

Mr. APPELL. I would assume that if knowledge were available as to the contents of any caches that they would be seized by the Mississippi enforcement authorities.

Mr. WELTNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No questions.

Mr. POOL. Do you have any other questions, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused permanently.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Paul Wilson.

Mr. POOL. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILSON. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF PAUL DEWEY WILSON

Mr. APPELL. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Paul Dewey Wilson.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, I note you are not accompanied by counsel. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Have you been advised as to the fact that you have the right before this committee in answering any questions that might

be incriminating to you to invoke the constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Have you received a copy and acquainted yourself with the contents of the opening statement of the chairman on October 19, 1965?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. I have, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you desire counsel at this time?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chairman, so that there be no question about it, I suggest that the Chair advise the witness that at any time he feels he might desire counsel he will have an opportunity to obtain it?

Mr. POOL. You are so advised. If you cannot afford counsel, the committee will recommend to the bar association and people like that to furnish counsel.

Mr. APPELL. I ask you, Mr. Wilson, have you sought legal advice prior to coming to Washington?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing today in accordance with the subpoena served upon you on the 29th day of October 1965 by John D. Sullivan, investigator for this committee?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Wilson?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, I hand you a photograph of two different exposures containing four Russian surplus rifles and other paraphernalia. I ask you if these weapons and other items displayed in the photographs were seized from you at the time of arrest by officers of the Mississippi State Highway Patrol.

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Photographs marked "Paul Wilson Exhibit No. 1." One retained in committee files; for other see committee report, *The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement*, p. 106.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of Mr. Wilson's refusal to answer committee questions, invoking his constitutional privileges, I would like to present a résumé of the committee's investigation as it relates to Mr. Wilson.

Paul Dewey Wilson was born on December 14, 1938, at Jayess, Mississippi. His educational background is unknown. Prior to his arrest in October 1964, he was employed as a carman apprentice with the Illinois Central Railroad, McComb, Mississippi. Wilson, following his arrest in October 1964, was interviewed by agents of the Adams County Sheriff's Department, Mississippi Highway Patrol, and Federal Bureau of Investigation.

During the interview, Wilson advised that he joined the United Klans of America in McComb, Mississippi, after being approached by Ray Smith, an officer of the Klavern, to join. He attended his first meeting at the Legion Hut in McComb, where 50 men were present, all wearing white robes. He was sworn into the United Klans of America by Eddie McDaniel, whom he described as an individual whom he knew in McComb but who he stated was some kind of officer

in Natchez, Mississippi. He was issued a membership card, which he tore up.

In the course of his first meeting he paid \$10 initiation fee, \$10 for a robe, and was told that his dues would be \$1 per month. Paul Wilson stated he attended meetings on Tuesday nights, with discussion generally relating to the movement and operations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, communism, and integration.

In declining to elaborate on his statement about the FBI, he stated that there were occasions when there were discussions about the necessity for obtaining more members who could be trusted. After a month the meeting place of the Klavern was changed to the second floor of the Hinton Building.

He identified from personal knowledge the following individuals as members who belonged or attended meetings of his Klavern:

Ray Smith, employed by the Southern Bell Telephone Company, who was the EC of the Klavern.

M. J. Duncan, an employee of the Firestone Store, who held the position at one time as outer guard.

J. E. Thornhill, a wealthy oil man in McComb and Summit.

With respect to his participation in acts of violence, he told the agents the following:

Wilson advised that about three weeks to a month ago he received a telephone call from an individual who stated only that "I am a member of the K[lan]. You know me well." The voice, which was a man's, continued by stating he believed that if someone put a bomb in front of the house of a Negro preacher—name Wilson could not at this time recall—it would scare COFO and the other integrationists off and into leaving other people's business alone. Wilson advised that from conversation with this person he was able to identify the Negro preacher referred to as a preacher whom he knows as an employee at Denny's Read-Mix, a concrete mixing concern at McComb, Mississippi. The caller told him to go out past Quinn's Bridge, past the Booker T. Washington Negro School, and turn to the right on the second hill past the school. The caller stated that dynamite would be hidden on this road in some bushes about 60 or 70 yards down the road on the left-hand side of the road.

Wilson advised that he went alone that night, about midnight, in his 1961 black Ford to the location described, where he found three sticks of dynamite hidden in the bushes, already fused and capped. Wilson stated he thereafter drove to the Negro preacher's house and sped away after throwing lighted dynamite package into the preacher's front yard. As he drove towards McComb, he heard the explosion. Wilson was questioned closely concerning this bombing and he insisted that it took place under the circumstances described and that as far as he knew no other member of the Klan knew who did it. He insisted he was unable to identify the mysterious caller and would not answer when asked whether he was thus agreeable to bombing something just on an unidentified party advising him he was a Klan member.

Wilson initially stated emphatically this was the only bombing concerning which he had any knowledge whatsoever. On further interrogation he admitted that on the night of September 20, 1964, he was with Ernest Frederick Zeeck and Jimmy Wilson (the latter no relation) when the three of them in Paul Wilson's 1961 Ford bombed the Alyene Quinn's residence in McComb, Mississippi. He stated this bomb was composed of dynamite and it was actually lighted and thrown onto the porch by Ernest Zeeck. He recalled that an unidentified Negro man was observed by them on the street in the vicinity of the Quinn residence but claimed this man was about a block away and could not have identified them.

Mr. Wilson, did you make the statement read to you to agents of the sheriff's department and the agents of the Mississippi Highway Patrol?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, I hand you a listing by dates of the types of violence, bombing, flogging, arson, the place, location of where these things took place, happening in the McComb, Mississippi, area during the year 1964, and I ask you which of these acts you participated in as a member of the United Klans of America.

Mr. WELTNER. Will you rephrase the question? Ask whether he participated in any of these acts.

Mr. APPELL. Did you participate in any of those acts?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Paul Wilson Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

## PAUL WILSON EXHIBIT No. 2

Violence - 1964  
McComb, Miss.

- 2/1/64 - Killing Louis Allen, Liberty, Miss. (Allen was a witness to the shooting of Herbert Lee, 9/25/64, by State Repre. E.H. Hurst)
- 4/4/64 - Bombing Restaurant, Pude, Miss.
- 4/6/64 - Bombing Restaurant, McNear, Miss.
- 4/28/64 - Bombing Curtis Bryant, NAACP leader, Barbershop, Maertown, Miss.
- 5/6/64 - Bombing Negro Motel, Jackson, Miss.
- 6/19/64 - Flogging Wilbert Lewis, McComb, Miss.
- 6/22/64 - Bombings  
1. Freddie Bates home  
2. Corrine Andrews home  
3. Curtis Bryant home
- 7/8/64 - Attempted Shooting Negro policeman, McComb, Miss.
- 7/9/64 - Bombing Willie May Cotton home; headquarters for CCM, McComb, Miss.
- 7/17/64 - Arson Zion Hill Free Baptist Church, McComb, Miss.
- 7/18/64 - Arson Sweet Home Church, McComb, Miss.
- 7/21/64 - Burning Mt. Vernon Missionary Baptist Church, McComb, Miss.
- 7/22/64 - Arson Rose Bower Missionary Baptist Church, McComb, Miss.
- 7/19/64 - Bombing Nat (N.L.) McGehee, Summit, Miss. (home in Negro Housing Project)
- 7/26/64 - Bombing Charles Bryant, Morgantown, Pike Co. Miss. (Charles B. is the brother of Curtis Bryant)
- 7/30/64 - Shooting J.P. Leggett home, McComb, Miss.
- 8/5/64 - Arson Mt. Canaan Missionary Baptist Church, Smithtown, Miss.
- 8/15/64 - Killing Charles Fuschers, Monticello, Miss.
- 8/15/64 - Bombing Hurlund Super Market, Hurlund Masonic Lodge, McComb, Miss.
- 8/18/64 - Arson attempt Verna Brown home, Hurlund, Miss.
- 8/19/64 - Cross burnings (6) McComb area  
Stink bombing Woolworth's Store, McComb, Miss.
- 8/20/64 - Bombing Willie J. Dillon, home, McComb, Miss.
- 9/3/64 - Assault 3 Civil Rights workers, McComb, Miss.
- 9/7/64 - Bombings  
1. Rogue Chitto, Miss - pool hall  
2. Auburn, Miss. - Negro church  
3. Summit, Miss. - Hugh Washington home  
4. " " - Booker T. Mitter home  
5. Magnolia, Miss. - Allen Coney, Principal of Negro school, home.
- 9/9/64 - Bombing Rev. James Baker home.
- 9/20/64 - Bombings  
1. Society Hill Missionary Church, McComb, Miss. —  
2. Alyene Quin home, McComb, Miss.

## PAUL WILSON EXHIBIT NO. 2—Continued

9/23/64 - Bombings: 1. Matthew Jackson home, McComb, Miss.  
2. Artis Garner home, Hattiesburg, Miss.

11/10/64 - Beating: Otis Matthews, a union official, beaten by masked men.

## Other acts of violence - Miss.

1955 - Killing: Lamar O. Smith and George W. Lee, union organizers in Brookhaven, Miss. and Belzoni, Miss. respectively.  
- Killing: Emmet Till  
1959 - Lynching: Jack Charles ~~Walker~~ Barker, Poplarville, Miss.  
4/62 - Killing: Cpl. Roman Duckworth (city police officer)  
3/64 - Killing: Clifton Walker, Hattiesburg, Miss.  
2/64: Roy J. Beeson

(At this point Mr. Pool left the hearing room.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, Billy Earl Wilson testified before this committee on January 18, 1966. In the course of his testimony, he identified you as the person who indoctrinated him in Klan principles. He testified that he was a member of the Klavern of which Ray Smith was the exalted cyclops, that you are his first cousin, that you read off a list of names of members of the Klavern which was to leave that Klavern and form a new Klavern and when the new temporary Klavern was formed that you were elected the exalted cyclops. Did Billy Earl Wilson testify truthfully?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Billy Earl Wilson testified that on July 27, 1964, he participated in the bombing of the residence of Charles Bryan. He stated that Paul Wilson phoned him re the job, that you picked him up at his home about midnight and then picked up Hilton Dunaway, and that the three of you drove to a wooded area where you transferred into a '49 Plymouth and that you rode in the rear seat of the car, that Hilton Dunaway threw the bomb, and that while in the act of throwing the bomb someone fired upon you and that you returned the fire with a 16-gauge over and under shotgun. Is this testimony true?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Billy Earl Wilson testified that, at a meeting of the Klavern of which you were the EC, on two occasions, one on September 1 and the second time on September 15, that you put a hat on the table and instructed the members to come and draw their jobs. Did you do such a thing?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. He testified that at the first drawing of slips on September 1 he drew a slip containing the name of Alyene Quinn, however

he could not go through with the job because his grandfather was visiting and he said that at a Klavern meeting on September 9 that you told him that you still had a bomb and wanted to unload it, so that you and he drove to the home of the Reverend James Baker at your suggestion, that you lit the fuse, and that he hurled it.

Is this testimony true?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, I hand you a photograph of Louis Anthony DiSalvo and I ask you if you ever had any business relations with him.

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Photograph marked "Paul Wilson Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, can you explain to the committee why you had in your possession at the time of your arrest a cardboard carton which was mailed by Hunters Lodge in Alexandria, Virginia, which contained the name of Louis DiSalvo, and, of the rifles that I showed you, that four of those rifles' serial numbers appeared on the invoice of shipment of arms by Hunters Lodge to Louis Anthony DiSalvo.

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER (presiding). One moment. Is the substance of that question that Hunters Lodge in Virginia filled an order of rifles for Louis Anthony DiSalvo and these rifles subsequently were found in this witness' possession?

Mr. APPELL. That is right.

Mr. WELTNER. And Mr. DiSalvo appeared here as a witness 2 or 3 weeks ago and, I believe, was the party who was involved in a discussion concerning the bombing of the Lady Bird Special; is that correct?

Mr. APPELL. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Proceed.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have entered into the record at this point the listing of some 43 items, including the rifles, which were obtained in a search of Paul Wilson's residence and his automobile at the time of his arrest, these in addition to the rifles, pistols, billy clubs, unfinished table legs, ammunition, hypodermic syringe, and numerous items.

I might point out, Mr. Chairman, for the record, that one item recovered was one deputy sheriff badge. The committee investigation has established that, time and time again, in the arrest of Klansmen and the seizing of either that which is on their possession or that which is in their home as a result of search warrant there is invariably recovered one toy tin deputy sheriff badge.

Mr. WELTNER. Will you show that list to the witness.

Mr. Witness, will you examine that, please, and tell the committee whether or not that is an exact list of articles found in your possession?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Without objection the list will be entered into the record at this point.

(Document marked "Paul Wilson Exhibit No. 4." The list follows:)

PAUL WILSON EXHIBIT No. 4

1. 1 rifle, make unknown, serial number Inverted "U" B7866, with clip, part number XT356.1
2. 1 rifle, make unknown, serial number KT841, with clip, part number CB89.1
3. 1 rifle, make unknown, serial number 907 Inverted "N" C25 with initials SA imprinted over serial number, with clip, part number BH260.2
4. 1 rifle, make unknown, serial number 799EK5533, with clip, part number YE331.1
5. 1 black leatherette hood or cap
6. 1 black leatherette apron with green neck and belt straps
7. 4 identification cards of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, bearing the Confederate flag, the flag of the United States, outline of State of Mississippi enclosing "Miss. 700" with serial numbers 002, 025, 065, and 067.
8. 2 pieces of black leatherette material
9. 1 gavel
10. 1 pistol, automatic, Fabrique Nationale de Guerre Herstal Belgique, Browning's Patent Depose, serial number 193452 and also number 79002, .32 caliber with loaded clip number 193452 and loaded clip, no serial number
11. 2 boxes .32 caliber automatic .71 grain cartridges, 50 to a box Winchester, noting there were 12 .32 calibers in one box and a .38 caliber unspent shell therein, with the second box full
  12. 1 pair of goggles
13. 2 unfinished table legs
14. 1 Ideal Luerlock Syringe, 5 C.C., manufactured by Ideal Instrument and Manufacturing Company, Chicago
15. 1 Hypodermic Syringe, PerfeKium, manufactured by Pepper & Sons, Inc., New York 10
16. 1 black leather pistol holster
17. 1 brown leatherette holster fleece-lined, manufactured by Graver Brothers Manufacturing Co., St. Louis
18. 1 deputy sheriff tin badge
19. 1 pair cotton solid white gloves with partial black polka dots on inside of hands
20. 1 pair brown cotton gloves
21. 1 pair used black gloves, lined with rabbit fur
22. 1 pair large black leather gloves, cloth lined
23. 1 Customer's Copy of check, McComb, Miss., dated June 2, 1964 on Mechanics State Bank No. 22660, pay to the order of Gov. George Wallace, \$66.25 signed Paul D. Wilson, 811 New York Ave., McComb, Miss.
24. 2 blank Appeals Bonds, State of Mississippi, Pike County

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Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, Paul Wilson advised that, after he was given a suspended sentence and fined, he obtained money from the Reverend J. C. Brown.

Mr. WELTNER. One moment, please. Which Wilson advised that?

Mr. APPELL. Billy Earl Wilson.

Did you, Paul Wilson, receive any funds from the Reverend J. C. Brown?

Mr. WILSON. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Is it a fact that you pleaded guilty for the role that you played in the illegal use of explosives and received a suspended sentence?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Did Mr. Robert Shelton know you to be a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Shelton gave an interview to *Playboy* magazine. He was asked by the reporter, after an explanation:

Then how do you explain the case of Paul Dewey Wilson, who was arrested last year in McComb, Mississippi, while wearing a deputy sheriff's badge and hauling four rifles, a pistol, eight wooden clubs, a blackjack, brass knuckles and a hypodermic syringe in his car—and carrying a membership card in the United Klan signed by you?

SHELTON: We don't have membership cards. The card he had was the card I described—just a business card.

Was the statement that you made that you were issued a membership card which you destroyed factual or was Mr. Shelton's statement truthful that no membership cards are issued to members of the United Klans of America?

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Paul Wilson Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, staff has no further questions to ask this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wilson, you have an opportunity at this point to make any statement you desire that is relevant. There has been substantial narration of the prior testimony of other persons connecting you with serious incidents and events.

You have the opportunity to qualify that or deny that as you see fit. I might point out that this circumstance is somewhat different than some of the prior testimony. On two occasions it appears from our investigation to date that you as the exalted cyclops of a Klavern of the United Klans of America distributed by the draw from a hat assignments for acts of violence. In all fairness to you, we wish to give you the opportunity to deny that or to explain that, as you see fit. You have that opportunity at this point if you desire to offer anything which the committee should consider.

Mr. PAUL WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Failing that, or failing other evidence to come before the committee, the committee will of necessity rely upon the accuracy of the investigation.

Do you have any questions?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No questions.

Mr. WELTNER. Are there any further questions by the staff? If not, you are excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Jimmy Princeton Wilson.

Mr. WELTNER. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Will you solemnly swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF JIMMY PRINSTON WILSON

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Jimmy Prinston Wilson.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here in accordance with the subpoena served upon you on October 29, 1965, by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wilson, I note you don't have counsel. Are you aware of your right to have counsel during this hearing?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you desire to have counsel?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Are you aware of your rights under the Constitution to refuse to answer any questions which you feel might incriminate you under any State or Federal statute?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Are you aware that if you so desire at any time during the course of this proceeding you may request counsel and this committee will undertake to make arrangements to furnish counsel to you? Do you wish to proceed without counsel at this point?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. You may proceed, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, the *Washington Post and Times Herald* in an article dated October 6, 1964, story captioned, "7 More Held In McComb Terrorism," identified that there have been arrested in a series of arsons and bombings in the McComb area, Sterling L. Gillis, who is popularly known as Bubba, Hilton Dunaway, "John" Paul Westbrook, Charles Avery Womack, W-o-m-a-c-k, Gerald Lawrence, Murphy J. Duncan, Paul Wilson, Billy Earl Wilson, Jimmy Wilson, Ernest Zeack, all of McComb, Mississippi.

Are you the Jimmy Wilson referred to in the article?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Jimmy Wilson Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, on October 3, 1964, while in custody did you make two statements to the sheriff of Pike County and to agents of the Mississippi Highway Patrol and the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. I read to you from the first statement which quotes Jimmy Prinston Wilson as stating:

I joined the United Klans of America some time after the first of 1964 and sometime in August 1964 several of us split off from Ray Smith's Klan and organized a Klan of our own with Paul Wilson being appointed as E.C. and Allen Lee as being appointed Treasurer.

Is that information correct?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. The statement continues that you were contacted on Sunday, September 20, 1964, by Paul Wilson, and this is an exact quote—"he told me he had a mission that he wanted me to go on."

I continue in the exact quote :

We were supposed to go fishing about 6:00 P.M. which we had planned. I was at home that evening, and I decided to go on to the river myself earlier, and I went on out to the river fishing, and Paul Wilson, Billy Wilson and Ernest Zeeck came out roughly about 6:00 or 6:30 P.M. and we went out and set out hooks and fished about 10:00 and all four of us drove into town in Paul Wilson's car. I drove, Billy Wilson was in front with me and Paul Wilson and Ernest Zeeck was in the back. The bomb was in the back seat between Paul Wilson and Ernest Zeeck.

We drove around the block where Alyene Quinn lives several times, which is on the old Summit Road, and the lights were on, and we could see that there wasn't anybody in the house around and on about the fourth round, I stopped the car in front of Alyene Quinn's house. Paul Wilson lit the fuses and handed it to Ernest Zeeck who opened the car door, got out and threw the bomb towards the house. He got back in the car, and we drove back to the river. We drove north to Summit and back to the Bogue Chitto River Hoover Bridge. We fished awhile and took up the hooks and Billy Wilson and me came back in my station wagon which is a 1955 Mercury, black and white, to my home. Paul Wilson and Ernest Zeeck were behind us and Billy Wilson got out of my car and help me unload some fishing gear, and I went in the house. He got in the car with them and went on with them. It was midnight or after when I got home. I went home, got undressed for bed, got in bed and went to sleep.

Is that a factual recitation of the statement that you made to the agents that I have described to you?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a list of acts of violence conducted in the McComb, Mississippi, area in 1964 and in addition to Alyene Quinn, which is shown on here on September 20, 1964, I ask you if you engaged in any acts listed on the sheet being handed you.

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Document previously marked "Paul Wilson Exhibit No. 2." See pp. 3023, 3024.)

Mr. WELTNER. Specifically, Mr. Wilson, did you have any connection with the incident of September 20, 1964, in regard to the bombing of the home of Alyene Quinn, McComb, Mississippi, previously testified to by Ernest Zeeck and by Billy Wilson?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Proceed.

Mr. APPELL. On the list that I showed you, Mr. Wilson, is listed the date of July 18, 1964, attempted arson, "Sweet Home Church," McComb, Mississippi. Were you involved in attempted arson on that church?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights.

Mr. APPELL. I read to you a second statement signed Jimmy P. Wilson, notarized by a sheriff, a representative of the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol, and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. WELTNER. One moment. Is this purporting to be the statement of this witness, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. It is, sir, signed by him and witnessed.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wilson, is that your signature or facsimile thereof, and did you sign the original of that statement?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. The pertinent portion of this statement reads as follows, Mr. Wilson, and the date is October 3, 1964 :

About three or four months ago I was picked up at my home by Paul Wilson and later we met a man named Duncan, first name unknown to me, who is Manager of the Firestone Store at McComb, Mississippi. It had been planned previously that we were to burn the Sweethome Missionary Baptist Church, located on the Old Homesville Road in the Whitestown area near McComb, Mississippi. The three of us traveled to this church by car late that night. I believe we went in Paul Wilson's car but I cannot recall the description of this car. Upon arriving to the Church we entered this church, which is a brick building, through a side door, which was unlocked, and as I recall, all three of us went into the church. We carried a tin, one gallon can filled with gasoline, several feet of fuse, and a small metal jar lid containing black powder into the church with us. We poured this gasoline onto the floor of the church at the rear of the pulpit and placed the jar lid containing black powder in the gasoline. We placed one end of the fuse in the powder and the other end of the fuse through a doorway. I had previously heard that a fuse soaked in gasoline would not burn so I intentionally soaked this fuse in such a way that it would go out after it was lit and before it burned to the powder. Wilson and Duncan did not know that I had soaked this fuse so that the powder would not ignite. Paul Wilson then lit this fuse and the three of us then left the church by the same door and got into the car and immediately drove away from that area. We did not return to this church and Wilson and Duncan did not learn until the following day that the church had not been burned. \* \* \*

Is that statement given over your signature on October 3, 1964, factual?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Did you deliberately soak the fuse in gasoline so that it would not burn because to burn a church was revolting to you personally?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wilson, here is an opportunity for you to testify that you prevented the destruction of property of someone else. At this point I would advise you that you are given the opportunity to offer to this committee any matter that the committee determines to be relevant to deny or confirm or to qualify any statement that is presented to you.

Here is an opportunity. Absent your testimony or other information which properly comes before the committee, we will, of necessity, have to rely on the accuracy of the investigation. Here's a statement that appears to be a copy of a notarized statement by yourself showing how you prevented the burning of a church. I would like to know whether or not that is true.

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilson, isn't it a fact that you, like the others, were convicted for these acts, received a suspended sentence, and did you receive a fine in addition to the suspended sentence?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Billy Earl Wilson testified that money was received on two different occasions from the Reverend J. C. Brown, whom he identified to be the kludd of the Klavern of which Ray Smith was the exalted cyclops. Did you receive any funds from the Reverend J. C. Brown?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I think that the record should note that the planning of the arson of the Sweethome Church, McComb, Mississippi, which was planned prior to July 18, 1964, was on a date prior

to the time that the group broke away from the original Klavern and formed the new Klavern.

Mr. WELTNER. That is when Ray Smith was exalted cyclops of all the members?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wilson, within the organizational structure of the United Klans of America there is a klokann. As established by committee investigation, it is the responsibility of the klokann committee to carry out acts such as carried out in this instance. Were you and Paul Wilson and Murphy J. Duncan at the time of the attempted arson of the Sweethome Church, members of a klokann committee?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Following your plea of guilty and conviction, was your membership in the United Klans of America suspended? Were you sworn out or were you banished?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Has any action of a disciplinary nature been taken against you as a member of the Klan by the Klan for your involvement in any acts of violence?

Mr. JIMMY WILSON. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Are there any questions?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness will be excused.

Call the next witness, please.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Murphy John Duncan.

Mr. WELTNER. Stand and raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DUNCAN. I do.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated, please.

### TESTIMONY OF MURPHY JOHN DUNCAN, JR.

Mr. APPELL. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. DUNCAN. Murphy J. Duncan.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Duncan, you are appearing here without counsel. The committee would advise you that you have a right to counsel at any time during the course of your testimony; that if you are unable to obtain counsel, we will undertake to make arrangements for you to have counsel. You have the further right under the Constitution not to answer any question if you feel that your answer to that question might tend to incriminate you under any law of the United States or the State.

I ask you whether or not you desire counsel for this hearing?

Mr. DUNCAN. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you understand your rights under the fifth amendment?

Mr. DUNCAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Duncan, you are appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 29, 1965, at McComb, Mississippi, by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

Mr. DUNCAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Duncan, when and where were you born?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Duncan, did you hold the position of grand klabee, or treasurer, of the Realm of Mississippi, United Klans of America?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, Murphy John Duncan was born on April 8, 1920, in McComb, Mississippi. He served in the United States Army Air Force from February 1939 to February 1945. He resides at Route 2, McComb, Mississippi.

Following a series of arsons and bombings in the McComb, Mississippi, area, Murphy John Duncan was arrested and on October 5, 1964, he gave permission to Inspector G-w-i-n Cole of the Mississippi Highway Patrol to search his residence, which search produced the following documents. It will be noticed that these documents established him to be the grand klabee, or treasurer, of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, as well as the official delegate to the Imperial Klonvokation held in Alabama on September 5, 1964.

The documents recovered in this search are the following: A book containing on the inside cover the name "E. L. McDaniel (Eddie)," Grand Dragon, 2156 Second Street, P. O. Box 14, Natchez, Mississippi, business phone 442-0267, home phone 445-5340; the name Harry A. Sibley, 305 Jackson Street, McComb, Mississippi; United Klans, Post Office Box 303; Mississippi Rescue Service 706, which number, Mr. Chairman, is believed might refer to a Klavern.

First page contains notation: "Mississippi Rescue Service dues, #700 September \$22.75."

The pages are there numbered and show income, September 19, 1964, public speaking, Natchez, \$21.32, which appears to be a pro rata share of expense by Klaverns 713, 710, 715, 714 at \$5.33.

Dues 700, 704, 710, 713, 715, 717, 719, \$69.25.

September 22, 711 dues \$7.50, public speaking Natchez 711, \$5.33.

The pages continue to enumerate the receipt and expenditures of funds and the rough notes include that there was paid on September 22, 1964, the amount of \$17.46, E. L. McDaniel, Grand Dragon expense.

There was included application for membership, United Klans of America, application for reinstatement [U.S. Klans, KKKK]. The official delegate card for September 5 and 6; position stated, grand klabee, State, Mississippi, national klonvokation, United Klans of America, UKA.

Were these documents which were obtained in the search of your residence in accordance with the authority given by you to Inspector Gwin Cole, your documents?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. On October 10, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Duncan made the following admissions to agents of the sheriff's department, the Mississippi Highway Patrol, and Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Duncan advised he has been a member of the [UKA] Klavern

700 for about eight (8) months." He held the position in this Klavern as klabee or treasurer. He, like other members, was known in the Klavern by number rather than name and his number was 6. Because Klavern 700 was becoming too large, he stated, around August 1, 1964, Paul Wilson read a list of names during a meeting of Klavern No. 700 and announced that he and those names were forming a new Klavern.

According to Duncan, Wilson read the names of Jon Paul Westbrook,——Wilson, whom he described merely as a very young boy——public testimony, Mr. Chairman, establishes him to be Billy Earl Wilson—Bubba Gillis, whose real name is Sterling Gillis, Hilton Dunaway, Charles Womack, [Emery] Allen Lee, and himself, Murphy Duncan. He stated that this Klavern was formed and was known as a rifle club. He identified Paul Wilson as the exalted cyclops.

He further stated that at about the time the new Klavern was formed he was elected State treasurer and maintained an account in the name of the Mississippi Rescue Service at the Mechanics State Bank, McComb, Mississippi. Through subpoena duces tecum, Mr. Chairman, we have subpoenaed the records maintained and this has been verified.

With respect to jobs of violence carried out by members of the Klavern, Duncan stated that he attended a Klavern meeting at which names were drawn from a hat with Paul Wilson stating, "Come, boys, draw your job."

With respect to his attendance at the Imperial Klonvocation, committee investigation establishes that Duncan and Ernest Zeeck flew to Birmingham in a chartered aircraft, paid for by Ed Wilkins in the amount of \$96. Billy Earl Wilson identified Wilkins as a person Duncan recruited into the Klavern which met at Bubba Gillis' upholstery shop in McComb, Mississippi.

Mr. Duncan, do you care to make any statements with respect to the results of the committee's investigation as read to you?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Duncan, the Chair wishes to advise you that you have the right at this point to offer any matter that the committee will deem relevant, to explain or deny any part of this information; that absent that or other facts which may come to the attention of this committee, the committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation.

Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(At this point Mr. Pool returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Duncan, is it a fact that you received a suspended sentence, as did the others; that, because you miscalculated as to the date when your period of probation expired, you called up and threatened agents of the FBI; and that your probation was revoked and you were sentenced to serve 6 months?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Let us go through that again, will you, please, Mr. Appell? State the findings of the investigation with regard to any such matter, and then we will pose that to the witness.

Mr. APPELL. Prior to the expiration of the probation, that Murphy J. Duncan by use of the telephone threatened an agent and an agent's wife in the McComb area, as a result of which the probation was revoked and he was sentenced to 6 months in the local jail.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Duncan, is that factual, that your probation was revoked and that you were thereupon sentenced to serve 6 months in the penitentiary?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Duncan, with respect to the documents recovered from your home, one Post Office Box 14, Natchez, Mississippi, the other Post Office Box 706, McComb, Mississippi, I hand you the one covering Post Office Box 14, Natchez, which shows the applicant to be Ernest Finley. I ask you if you knew him to be a member of the United Klans of America.

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Post Office Box 706, McComb, in the name of the Mississippi Rescue Service, which states under "kind of business," that it is "civil defense radio service."

Will you explain to the committee what type of civil defense radio service the Mississippi Rescue Service was involved in?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment, sir.

(Documents marked "Murphy Duncan Exhibit No. 1" follow:)

## MURPHY DUNCAN EXHIBIT NO. 1

FOR POST OFFICE USE ONLY	POSTMASTER NATCHEZ, MISS. 38	DATE BOX OPENED 10-12-63	DATE BOX CLOSED 3-27-65	BOX NO. 14
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APPLICANT PLEASE NOTE: Completion of this application signifies your willingness to comply with all postal rules relative to the renting and use of Post Office boxes.

NAME OF APPLICANT (Print or type) ERNEST F. NIXON

NAME OF FIRM OR CORPORATION (If box is rented for use of either)  
CENTRAL MUD SUPPLY CO.

KIND OF BUSINESS

BUSINESS ADDRESS (No., street, and zone)  
101 MAIN ST.

HOME ADDRESS (No., street, and zone)  
24-4th St

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT  
X Ernest F. Nixon

DATE OF APPLICATION  
10-12-63

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Box 706, McComb, Mississippi

FOR POST OFFICE USE ONLY	POSTMASTER H. A. Fellows, P.M.	DATE BOX OPENED SEP 17 1964	DATE BOX CLOSED	BOX NO. 706
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APPLICANT PLEASE NOTE: Completion of this application signifies your willingness to comply with all postal rules relative to the renting and use of Post Office boxes.

NAME OF APPLICANT (Print or type) H. A. Fellows

NAME OF FIRM OR CORPORATION (If box is rented for use of either)  
Mississippi Rescue Service

Civil Defence Radio Service

BUSINESS ADDRESS (No., street, and zone)  
502 Pearl River Ave.

HOME ADDRESS (No., street, and zone)  
McComb, Mississippi

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT  
X H. A. Fellows

DATE OF APPLICATION  
Sept 18, 64

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Duncan, did you advise Billy Earl Wilson with respect to Ed Wilkins, who he identified you recruited into the Klavern that met at Bubba Gillis' upholstery shop, that Wilkins worked for an oil company and used explosives and knew where to get them?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did Ed Wilkins ever obtain for your group any of the explosives or dynamite which was used for any of the bombings in the McComb, Mississippi, area?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Would you know Howard M. Lee, a Klansman in Bogalusa, Louisiana?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. POOL (presiding). I can't hear you, speak up a little louder. Do you invoke the fifth amendment?

Mr. DUNCAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Howard M. Lee was arrested by agents of the Alcoholic Tax Unit of the Treasury Department, which agency has the responsibility of enforcing the regulations relating to the sale of guns and ammunition. The records maintained by Howard Lee reflect on September 20, 1964, he sold a rifle to Murphy Duncan, although the address here is listed as Denham Springs. I ask you to examine this document and to advise the committee whether you purchased a rifle from Howard M. Lee.

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Excerpt from Howard Lee's records marked "Murphy Duncan Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

MURPHY DUNCAN EXHIBIT NO. 2

*Sept. 20-64*  
*Murphy Duncan* <sup>*Denham Springs*</sup> *one term*  
*rifle Ser. No. NK8167* *6.00*

Mr. POOL. You said what?

Mr. APPELL. He invokes his rights under the fifth amendment.

Billy Earl Wilson testified that he received sums of money from the Reverend J. C. Brown following his conviction. Did you likewise receive money from the Reverend J. C. Brown and, if so, what amounts?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. The account in the name of the Mississippi Rescue Service, Mechanics State Bank, McComb, Mississippi, contains as the authorized signature, John K. Duncan. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that in opening this account you used the name John K. Duncan.

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Murphy Duncan Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

## MURPHY DUNCAN EXHIBIT No. 3

NAME **Mississippi Rescue Service**  
**John K. Duncan - Treasurer**  
 P. O. Box 706  
 McComb, Miss.

MECHANICAL STATE BANK, McCOMB, MISS. IS HEREBY SELECTED AS A DEPOSITARY AND AUTHORIZED TO RECEIVE AND PAY DEPOSITS EXECUTED BELOW IN PAYMENT OF FUNDS ON DEPOSIT OR IN THE TRANSACTION OF OTHER BUSINESS WITH THE UNDERSIGNED SUBJECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE CONTRACT ON THE REVERSE SIDE HEREOF.

**Mr. John K. Duncan** WILL SIGN *John K. Duncan*

WILL SIGN

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, WITNESS HIS SIGNATURE THIS THE **23rd** of **Sept.**, **64**

WITNESS *[Signature]* **(3)** *John K. Duncan*

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask this witness.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Weltner.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Duncan, have you discussed your appearance here today with Mr. Robert M. Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you know Mr. Shelton?

Mr. DUNCAN. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment. (At this point Mr. Buchanan left the hearing room.)

Mr. WELTNER. No further questions.

Mr. POOL. Do you have anything else, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. No further questions.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused permanently.

Mr. APPELL. Emery Allen Lee.

Mr. POOL. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEE. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF EMERY ALLEN LEE

Mr. APPELL. Will you state your full name for the record, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. Emery Allen Lee.

Mr. APPELL. You are appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you at 1110 Avenue L, McComb, Mississippi, on October 29, 1965, by John D. Sullivan, investigator of this committee?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I note that you are not represented by counsel. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Have you received legal advice as to the rights which you have to invoke constitutional privileges, the fifth amendment, in respect to all questions which might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. LEE. I invoke my rights on the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you understand your right under the Constitution to refuse to answer any questions on the ground that it may tend to incriminate you?

Mr. LEE. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you desire counsel to represent you?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. You do not desire counsel?

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you understand that you might have counsel at any time during the course of this hearing if you make that desire known to the committee?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. I am not trying to trip you up with a question, but this committee wishes to advise you that you have the right at any time in response to any questions to refuse to answer on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate you under any State or Federal statute. I am simply asking you whether or not you understand you have that right.

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. You do understand that?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Lee?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the investigation reflects that Emery Allen Lee was born on October 6, 1928, at Hammond, Louisiana. He completed 7 years of grammar school. He enlisted in the regular army on August 2, 1946, and was discharged for reasons of dependency on February 25, 1947.

He is self-employed as a painter. He resides at 1110 Avenue L, McComb, Mississippi.

Mr. Lee, Billy Earl Wilson in testifying before this committee under oath on January 18, 1966, identified you as a person whom he knew to be a member of the United Klans of America. Was Mr. Billy Earl Wilson telling the truth when he so testified under oath?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Jimmy Princeton Wilson, Murphy J. Duncan, in statements given to the agents of the Mississippi State Highway Patrol, sheriff's department, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, identified you to be a person they knew to be a member of the United Klans of America. Were the statements that they gave truthful?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a list of acts of violence which took place in McComb, Mississippi, area in 1964. I ask you if you committed any of the acts individually or in partnership with others and I invite your attention specifically to the date of September 20, 1964, and the bombing of the Society Hill Missionary Church, McComb, Mississippi.

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Document previously marked "Paul Wilson Exhibit No. 2." See pp. 3023, 3024.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Lee, I hand you a series of photographs. These photographs were made by the Mississippi Highway Patrol on the 3d day of October 1964. I ask you to hold them as I read them to you.

Report of the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol reflects that there was found in two sacks at the rear of the residence of Emery Allen Lee contents described as homemade bombs and a can of black powder with 65 feet of fuse. These items are described as lengths of galvanized pipe capped at both ends with a quarter inch hole drilled in them, filled with black powder, fused with the fuse bonded.

Mr. Lee, did you manufacture those homemade bombs?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Photographs marked "Emery Lee Exhibit No. 1." For one of said photographs, see committee report, *The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement*, p. 108; balance retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Lee, Billy Earl Wilson stated that when they were preparing to bomb the residence of Alyene Quinn that they stopped by your house and from a sort of corner cabinet there was obtained by you from a false bottom in that cabinet the dynamite which they used. Was Billy Earl Wilson's testimony truthful?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. While stationed at Aberdeen Proving Ground as a member of the United States Army did you receive instruction in detonation?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Lee, did you and Bubba Gillis bomb the Society Hill Missionary Church, McComb, Mississippi, on the night of September 20, 1964?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. At a meeting of the Klavern which met at Bubba Gillis' upholstery shop, where a hat was placed on the table, did you draw a slip of paper which contained the name of the Society Hill Missionary Church?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Are you acquainted with Curtis O'Neil Doles, a Klansman with the Bessemer, Alabama, Klavern?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Lee, can you advise the committee as to the purpose which you and other members of the United Klans in the State of Mississippi hope to accomplish through the acts of arson and bombings which you men carried out in that State?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Where did you obtain the powder that was in that can?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you know Robert M. Shelton?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Have you discussed your appearance here today with Robert M. Shelton?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Have you discussed your appearance with any person known to you to be a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. No further questions.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I have one that I overlooked which is very important.

Mr. Lee, on November 12, 1964, did you write the following letter to a Miss or Mrs. Joyce L-a-d-n-e-r, and I will quote the contents of the letter to you:

I read your article in the Jackson Daily News about the McComb Bombers. It makes a man feel good to know that someone in these United States outside of good old Mississippi will go to bat for them. My name is Emery Allen Lee. I am the one who is the Demolision [sic] Expert who made all the bombs and told the others where to go with them. I am proud of my part. They have accused me of and am sorry that one man had to spill his guts and tell everything he knew about me and my property but he has to live with it the rest of his life. I would have trusted him with my life. It just goes to show that a man doesn't know who he can trust any more. I am branded an exbomber of Pike Co. but I will hold my head up even higher than ever and spit in the eye of any one who tries to ever integrate me and will fight it one way or another till I die and will lay down my life tomorrow for what I believe. I am a *Rebel* and I am proud to be one and from your article in the paper in my book you rate *first class*. And I would be proud [sic] to call you a true friend because it took lots of guts to put that in the paper nowadays. Speaking of faith it is going to take a lot of Faith and men and women like yourself to stand together and fight for the things we hold so dear. We have a police State here now and a white man gets treated like an animal if he doesn't go along with COFO and NAACP so just call me an animal. I was handcuffed so long and so tight with my hands behind my back that when they finally took them off I could lay my thumb and finger in the groove of my wrist and all but hide them. It took almost three weeks for the feeling to come back to my right hand. Well, I didn't intend to talk so much. I really wanted to thank you for your lift in the paper. It meant a lot to me and any of the others who might have read it.

Sincerely

Signed "Al Lee."

Mr. LEE. Sir, I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Emery Lee Exhibit No. 2-A" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. POOL. Mr. Appell, do you have a date on that?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir. That was dated November 12, 1964.

Mr. POOL. Did he sign the letter?

Mr. APPELL. The letter was handwritten. It was signed "Al Lee" and it has been—I might preface what I am going to answer you with, Mr. Lee misinterpreted what the letter of Miss Ladner was intended to convey when he wrote her this letter. Upon receipt of it she forwarded it to the Attorney General of the United States, who had a handwriting analysis made which confirmed it to be written by the witness Emery Allen Lee.

Mr. POOL. And signed by the witness?

Mr. APPELL. And signed by the witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Just a minute. What was the letter that Miss Ladner wrote? I find it incredible to believe that this letter was signed and dispatched under those circumstances. Will you give us some more background? What was the nature of Miss Ladner's letter?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, we made a search, but because of the amount of time we would have to consume to research the paper we did not obtain it.

Mr. POOL. You don't have Miss Ladner's letter?

Mr. APPELL. No, sir, we are still in search of it. It will be made part of the record.

(Miss Ladner's letter marked "Emery Lee Exhibit No. 2-B" follows:)

## EMERY LEE EXHIBIT No. 2-B

[Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, October 30, 1964]

## Courage And Integrity Shown?

Editor, Daily News — I recently learned that my McComb, Mississippi, brethren pleaded guilty to the bombings of the colored folks homes and churches. I must say that this must have taken a great amount of courage and integrity.

Hats off to the fine Southern gentlemanly judge who gave them all suspended sentences because of the faith he had in their upbringing, as evidenced by the Christian deed they did.

This is but another fine example of the courageous acts that can only be carried out by a true Southern gentleman.

Joyce Ladner  
5793 Kingsbury Place  
St. Louis 12, Mo.

Mr. WELTNER. This was a letter published in a newspaper?

Mr. APPELL. In the editor's column.

Mr. WELTNER. Is it your statement that the witness misinterpreted the letter as sympathetic to the bombing?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And in response to what he interpreted to be an expression of sympathy he sent to the author of the newspaper letter, this letter?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. You have also stated now that that was forwarded to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that a handwriting analysis was made of it; that the result of that analysis is that it was written by this witness.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Appell, I wish to ask this: Did he answer the question?

Mr. APPELL. He invoked the constitutional privilege before I even asked him whether or not he was the author.

Mr. POOL. In view of this letter and the fact that the handwriting has been identified, I will say that I think it needs explanation on his part or the committee will have to accept it in the tone in which it was sent and the philosophy behind it in this man's mind, which is not a very admirable philosophy and the general public resents that type of attitude by those people.

I can't think of anything incriminating in this letter. I would straighten it out if I were on the witness stand.

Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. I would like to ask the witness as to whether or not the statement about the condition of his wrist after being handcuffed, or put it to him as a fact that that statement is false?

Mr. LEE. I invoke my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. APPELL. I have no further questions to ask the witness.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Senner, as a member of the full committee, would you care to ask any questions?

Mr. SENNER. I have no questions, thank you.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chairman, I have an observation which I should like to make a part of the record.

A witness before this committee has a right to counsel and he has a right not to have counsel, too. Now the witnesses who have been subpoenaed here who are implicated in the McComb bombings each appeared without counsel. And each, after being queried as to whether they desired counsel, stated they did not wish counsel.

Now that occurred to me to be a rather unusual circumstance inasmuch as just about every other witness who has appeared and has taken the fifth amendment consistently has appeared with counsel.

It occurs to me that there is a logical explanation for that. The interview that was printed in *Playboy* magazine with Mr. Robert Shelton disclosed Mr. Shelton's statements to the effect that the United Klans did not permit violence and was opposed to violence and it also contained the question, "Then how do you explain the case of Paul Dewey Wilson, who was arrested last year in McComb, Mississippi, while wearing a deputy sheriff's badge" et cetera?

The answer to that by Mr. Shelton was: "We don't have membership cards. The card he had was the card I described—just a business card."

Now if these witnesses appeared with counsel furnished them by the United Klans of America, there would be a serious doubt cast on the statement made by the Imperial Wizard that anyone convicted of an act of violence would be summarily discharged from the United Klans of America. Hence their appearance without counsel is understandable in that light.

Now as I say, Mr. Chairman, a man has a right to counsel and a man has a right to appear without counsel and from the appearance of these five or six witnesses I will have to say that their rights were protected by their own refusals in the claim of the fifth amendment. Possibly this *Playboy* interview and the statements by the Imperial Wizard are the explanation for the rather unusual nature of these appearances.

Mr. POOL. Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call L. C. Murray.

Mr. POOL. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes, sir.

**TESTIMONY OF L. C. MURRAY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record.

Mr. MURRAY. L. C. Murray.

Mr. APPELL. What do the initials "L." and "C." stand for?

Mr. MURRAY. Initials only.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with subpoena served upon you on November 22, 1965, at 114 Main Street, Natchez, Mississippi?

Mr. MURRAY. I am.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Murray?

Mr. MURRAY. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as granted to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, attorney at law, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, is it your understanding that the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement of October 19, 1965, and that he is familiar with the contents?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; it is so stipulated, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Murray, I hand you a rather poor reproduction of a signature card on the Britton & Koontz [National] Bank, Natchez, Mississippi, which shows the signature of Edward McDaniel, Grand Dragon; John Dawson; and L. C. Murray, field—abbreviation for secretary. I ask you if you are the L. C. Murray—I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are the L. C. Murray listed as field secretary.

Mr. MURRAY. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

(Document previously marked "John Dawson Exhibit No. 1." See p. 2984.)

Mr. APPELL. I hand you two checks, one dated September 24, 1965, the other October 8, 1965, and put it to you as a fact that they establish you as a paid employee of the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi.

Mr. MURRAY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you two checks, one dated October 2, 1965, payee cash, amount \$2,766, endorsers John Dawson and L. C. Murray, and check dated October 15, 1965, payable to cash, in the amount of \$2,000, endorser Edward L. McDaniel.

After you examine them I will ask you for what purpose did you endorse the check for \$2,766. The second check I ask you for what purpose did you make a check for Edward L. McDaniel in the amount of \$2,000?

Mr. MURRAY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Checks previously marked "John Dawson Exhibit No. 4." See pp. 2988-2991.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Murray, I put it to you as a fact that your formal title within the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi, is that of field secretary to the Grand Dragon and ask you to affirm or deny the fact.

Mr. MURRAY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, as to whether or not the following individuals are the exalted cyclops of the following Klaverns:

700, Ray Smith, McComb; 701, J. M. Foster, Brookhaven; 702, C. J. Seal, Pearl River County; 704, John Brumfield, McComb, Mississippi; 711, H. H. Mathews, McComb, Mississippi.

Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, this is the Klavern in which Mr. Emmett Thornhill held membership.

712, Hewitt Wilkinson, Pricedale, Mississippi; 713, George Winborne, Bogue Chitto; 715, J. R. Morgan, Brookhaven; 716, Harold Casey, Goodman, Mississippi; 718, J. W. Reeves, Bogue Chitto, Mississippi; 719, Paul Foster, Natchez, Mississippi; 726, Bill Sullivan, Jackson, Mississippi; 727, T. M. Jackson, Yazoo City, Mississippi; 728, M. E. Bell, Mathiston, Mississippi; 729, W. H. Aswalt, Louisville, Mississippi; 730, James R. Simpson, Starkville; 732, Jerry M. Graham, Oxford; 735, L. C. Bracken, Iuka; 736, Houston Evans, kleagle for Greenville; 737, Glen Owen, the temporary EC, Columbus, Mississippi; Harry Oippens, the EC in the Wayne County unit.

I put it to you as a fact that they are, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact.

Mr. MURRAY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Murray, as the field secretary of the United Klans, Mississippi, have you conducted any investigation which has resulted in the suspension or banishment from the United Klans of America of any member who has engaged in an act of intimidation or violence against a citizen of Mississippi?

Mr. MURRAY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I have no further questions to ask this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Weltner.

Mr. WELTNER. I have no questions.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused permanently.

Mr. APPELL. Edward Lenox McDaniel.

Mr. POOL. Will you raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McDANIEL. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF EDWARD LENOX McDANIEL, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. McDaniel.

Mr. McDANIEL. Edward L. McDaniel.

Mr. APPELL. Middle name Lenox?

Mr. McDANIEL. Right.

Mr. APPELL. You are appearing here today in accordance with subpoena served upon you on October 30, 1965, at 114 Main Street, Natchez, Mississippi, by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

Mr. McDANIEL. I am.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. McDANIEL. I am.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, attorney at law, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, is it so stipulated that the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement on October 19, 1965, and is familiar with its contents?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McDaniel, under the terms of the subpoena served upon you and attachment thereto which is made a part of the subpoena, you are commanded to bring with you and to produce before the committee documents set forth in paragraph 1:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, The Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as Grand Dragon of the Mississippi Realm of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, also as a member of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi and as a member of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

I ask you to produce the documents called for in paragraph 1.

Mr. McDANIEL. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 6, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 6, 1965, since that information is not relevant or germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McDaniel, paragraph 2 called for you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as Grand Dragon of the Mississippi Realm of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

Mr. McDANIEL. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore requested upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to produce those documents called for in part 2.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. McDaniel, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusing to produce these documents.

Accordingly, the chairman of the subcommittee directs you to do so.  
(At this point Mr. Buchanan returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, may we have a stipulation that these documents called for are in the custody of this witness?

Mr. CHALMERS. As stated in the subpoena, Mr. Chairman; yes.

Mr. WELTNER. Thank you.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McDaniel, when and where were you born?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McDaniel, were you banished by Imperial Dragon Roy V. Young from the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Realm of Mississippi?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. And former Imperial Dragon Young testified under oath that you were banished because you were guilty of slandering and threatening the head or leaders of his Klan and also committing treason by exciting and recommending of revolt against the principles of the old original rules and regulations. Is his testimony truthful?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege, consisting of refusal to answer my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. McDaniel.

Edward Lenox McDaniel was born on December 12, 1934, at Natchez, Mississippi. He has a 10th grade education. He has been employed by Johns-Manville, Natchez, Mississippi, 1953 to 1955; by General Motors in California from September 1955 to January 1957; by Los Angeles Transit Lines from February 1957 to July 1957; by Johns-Manville again from July 30, 1957, to October 12, 1959; by Acme Steel Company in California in 1960 to 1962; by the Red Ball Motor Freight Company, Natchez, Mississippi, 1962 until he began devoting full time to the United Klans of America, Realm of Mississippi.

McDaniel, while in California, filed a petition of bankruptcy on October 28, 1961, at Lynwood, California, listing debts of \$4,522.36 and assets of \$200. On March 7, 1962, he was discharged as bankrupt.

McDaniel's employment with Johns-Manville was terminated in 1959 under the technical charge of abuse of plant rules and regulations. Investigation established that his dismissal resulted from his illegally opening a milk vending machine and removing therefrom the coin content.

E. L. McDaniel was banished from the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in December 1963 by Roy V. Young, Imperial Dragon. He was thereafter the leader of the Original Knights which formed the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi and was elected to the position of province KBI.

While holding an office within the White Knights, he joined the

United Klans of America, where after he received the appointment of Grand Dragon, to which office he was later elected.

In September 1964, a series of bombings was carried out in Adams County, Mississippi. These bombings resulted from actions taken within a UKA Klavern in McComb, Mississippi. One of the Klansmen involved was a State officer of the United Klans of America, Murphy J. Duncan, who held the position of grand klabee, or treasurer. In spite of this, the September 28, 1964, issue of the *Natchez Democrat* carried a statement over the signature of Grand Dragon McDaniel addressed to the citizens of Adams County and read in part as follows:

I would like to take this opportunity to inform the citizens of Adams County and all parties concerned that the United Klan of America does not condone nor advocate the bombings which took place last night, nor any of the previous acts which have created strife and turmoil in our city although the Klan has been accused of them. The Klan has nothing to gain by such acts.

(Document marked "Edward McDaniel Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

EDWARD MCDANIEL EXHIBIT NO. 1

[*Natchez (Miss.) Democrat*, September 28, 1964]

## Klan Denies Any Part In Bombings

E. L. McDaniel, Grand Dragon of the United Klan of America, Realm of Mississippi, yesterday issued a signed statement in which he denied that the Klan in Adams County and Natchez have had any part in bombings or other acts which have created strife and turmoil in Natchez.

He stated further that "The United Klan of America does not condone nor advocate the bombings which took place on Friday night, nor any of the previous acts which have created

strife and turmoil in our city."

The complete statement of Mr. McDaniel is as follows:

September 26, 1964

To the Citizens of Adams County:

I would like to take this opportunity to inform the citizens of Adams County and all parties concerned that the United Klan of America does not condone nor advocate the bombings which took place last night nor any of the previous acts which have created strife and turmoil in our city, although the Klan has been accused of them. The Klan has nothing to gain by such acts.

May all citizens strive to preserve law and order in our city.

Yours for God and Country,

E. L. McDaniel,

E. L. McDaniel, Grand Dragon,  
Realm of Mississippi

Mr. APPELL. Following arrest by the Mississippi Highway Safety Patrol of the UKA Klansmen, the Natchez Klavern, which had been incorporated under the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association, passed a resolution deploring what the resolution described as "unlawful arrest and search by the State Highway Patrol," and announced the launching of a campaign to raise funds. (See Paul Foster Exhibit No. 3, pp. 2999, 3000.)

The president of the Klavern front organization was Paul Foster, the first chaplain of the White Knights, then the exalted cyclops of the Klavern, and now Grand Klaliff of the United Klans of America, Realm office.

McDaniel in January 1965 criticized other State units of the United Klans of America for not sending financial support to defend Klansmen arrested in Mississippi. He said only \$300 had been sent to Mississippi from other States and \$162 from the imperial office. McDaniel stated that about \$3,000 had been collected for the defense of some 40 Klansmen arrested in Mississippi. In spite of this, he issued a statement which appeared in the *Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson, Mississippi, April 1, 1965, in which after welcoming the investigation by the Committee on Un-American Activities he was quoted as saying, "I have always advocated nonviolence and will continue to do so."

(Document marked "Edward McDaniel Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

EDWARD MCDANIEL EXHIBIT NO. 2  
[Jackson, Miss., *Clarion-Ledger*, April 1, 1965]

## Grand Dragon To Welcome Investigation

NATCHEZ (AP) — The Grand Dragon of the Mississippi Realm of the United Klans of America said here he "welcomed an investigation of the KKK."

E. L. McDaniel of Natchez made the comment after Rep. Edwon Willis, D - La., chairman of the house Un-American Activities committee announced his group would look into activities of the Klan, the Black Muslims and others.

McDaniel said he had no knowledge of the so - called "squads" that Willis talked about in announcing the probe.

"If such squads existed, I would know about them."

McDaniel said Willis stated that the Klan was not in the best tradition of Americanism. "I would hope that Mr. Willis has not formed an opinion before investigation of the truth.

"I hope that at the conclusion of the investigation, the Klan can continue to hold his committee in high esteem as a great committee for Americanism."

McDaniel said he urged all Mississippians to ignore the agitators who are plaguing the state. He called for calm.

"I have always advocated nonviolence and will continue to do so."

McDaniel heads an organization which has an estimated membership of 400.

In May 1965, an election of State officers was held at the Eola Hotel, Natchez, Mississippi, under the cover name of Mississippi Rescue Service. A caucus of imperial officers and Grand Dragons from many realms was also held.

Mississippi officers elected were E. L. McDaniel, Grand Dragon; P. L. Foster, Grand Klaliff; Charles Dickson, klo kard; W. W. Gwinn, G-w-i-n-n, grand kludd; Charles Stewart, grand kligrapp; John Dawson, grand klabee; F. B. Brown, grand kladd; B. W. Waldrup, outer guard; Henry Neese, inner guard, and Myron Wayne "Jack" Seale, grand night-hawk.

Henry Neese was replaced by Doyle Murray and L. C. Murray was appointed to the position of field secretary to the Grand Dragon. Appointed to the offices of great titan were Dexter Lamar Torrance, of Meridian, and Charles James Seal of Crossroads, Mississippi.

On July 10, 1965, a public rally was held at S-u-q-u-o-l-e-n-a Race Track near Meridian. McDaniel introduced the Neshoba County

Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, who had been arrested following the murder of the three civil rights workers in Philadelphia.

On July 22, 1965, Sheriff Rainey was again introduced by McDaniel, this time at a public rally near Greenville, Mississippi. Imperial Wizard Shelton shared the platform with Sheriff Rainey on this meeting and the one on July 10.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. McDaniel possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. McDaniel, you have heard the statement of the committee's investigator. I give you an opportunity to reply to that statement, to confirm or challenge the accuracy of the information, or explain part of it. You may offer, if you desire, any additional information you deem relevant.

Do you have any matter you wish to present to the committee at this time?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. I am advising, Mr. McDaniel, absent your rebuttal or absent any information which may come to this committee we will have to rely on the accuracy of this investigation.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McDaniel, I hold in my hand a bulletin to units of the United Klans of America, Inc., Post Office Box 10753, Atlanta, Georgia, dated October 13, 1964, addressed "Esteemed Klanspeople." In part, it reads:

Due to the arrest of several white Mississippians who have been charged in connection with the recent bombings in McComb, Miss. The Grand Dragon of Miss. advises me that it is necessary to go to the assistance of these men who have been implicated by the press that they are Klansmen. However, the only thing they had concerning the Klan was a complimentary card of some sort. As you know we do not condone nor advocate such acts of violence, but we believe these men are victims of circumstances. Miss. needs your help send your donations to

E. L. McDaniel G.D. Miss.  
P.O. BOX 1341, NATCHEZ, MISS.

This was sent out by the Grand Dragon, Calvin F. Craig, of Georgia.

Mr. McDaniel, did you advise the Grand Dragon that these men, who by their own statements and by sworn testimony are members of the United Klans of America, that they were not members of the United Klans of America?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based on the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Edward McDaniel Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

## EDWARD MCDANIEL EXHIBIT No. 3

Bulletin to Units of United Klans of America, Inc. asking for funds.

UNITED KLANS  
OF AMERICA INC.  
P.O. BOX 12753  
ATLANTA, GA.  
OCT. 13, 1964

Esteemed Klanspeople;

Less than one month now remains before the general election November 3. The American people by the millions will go to the polls and cast their vote for the one they think will be best for our beloved country. It is a must that you a member of the Klan and as a Patriotic American encourage voters to exercise their right and go to the polls and VOTE. I ask each and every member to work and support their choice for president be it JOHNSON or GOLDWATER..... Call the campaign office of your candidate and offer your needed help or either you can set back and complain for the next four years.....

1965 GEORGIA STATE KLONVOKATION WILL BE HELD AT SAVANNAH, GEORGIA IN THE MONTH OF JULY. DATE WILL BE RELEASED AT A LATER TIME. Savannah Klan # 41 will be the Host so now we have 8 months to plan the Savannah trip I feel sure many will take their vacation at this time. We will have another State Klonvokation this year 1964 which will bring us up to date. Time and place will be put in the next news letter. Their will be a number of positions up for reelection on the State Board.

NOVEMBER 21 Saturday. TURKEY SHOOT at Sam Pooles Place on Hwy# 81. 6 miles north of Covington, Ga. Benefit Covington #38 Klavern.

OCT. 29. 8PM Old 66 N'side Dr. and Marietta St. Atlanta will have a naturalization all units are invited to bring their candidates and members (MEN ONLY) E.C. Cleaper says Donuts and Coffee will be served also he says to bring your robes.

The F.B.I. continues to harass the men in Athens, Ga. they are in still need of financial help.

I would like for any unit that has any problems that they cannot handle themselves to write and let the State Board try to advise or offer suggestions. But let us all understand that all of our troubles are to be handled in the chain of command as the organization is set up. That is why we elect officers..... In a recent conversation with the Imperial Wizard the pins adopted in 3'ham should be in the hands of each state. The G.D.s office will let you know when they are ready for distribution here in Georgia.

In the coming months let us renew our faith in the organization and strive for UNITY in the UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA INC.

Due to the arrest of several white Mississippians who have been charged in connection with the recent bombings in McComb, Miss. The Grand Dragon of Miss. advises me that it is necessary to go to the assistance of these men who have been implicated by the press that they are Klansmen. However the only thing they had concerning the Klan was a complimentary card of some sort. As you know we do not condone nor advocate such acts of violence, but we believe these men are victims of circumstances. Miss. needs your help send your donations to

E.L. McDaniel G.D. Miss.  
P.O. BOX 1341  
NATCHEZ, MISS.

Klanspeople the work that you do in the next 3 weeks may be the turning factor in the future of this great and glorious country. A M E R I C A .....

THE KLAN DID IT BEFORE LET THE UNITED  
DO IT NOW

Yours for GOD and Country  
Calvin F. Craig

Mr. APPELL. Is the deceit of the United Klans of America about its nonviolent position which it gives to the general public also comparable to the deceit which it gives to its own members with respect to violence of its membership?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McDaniel, did you attend—I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you attended a public rally of the United Klans of America, Realm of Louisiana, held at the West Monroe Fairgrounds, West Monroe, Louisiana, on December 6, 1964? I ask you to affirm or deny that fact.

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Did you advise Klansmen there that you had, you and your lieutenants that accompanied you, had to return to Natchez, Mississippi, because Imperial Wizard Shelton was in Mississippi contacting United Klans units in that State about raising money to defend the individuals arrested by the FBI on the murder of the civil rights workers the previous summer.

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. McDaniel, according to our investigation, you had placed in the public press in September 1964 a statement to the effect that you wished to inform all parties concerned that the United Klan does not condone or advocate bombing. I want to ask you today, Mr. McDaniel, does the United Klan condone or advocate bombing?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. How many members are there of the Mississippi Realm of the United Klans of America?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. In April of this year, according to our investigation, you issued a statement welcoming this inquiry by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Now in connection with that, you stated, I believe, "I have always advocated nonviolence and will continue to do so."

I would like to know, Mr. McDaniel, today whether or not you as the chief executive officer of the Mississippi Realm of the United Klans of America do advocate nonviolence?

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to correct the Chair, but I believe the Chair said in April of this year. I believe it was April of last year.

Mr. WELTNER. April 1965. Thank you, Mr. Chalmers.

With that correction, I would ask the witness whether or not he does advocate nonviolence.

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. How much money was collected for the defense of Klansmen involved in several legal proceedings in Mississippi pursuant to this bulletin issued by Grand Dragon of Georgia and other efforts among the other Klans?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the ground previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you know Lawrence Rainey, the sheriff of Neshoba County, Mississippi?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. McDaniel, was there not broadcast widely in this country a CBS television documentary on September 17, 1965, wherein you introduced Sheriff Rainey on the platform of the public gathering of the Mississippi Realm of the United Klans of America? Isn't that a fact?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Is Sheriff Rainey a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you invite Sheriff Rainey to make an investigation of the United Klans of America as indicated on that television program?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. McDaniel, did you discuss with any of the following parties their appearance before this committee today: Paul Dewey Wilson, Murphy Duncan, Emery Lee? Did you have any discussion with any of these parties as to their appearance before this committee?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you have some further questions, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. McDaniel, someone mailed to the committee a clipping from a newspaper which I believe to be a Jackson, Mississippi, paper, which carries a caption, "Over 100 Crosses Burned In State."

The article sets forth that this, according to the Mississippi Highway Patrol, was strictly a planned operation by the United Klans of America and I quote:

"Klansmen were advised a week or so in advance to take part in this protest burning, which was in protest of the House Un-American activities committee hearings which resumed Tuesday."

I ask you if you as the Grand Dragon ordered these series of cross-burnings and what did you hope to accomplish by them?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Edward McDaniel Exhibit No. 4" follows:)

EDWARD McDANIEL EXHIBIT NO. 4

[Unidentified Mississippi newspaper of January 5, 1966]

# Over 100 Crosses Burned In State

By JOHN HALL  
Associated Press Writer

Officials said Tuesday probably over 100 crosses were set aflame from one end of Mississippi to the other Monday night in a nearly simultaneous Ku Klux Klan operation protesting resumption of Congressional investigation of the KKK.

Gunfire between officer and clandestine cross-burners was reported in at least two places, and at least eight men were arrested in three places.

The Highway Patrol said it was positive at least 70 crosses were burned in an operation that got underway about 10 p.m. Monday night.

Another report came from an official who declined to be quoted by name said nearly 100 crosses had been reported and more were expected and "probably a very few were never observed. These are minimum figures . . . or several could have been reported twice."

He added, "This was strictly a planned operation by the United Klans of America."

## MET GUNFIRE

"Klansmen were advised a week or so in advance to take part in this protest burning, which was in protest of the House Un-American activities committee hearings which resumed Tuesday."

A group of men met gunfire when they tossed a flaming cross in the yard of the home of Meridian Attorney William Ready but escaped.

Meridian police said a police stakeout fired six shots and Ready himself blasted a way twice with a shotgun, but it was not known if they hit any cross-burners.

In North Mississippi, men in

a pickup truck opened fire off FBI agents seeking the license tag number of their pickup truck after the men dropped a burning cross before the Benton County Citizens Club building a Civil Rights headquarters.

Bobby Byrd, 22, and Allen Byrd, both of Benton county, were arrested and charged with assault.

FBI, Highway Patrol and county officers chased the pickup to Allen Byrd's farm and captured Bobby in nearby woods. Allen turned himself in Tuesday.

The patrol said crosses and expended .30 caliber and shotgun ammunition were found in the pickup truck.

In another Meridian incident, police arrested five men on charges of conspiracy to commit a crime after a kerosene-soaked cross was discovered in their pickup truck.

## OUT ON BOND

The men, who were released on \$500 bond, were identified as Mack Holdiness, 41, Thomas L. Cockrell, 32, Charles May 25, Charles Kenneth Harrison 31, and Robert Broadhead, 23, all of Meridian.

The patrol also reported at least one man was arrested at Pontotoc in connection with crosses. Several persons were surprised just inside Monticello burning a cross, but there were no arrests.

Crosses burned by county in a partial list, officials reported, showed Pearl River with 15, Washington 11, Winston 10, Lauderdale eight, Hinds seven, Pike seven, Marshall six, Choctaw five, Clarke five, Pontotoc four, Sharkey four, Adams four, Wayne four, Benton three, Clay three, Lincoln three, Jones three and Lowndes two.

Officials also reported at least one cross burned in Neshoba, Leake, Tishomingo, Lawrence, Tippah and Warren counties, and several in Rankin and Madison. They said figures were a minimum.

The crosses generally appeared in front of desegregated schools or at other public places, such as courthouses and on highways and streets, particularly at intersections.

## GOT INSTRUCTIONS

The official who reported the figure of 100 said Klansmen were instructed to put the crosses in public places and "if they decided to go down and put it in front of the house of one of his enemies that was that."

The FBI said federal charges of assaulting an officer had not been placed against the men arrested in Benton county. The offense carries a penalty of 10 years in prison and \$10,000 fine as a maximum if a deadly weapon is used.

In Jackson, crosses appeared aflame in front of six desegregated schools and the city's Negro Municipal Auditorium at College Park.

The schools were Murrah, Provine and Central High schools and Robert E. Lee, Barr and George Elementary schools.

In Washington county, authorities attributed the cross-burnings to the United Klans of America and said they probably know identities of the Klansmen involved.

Witnesses, they said, saw two carloads of men stop and burn a cross after donning KKK robes and hoods.

Other crosses in Meridian were set aflame at the home of Mayor Al Key, Meridian City Junior College and Marion Park Elementary School. The two schools have Negro students along with whites.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McDaniel, the *Philadelphia Bulletin* of December 24, 1965, states that the Grand Dragon of the Mississippi Ku Klux Klan last night had Natchez Police Chief J. T. Robinson arrested on a charge of failing to enforce the law.

And the article stated that he was so arrested, and I ask you, Mr. McDaniel, as Grand Dragon, whether this charge of failing to perform a duty, which any citizen can perform under Mississippi law, was designed by you to remove from the leadership of the police department a police chief who was anti-Klan in order to have promoted members of the United Klans of America who were members of that police force?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Edward McDaniel Exhibit No. 5" follows:)

EDWARD MCDANIEL EXHIBIT NO. 5  
[Philadelphia, Pa., *Bulletin*, December 24, 1965]

# Klan Charge Brings Arrest Of Police Chief

## Grand Dragon Says Natchez Official Failed in Duty

Natchez, Miss., Dec. 24 — (UPI)—The grand dragon of the Mississippi Ku Klux Klan last night had Natchez Police Chief I. T. Robinson arrested on a charge of failing to enforce the law.

In Mississippi, anyone can sign an affidavit and have a man arrested, and does not have to substantiate his charge until a later hearing.

Robinson was arrested by

Sheriff Odell Anders and released on a \$100 bond.

There was no official explanation of the charges, but Robinson said grand dragon E. L. McDaniel, a Natchez resident, had been urging him to arrest civil rights leaders under a state anti-boycott law.

Negros have renewed a boycott of Natchez merchants, because, they claim, two policemen unnecessarily beat Negroes in a racial flareup on Wednesday. The boycott had been called off Dec. 3 when 22 merchants agreed to hire Negro clerks.

## Reprieve for Negroes

Baton Rouge, La., Dec. 24 — (AP) — U. S. District Judge E. Gordon West late yesterday issued a restraining order to keep Negro sharecroppers in West Feliciana Parish from being evicted by their white landlords until the court can decide whether they are being harassed for registering to vote.

(At this point Mr. Senner entered the hearing room.)

Mr. APPELL. James K. Greer in a statement given to the Mississippi Highway Patrol, identified as a man he knew to be a Klansman Captain Wisner of that police department. Was your action against Chief Robinson designed to promote Captain Wisner?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. WELTNER. One further matter.

Mr. McDaniel, you were directed by the committee to produce the documents referred to in paragraph 2 of the subpoena served upon you. I extend to you at this point the opportunity to make known to this

committee any reason why you might be unable to produce those documents. You do have that opportunity at this point to state, if that be the case, under oath that you are unable to comply with the subpoena by virtue of the fact that, if that is the case, that you do not have possession or you do not have any such records in your custody or control or that they are not available to you.

You now have that opportunity if you so desire.

Mr. CHALMERS. I am not certain whether that is a question or not, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. It is not a question, it is an opportunity I am giving the witness at this point, if he so desires, to state that or to bring that matter to the committee's attention. I make that offer in view of the action that the House of Representatives took on yesterday with regard to similar requirements of this committee.

Hearing no response by the witness or his counsel, I will assume that he does not desire to make any statement at this point.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McDaniel, do you have in your possession or control the documents or records called for by this subpoena in paragraph 2 as ordered by the chairman of this committee to be produced at this point?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SENNER. Do you have any knowledge of where those records might be so that you can easily obtain them and furnish them to this committee to comply with the subpoena and the order of the chairman of this committee?

Mr. McDANIEL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. There being no further questions, the witness will be excused.

The committee will stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow, and the place of meeting of the subcommittee will be in the House Caucus Room in the Cannon Office Building.

I might announce that the area to be inquired into tomorrow will be with regard to the State of Alabama.

(Whereupon, at 4:20 p.m., Thursday, February 3, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Friday, February 4, 1966.)



# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 4 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:20 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Charles L. Weltner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Charles L. Weltner, of Georgia, chairman; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and John H. Buchanan, Jr., of Alabama.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Phillip R. Manuel, investigator.

Mr. WELTNER. The subcommittee will come to order.

I file for the record at this point a designation of a subcommittee consisting of myself as chairman, Messrs. Ashbrook and Buchanan as associate members, for the purpose of conducting hearings on Friday, February 4. A quorum of that subcommittee is present, and Mr. Appell, you will call your first witness.

(The order of appointment of the subcommittee follows:)

FEBRUARY 2, 1966.

To Mr. Francis J. McNamara,  
*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities:*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Honorable Charles L. Weltner as Chairman, and Honorable John M. Ashbrook and Honorable John Buchanan as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C. on Friday, February 4, 1966, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 30th day of March, 1965, authorizing hearings concerning the activities of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 2nd day of February, 1966.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis,  
EDWIN E. WILLIS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Charles J. Seal? Would his attorney come forward?

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, you are appearing here on behalf of the witness, Charles J. Seal?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir, I am, Mr. Chairman. Yesterday I received a telegram from Dr. W. F. Stringer of Poplarville, Mississippi, who has been appointed by the Veterans' Administration to look after this ex-veteran with respect to a heart condition that he has.

Now the telegram that I received yesterday afternoon after the hearing was recessed, I did not feel was satisfactory, so I had Mr. Seal contact Dr. Stringer again, and this telegram was received this morning:

Charles J. Seals

Room 522 Congress Motel, Wash., D.C.

Mr. Seals, in addition to the information sent you this morning I believe that it would be against your health to be required to testify in any stressful situation.

W. F. STRINGER, M.D.

Mr. WELTNER. You are asking the committee to excuse the witness on the basis of that message?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; I am, and may I say this for the record and for the chairman's information?

This young man has had about six heart attacks, as I understand, and he is under constant supervision of the Veterans' Administration, through the Dr. Stringer that they have asked for.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, without objection, the telegram of the physician will be made a part of the record and this witness will be excused.

You are excused, Mr. Seal.

Call your next witness, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Robert Sidney Thomas.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated.

Proceed, Mr. Appell.

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT SIDNEY THOMAS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. Would you state your full name for the record?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Robert Sidney Thomas.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you at 2802 Second Place, Northwest, Center Point, Birmingham, Alabama, on the 3d day of November 1965 by a deputy United States marshal?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment which was made a part of the subpoena, and according to the terms of the subpoena, you were directed to bring with you and to produce documents set forth in paragraph 1 of the subpoena which reads as follows:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, Province #5, Realm of Alabama and Eastview Klavern #13, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as Titan, Province #5, Realm of Alabama, and former Exalted Cyclops, Eastview Klavern #13 of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in the violation of my rights as guaranteed me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant, germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in a consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers?

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, it is stipulated that the witness has been apprised of the chairman's opening statement with respect to the matter and that he is familiar with the contents thereof.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Thomas, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusing to produce these documents. Accordingly, I order and direct you to produce the documents required in the paragraph just read by the investigator. You are directed to produce those documents at this time.

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, will you stipulate also that the directions in the subpoena to produce the documents are those documents maintained in an official representative capacity of this witness?

Mr. CHALMERS. As stated in the subpoena.

Mr. WELTNER. As stated in the subpoena.

All right, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, paragraph 2 directs you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as Titan, Province #5, Realm of Alabama, and former Exalted Cyclops, Eastview Klavern #13 of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, Mr. Thomas, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectively decline to deliver to the committee the documents requested, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Thomas, I order and direct you to produce these documents, and I inquire of Mr. Chalmers whether the same stipulation as to the representative capacity stated in the subpoena applies in this connection.

Mr. CHALMERS. It does, sir, and also the familiarity with the chairman's opening statement.

Mr. WELTNER. You are directed to produce the documents, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectively decline to deliver to the committee the documents ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, when and where were you born?

Mr. WELTNER. Prior to going into that, Mr. Appell. Mr. Thomas, you have at this point an opportunity under oath to present any reason to this committee why you are unable to produce documents called for in this subpoena. You have that opportunity at this point: Either that they are not in your possession or that you have no custody or control over them or you have no access to them, and you have the opportunity to make any statement to that effect at this point.

Hearing no response, the investigator will proceed.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. I respectively decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel any answer might tend to incriminate me in my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, in May of 1961, as a member of the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, were you involved in the Freedom Bus trouble that was in Anniston and Birmingham? And in connection with that, did you have conversations with Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectively decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, in a legal action brought by Robert M. Shelton against the Tuscaloosa Newspapers, Incorporated, and Buford Boone, et al., during a pretrial deposition Mr. Shelton was asked:

In May, 1961, this was about the time of the so-called Freedom Bus trouble in Anniston and Birmingham, a long distance telephone call to your number in Tuscaloosa was charged to a Birmingham telephone listed to a Robert Thomas. Was Robert Thomas at that time a member of the Klan?

And Mr. Shelton was instructed not to answer.

Did you, as reported in the question, make a long-distance telephone call to Robert Shelton?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectively decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Excerpt from Shelton deposition marked "Robert Thomas Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

## ROBERT THOMAS EXHIBIT No. 1

ROBERT M. SHELTON,	)	IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF
	(	TUSCALOOSA COUNTY, ALABAMA
PLAINTIFF,	)	AT LAW
	(	
VS.	)	
	(	Case No. 19462
TUSCALOOSA NEWSPAPERS,	)	
INC., A CORPORATION,	(	
BUFORD BOONE, ET AL.,	)	
	(	
DEFENDANTS.	)	
	(	

A P P E A R A N C E S

ON BEHALF OF PLAINTIFF: CROWNOVER &amp; BURROUGHS

ON BEHALF OF DEFENDANTS: JONES, McEACHIN, ORMOND &amp; FULTON

By: Mr. Bruce McEachin

DEPOSITION OF ROBERT M. SHELTON

Taken by Defendants before Jimmie R. Black as Commissioner on October 14, 1964 in Room 223 of the County Courthouse, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in accordance with the provisions of Act No. 375 of the 1955 Legislature of Alabama, and pursuant to the following stipulation:

\* \* \* \* \*

Q In May, 1961, this was about the time of the so-called Freedom Bus trouble in Anniston and Birmingham, a long distance telephone call to your number in Tuscaloosa was charged to a Birmingham telephone listed to a Robert Thomas. Was Robert Thomas at that time a member of the Klan?

MR. BURROUGHS: Instruct him not to answer.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, do you know Gary Rowe?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. According to newspaper accounts, Gary Rowe testified in a Title 18, section 241, trial recently in Montgomery, Alabama, that on your instruction that he, Collie Leroy Wilkins, Eugene Thomas, and W. O. Eaton were sent on a night-riding mission in Selma, Alabama. Was his testimony truthful?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Robert Sidney Thomas.

Mr. Thomas was born on January 25, 1929, at Birmingham, Alabama. He has received a 2½ year high school education. He served in the United States Marine Corps from August 21, 1946, to July 9, 1948, and received an honorable discharge. He resides at 2519 18th Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama, and is employed by Southern Railroad Company, Birmingham.

In 1963, Mr. Thomas was the exalted cyclops of Eastview Klavern No. 13, and since 1964 has been great titan of Province No. 5, Realm of Alabama, which position he currently holds.

According to the committee's investigation, he is one of the most influential Klansmen in the United Klans of America in Alabama, and has the power to dictate the appointment of Klavern, realm, and even imperial officers.

Robert Thomas was a member of the Klan of Alabama at the time it was affiliated with the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, under Eldon Edwards. When the Alabama Realm of the U.S. Klans was expelled because of the refusal of Robert M. Shelton to make accounting of funds and also because Imperial Wizard Edwards was unable to control the violence of the Alabama Klansmen, Thomas, Shelton, Hubert Page, and Fredrick Smith were the leaders in the creation of an independent Klan group known as the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Many meetings in which the primary discussion is that of violence have been held at the residence of Robert Thomas.

Early in 1965, Robert Thomas discussed from the floor of a meeting of Eastview Klavern No. 13 that, in the future, members of the organization would adopt a new tactic in dealing with racial demonstrators. Thomas stated that in the future, no large number of Klansmen would show up at a demonstration—just one or two men, who would appear on the scene, and if able, would drop grenades out of a second-story window, or from a rooftop, into the midst of demonstrators, and then calmly leave the area. Thomas stated that, in using this tactic, they would considerably lessen the danger of having known Klansmen identified at the scene of racial demonstrations.

Thomas ordered Gary Rowe, Collie Leroy Wilkins, Eugene Thomas, and William Eaton to go to Selma, Alabama, on the night that Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was murdered.

Robert Thomas attended a regular meeting of the Eastview Klavern on the night of March 25, 1964. During the meeting, he discussed a

forthcoming religious service to be conducted by Billy Graham. Thomas announced he expected trouble after the Graham rally. He pointed out that the last two times Billy Graham had held rallies, he had left the Negroes so depressed that they demonstrated after the rallies. Thomas expected that the city or county police would ask Klan support. He therefore advised the then exalted cyclops, Ronald Tidwell, to have all Klan leaders "in pocket."

September 27, 1964, a meeting was held at the home of Robert Thomas, during which a plan was formulated to dynamite and otherwise assault with hand grenades and automatic weapons a Negro night club known as the Flame Club.

On November 8, 1964, Robert Thomas attended a meeting of the Fort Payne, Alabama, Klavern. On April 30, 1964, Robert Thomas appointed Herbert Eugene Reeves as the exalted cyclops of Eastview Klavern No. 13, replacing Ronald Tidwell in that position.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Thomas possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

MR. WELTNER. Mr. Thomas, you have heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator. You now have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement, to confirm, challenge the accuracy of the information, to explain any part of the statement. In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter which the committee deems relevant. I give you that opportunity now and point out that the record of this hearing today, unless it is rebutted by other evidence or by yourself, will show that you are the party responsible for the presence in Selma of four men, who have since been convicted of involvement in one of the most notorious and brutal murders in the last decade. So you have that opportunity at this point, to make any statement that you wish to make.

The witness remains silent, and upon that choice by the witness, I must advise him that unless other evidence comes to the attention of the committee, then we will rely upon the accuracy of this investigation.

MR. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, to your certain knowledge, have members of the United Klans of America been deputized in either the State highway patrol and the sheriff's departments or police departments throughout Province No. 5?

MR. ROBERT THOMAS. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reasons that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

MR. APPELL. With respect to the Klavern at Fort Payne, Alabama, Mr. Thomas, do you know the officers of that Klavern to now be George D. Killian, K-i-l-l-i-a-n, of Route 1, Portersville, Alabama; Guton, G-u-t-o-n, H. Tutor, T-u-t-o-r, of 600 South Alabama Avenue, Fort Payne; and Cecil King of 706 Turner Avenue, Fort Payne?

MR. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

MR. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, do you know of the existence within the State of Alabama of an Imperial Klokann Committee?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact that it is the responsibility of the klokann committee to carry out acts of violence deemed necessary by Klavern leaders or by Klaverns themselves, or realm or imperial officers.

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Ralph Roton to be a member—Let me name them all. Do you know Ralph Roton, Herbert Eugene Reeves, Cecil Henson, Eugene Thomas, Madison Hill, and Ronald Tidwell to be members of the Imperial Klokann Committee?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you possess knowledge of the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in 1963, at which four young girls were killed?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know J. B. Stoner?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever confer with J. B. Stoner with respect to an act of violence which would be carried out by members of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask Mr. Thomas.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Thomas, did you in fact direct Gary Rowe, Collie Leroy Wilkins, and others to Selma, Alabama, on the night that Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was killed?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you have any telephone conversations with those four men, subsequent to the shooting of Mrs. Liuzzo?

Mr. ROBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, since this witness is from the Realm of Alabama, as are other witnesses about to be called, I would like to reiterate today what I said on the first day of these hearings, that is, that I approach this investigation from the point of view of one who loves the South and who believes in its people and who knows about them, that an overwhelming majority there deplore acts of violence and terrorism.

I stated further that he who has nothing to hide has nothing to fear from this investigation. And it was my hope then, which I expressed, that the members of the Ku Klux Klan would come forward, would answer questions, would tell us whatever there might be that they could tell us that was good about their organization, and would demonstrate that the things that had been believed about them through the long years by a great many people, that they were, in fact, guilty of acts of violence and terrorism, were groundless.

Now this investigation has gone on for many weeks, running into months. We have heard testimony concerning bombings, burnings, beatings, and worse, concerning various Klan members and groups. We have yet to hear any testimony from any leader of any Klan group concerning that which is good and worthwhile about this organization that claims to be a Christian organization.

Now as far as I am concerned, whoever is guilty of committing acts of violence and terrorism, this criminal minority constitutes the worst enemy to the people of the South. This group, whoever they may be, plays into the hands of the Communist conspiracy in this country and around the world by forwarding the aims and goals of communism, in stirring racial dissension in the South and elsewhere, by feeding grist for the Communist propaganda mill into that mill, that it might be dispensed all over the world.

These people are responsible for the whole world thinking the falsehood about the South, that acts of violence and terrorism are representative of the fine people of the South, and this is not the case.

Such groups are responsible, in my considered judgment, for the passage, for building the motivation all over this country resulting in the passage, of legislation that some of us have not considered either wise or just, such as the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which in my judgment was neither wise nor just nor necessary. Those who committed acts of violence and terrorism set the stage for the passage of this act.

Now, Mr. Thomas, I want to give you one more opportunity to answer the charges presented in this hearing this day against you and, further, to tell us any good thing you know about the Ku Klux Klan organization, because I will say to you, sir, that whoever is guilty of such acts of violence and terrorism as have been indicated in this hearing, whoever these people are, they constitute the worst enemies to the people of the South. They are playing into the hands of the Communist conspiracy, and I think if you know any answers, you ought to give them. If you know any good thing about the Ku Klux Klan, you ought to say it, here and now, and I invite all the subsequent Alabama witnesses to do the same.

Mr. WELTNER. Failing any response from the witness, the record will so indicate.

Any further questions by the staff?

Mr. APPELL. None, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. This witness may be excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Herbert Thomas.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF HERBERT THOMAS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Herbert Thomas.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you at 106 Low Street, Warrior, Alabama, W-a-r-r-i-o-r, on the 25th day of October 1965 by a deputy United States marshal?

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena. Under the terms of the subpoena, you were commanded to bring with you and to produce those documents set forth in paragraph 1, reading as follows:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, and Warrior Klavern, Realm of Alabama, United Klans of America, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Exalted Cyclops of Warrior Klavern, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents.

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant, germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, do we have the stipulation that the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and is familiar with its contents and that the directions in the subpoena to produce documents are made to the witness in his official representative capacity as described?

Mr. CHALMERS. As stated in the subpoena; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Thomas, your reasons for failing to comply with the subpoena are not accepted by the committee, and as chairman of the subcommittee, I order and direct you to produce those documents.

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, paragraph 2 of the attachment to the subpoena directs you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Exalted Cyclops of Warrior Klavern, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

Under the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Do we have the same two stipulations with regard to this paragraph?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Thomas, I order you to produce those records.

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, as an exalted cyclops of the United Klans of America, Realm of Alabama, did you participate in a konvokation or klonecilium which authorized Mrs. Robert Shelton to comake checks drawn against the Alabama Rescue Service, using the name James J. Hendrix?

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. APPELL. Did you vote to authorize Carol Long to comake checks with Robert M. Shelton, using the name "T. M. Montgomery"?

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, the committee's investigation established that as of April 1965 that you were the exalted cyclops of Warrior Klavern, Warrior, Alabama, of the United Klans of America, Realm of Alabama. Is the investigative result of the committee factual?

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, under the procedures, the operational procedures of the United Klans of America, each Klavern appoints a klokann committee, whose members are appointed by the exalted cyclops. Did you as exalted cyclops appoint a klokann committee?

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. In addition to yourself as the exalted cyclops who are the officers of the Warrior Klavern?

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Thomas, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you were born on August 19, 1914, at Beltona, B-e-l-t-o-n-a, Alabama.

Mr. HERBERT THOMAS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Thomas, I would like to give you the same opportunity I gave to the other Mr. Thomas. Now we have found in some States, and we have had some testimony indicating there were men who came into the Ku Klux Klan with no idea of wrongdoing, out of strong convictions, that have not been guilty of any wrongdoing, and some of those have, since the beginning of this hearing, disassociated themselves from the United Klans and other like groups. I want to give you opportunity today to testify to this committee as to anything good you know as to the denial of any charges that have been made, or I want to invite you to follow the example of other like men who have themselves entered an organization with no intent of wrongdoing and have, therefore, disassociated themselves from that organization in light of the things that we have uncovered in these hearings.

I didn't ask a question. I want to give you an opportunity to speak, if you will.

Mr. WELTNER. The record will indicate the witness remains silent. The witness is excused.

Call your next witness, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Ronald Jefferson Tidwell.

Mr. WELTNER. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are to give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TIDWELL. I do.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated.

#### TESTIMONY OF RONALD JEFFERSON TIDWELL, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Tidwell.

Mr. TIDWELL. Ronald Jefferson Tidwell.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on the 26th day of October 1965 at 1309-16th Avenue North, Birmingham, Alabama, by a deputy United States marshal?

Mr. CHALMERS. May I inquire, please, sir, what is the date of the subpoena, the date of its issuance by the chairman? I believe it is the 14th.

Mr. APPELL. 14 October; yes, sir. It was served the 26th.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. TIDWELL. Yes.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness is represented by counsel. Will he identify himself at this point?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Tidwell, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena. And under the terms of subpoena, you were directed to bring with you and to produce documents set forth in two paragraphs. Paragraph 1 reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, and Eastview Klavern #13, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as former Exalted Cyclops of Eastview Klavern #13 of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. TIDWELL. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 14, and 4 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. STATEMENT. Mr. Chalmers, do we have a stipulation about the opening statement of the chairman, to the effect that this witness has received a copy of it and understands the contents?

Mr. CHALMERS. He is familiar with it; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And do we have a stipulation to the effect that the documents called for in the subpoena are called for in the representative capacity of this witness as designated in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. As stated in the subpoena.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Tidwell, this committee does not accept your refusal to deliver these documents, and I order and direct you to produce them at this time.

Mr. TIDWELL. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. And I give you an opportunity, if you so desire, to set forth for this committee any reason why you are unable, by virtue of nonpossession or want of custody or lack of access to these records, to comply with the mandate of this subpoena.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WELTNER. There being no response, we will proceed to the next paragraph.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Tidwell, under paragraph 2 you were ordered to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as former Exalted Cyclops of Eastview Klavern #13 of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. TIDWELL. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, do we have the same two stipulations with regard to this paragraph?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Tidwell, I order you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. TIDWELL. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Tidwell, when and where were you born?

Mr. TIDWELL. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answers might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Tidwell, I put it to you as a fact that you possess knowledge of the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, on September 15, 1963, and I ask you to give the committee the benefit of that knowledge.

Mr. TIDWELL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Appell, is that date and place the incident where on a Sunday morning in the city of Birmingham, Alabama, a Negro church was bombed, with the loss of the lives of four Sunday school students?

Mr. APPELL. That is our understanding also, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Tidwell, have you served on the Imperial Klokann Committee?

Mr. TIDWELL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. As a member of the Imperial Klokann Committee, have you ever been instructed, and did you carry out those instructions, with respect to acts of intimidation or violence?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. TIDWELL. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Tidwell, have you ever served time in a jail or penitentiary.

Mr. TIDWELL. I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Ronald Jefferson Tidwell.

He was born in Jefferson County, Alabama, on January 23, 1935. He received education at the Phillips High School from January of

1956 to March of 1956, when he quit. He has been employed since in various positions as an electrician.

Tidwell was arrested and charged with burglary and grand larceny on March 13, 1956. On July 26, 1956, he was sentenced to 6 months in jail, and placed on probation for 2 years. He was arrested on June 17, 1962, on a charge of violating the State Firearms Act. On June 27, 1962, the charge was changed to carrying a concealed weapon. He was fined \$55 on this charge.

At an election of officers of the Eastview Klavern No. 13 of the United Klans of America on December 29, 1963, Ronald Tidwell was elected exalted cyclops of the Klavern. On April 22, 1964, the Klan had expressed an interest in the possible demonstrations at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and Ronald Tidwell had announced that action groups should be on standby notice.

On January the 20th, 1964, Tidwell at a meeting of Eastview Klavern No. 13, made the comment that "If we're going to be Ku Kluxers, let's Klux." And in this connection, Mr. Chairman, "Kluxing" is a term referred to within the Klan as a militant action on the part of the membership.

On January 23, 1964, Tidwell presided over a meeting of the Eastview Klavern No. 13. At that time, Tidwell commented that he had heard from the Tutwiler Hotel that the FBI had found out about the approaching klonvokation and that he had the impression that the Tutwiler management was "shook."

Tidwell added that the leak of information appeared to come from Eastview Klavern or the Warrior Klavern in Warrior, Alabama. He stated, "We will have to be extremely careful with such information in the future."

Tidwell said that Shelton, the Imperial Wizard, was sought for an interview by the news media, and that his comment was that he did not know anything about a klonvokation.

Tidwell also said that after an applicant to the Klan had been checked out, that "we have a contact where we can check city, county, and Federal arrest records." Tidwell discussed a push similar in Montgomery to the bus incident at Birmingham. Tidwell further said that "around June of this year [1964], the demonstrations will probably be going strong." He said the "Klansmen will go downtown and get something started, and once it catches on, the Klansmen will drop out and get the leaders, once this is over."

Tidwell added "a tap on the head won't be enough." Tidwell said once the Klansmen got a conflict between whites and Negroes started, "they can drop out, get the leaders, and quit all Klan activities for 6 months."

Tidwell added that members would receive summonses in the *Fiery Cross* and that they should respond immediately.

A Klansman, Ross Keith, made a comment that all Klansmen would have to bring their guns with them to the klonvokation at the Tutwiler, since the public now knows about the Tutwiler meeting.

At this point, Tidwell exhibited a pistol he had under his coat and showed a pistol he had inside a briefcase with him at that time.

At a regular meeting of the Eastview Klavern held on the night of January 30, Tidwell said he had information from the Mississippi State Legislature about a 70-year-old man who was arrested along

with some younger men, and they made him sit against the wall with his knees drawn up and his hands locked around them for over 3 hours, and that when he relaxed his knees, that someone hit him with a night stick and broke his kneecap.

On March 26, 1964, Tidwell attended a meeting at the Eastview Klavern hall, in which it was announced that all seven squads of the Eastview Klavern would be on standby for the Billy Graham rally being held at the Legion Field on March 29, 1964. Robert Sidney Thomas, the great titan, announced he expected trouble after the Graham rally. Thomas said that the city police expected trouble at the rally and that he thought the city or county would ask for Klan support and, therefore, he wanted Exalted Cyclops Tidwell to have all this leaders "in pocket" on Sunday.

Ronald Tidwell as exalted cyclops of Eastview Klavern No. 13 expressed interest in the opening of the American National Bank, which was to be a Negro institution in Birmingham, Alabama. Tidwell suggested pulling the string on a tear gas container, causing confusion and beating a few Negroes in the subsequent panic.

Tidwell was heard to remark that "something ought to be deposited in the bank, but I do not have any money."

On April 14, 1964, the day before the American National Bank was to open, Robert Thomas instructed that there would be no Klan action and that he had informed Ronald Tidwell of his desire in this matter.

Thomas indicated that Tidwell claimed the people of Birmingham were tired of the Klan's inaction. However, Thomas stated that Ronald Tidwell had not presented any factual reasons for bombing the bank; therefore, he did not care to jeopardize the Klan when he knew the area would be saturated with police officers.

On April 30, 1964, Robert Thomas, province titan, appointed Herbert Eugene Reeves as the new exalted cyclops of Eastview Klavern No. 13, replacing Ronald Tidwell.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Tidwell possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in the enactment of remedial legislation.

Mr. WELTNER. The reporter will strike from the record any reference to any offenses charged against this witness which were subsequently dismissed.

Mr. Tidwell, you have heard the result of this investigation, and you have an opportunity at this point to reply to any portion of that statement. You may, if you desire, challenge or confirm the accuracy of any of that information or of any other matter, if you see fit. And I must observe that, as the matter now stands, this record will show a substantial involvement by yourself over a period of some several years with some acts of violence, leading to the loss of human life, so you have an opportunity to say whatever you desire at this point.

The witness, not undertaking to respond to that opportunity, is advised that absent his rebuttal or any other facts which come before this committee, the committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation.

Any questions?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Just of Mr. Appell, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Appell, you stated—and I am referring to charges which were not dismissed—that this witness had an arrest record dating back in 1956, during which year, I believe, there were charges of burglary and grand larceny, and then, later, a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. Is that correct?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, you then stated that on December 29, 1963, some time thereafter, he was elected exalted cyclops of the Eastview Klavern No. 13 of the United Klans. Is that correct?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Now, this Eastview Klavern is located in the city of Birmingham, I believe, and therefore within my congressional district.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. And so following this record, he was elected as leader of that Klan group. That is correct?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness is excused.

Call your next witness, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Rayford Martin.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated.

#### TESTIMONY OF RAYFORD JACKSON MARTIN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record.

Mr. MARTIN. Rayford Jackson Martin.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Martin, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Will your counsel identify himself?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Martin, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you at 1711 Buena Vista Circle, Decatur, Alabama, on October 25, 1965, by a deputy United States marshal?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Martin, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena, and under the terms of the subpoena you were commanded to bring with you and to produce documents described in two paragraphs. Paragraph 1 reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and the Decatur Klavern, Realm of Alabama, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Exalted Cyclops of Decatur Klavern, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MARTIN. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as required by this committee under subpoena—as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October the 14th, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January the 4th, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, do we have the stipulation that this witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and understands the content thereof?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And also that the documents sought to be reached by this subpoena are documents alleged to be maintained or in the possession of this witness in the representative capacity stated in the subpoena.

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, can't we stipulate that he—the service of the subpoena was served upon him and that the subpoena speaks for itself, which we have heretofore done?

Mr. WELTNER. I am not consciously trying to vary the format.

Mr. CHALMERS. I certainly realize that; I fully realize it, but I tell you what's the truth; I hate to go up one street and come back, seeing myself the other way.

Mr. WELTNER. We have stipulated that the directions of the subpoena to produce the documents called for are made to the witness in the official representative capacity described in the subpoena. Is that correct?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Thank you, Mr. Chalmers.

Mr. Martin, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusing to produce these documents, and, consequently, I order and direct you to produce them at this time.

Mr. MARTIN. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. And as in other cases, you are offered the opportunity at this point to present to the committee any reason why you are unable to produce these documents, either for lack of possession or custody or for want of access thereto.

You remain silent. We will proceed to the next paragraph.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Martin, paragraph 2 called for you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Exalted Cyclops of Decatur Klavern, Realm of Alabama of the

United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. MARTIN. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered.

Mr. WELTNER. For what reason, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. Based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, may we have the same two stipulations with regard to this paragraph?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Martin, I direct and order you to produce those documents at this time.

Mr. MARTIN. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Martin, the committee's investigation established you to be the exalted cyclops of Decatur Klavern, United Klans of America, Incorporated, Realm of Alabama. Is the result of the committee's investigation factual?

Mr. MARTIN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. As an exalted cyclops, Mr. Martin, can you explain to the committee why it is necessary in an organization that publicly designates itself as being nonviolent to require a member to swear that he will keep secret the secret of a Klansman, except for crimes such as treason against the United States, rape, and malicious murder?

Mr. MARTIN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Martin, I put it to you as a fact that you were born on July 15, 1936, at Rogersville, Alabama. I ask you to affirm or deny the fact.

Mr. MARTIN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. As an exalted cyclops, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you never attended a klonvocation or kloncilium which authorized Mrs. Robert Shelton to comake checks with her husband, using the name "James J. Hendrix," or Carol Long to comake checks with Robert M. Shelton.

I ask you to affirm or deny the fact.

Mr. MARTIN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Martin, under the United Klans of America, an exalted cyclops appoints a klokann committee. Will you identify the committee, the members of the klokann committee, which you appointed as exalted cyclops?

Mr. MARTIN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. No further questions of this witness?

He is excused.

The subcommittee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. WELTNER. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. APPELL. Wilson Hood.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HOOD. I do.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated.

**TESTIMONY OF WILSON HOOD, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Hood.

Mr. HOOD. Wilson Hood.

Mr. WELTNER. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Hood?

Mr. HOOD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Counsel will identify himself.

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Hood, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served by a deputy United States marshal on October 25, 1965, at Wilson Hood Grocery, Highway 24 West, Moulton, Alabama?

Mr. HOOD. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you say "yes"?

Mr. HOOD. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Hood, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena, and the subpoena directed you to bring with you and to produce documents called for in two paragraphs in the attachment. Paragraph 1 reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klu Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and Moulton Klavern, Realm of Alabama, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Moulton Klavern, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

I ask that, in the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, you produce the documents called for.

Mr. HOOD. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for this information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the considera-

tion of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, we can stipulate that the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and that he is familiar with the content thereof?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Can we further stipulate that the directions of the subpoena to produce the documents called for are made to the witness in the official representative capacity described in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Hood, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusal to produce these documents, and, accordingly, as chairman of this subcommittee, I order and direct you to produce those documents at this time.

Mr. HOOD. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. And I offer to you, if you so desire, the opportunity to present to this committee any reason why you might be unable to comply with the mandate of that subpoena.

The record will note that the witness offers nothing in response.

Proceed, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Hood, paragraph 2 calls for you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Moulton Klavern, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

Mr. HOOD. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. May we have the same stipulations, Mr. Chalmers?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Hood, the committee directs you to produce those documents at this time.

Mr. HOOD. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Hood, the committee investigations establish you to be the exalted cyclops of Moulton Klavern in Moulton, Alabama. Are the results of the committee's investigation factual?

Mr. HOOD. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Hood, under the operational procedures of the United Klans of America, the exalted cyclops appoints a klokann committee. This klokann committee is required to make investigations and carry out acts of intimidation, violence, upon order and instructions of the exalted cyclops or of the Klavern itself.

Mr. HOOD. Sir, I—

Mr. APPELL. Identify to the committee, please, the members of the klokan committee which you appointed as exalted cyclops.

Mr. HOOD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. One or two questions.

Are you presently the exalted cyclops of the Moulton Klavern of the United Klans of America, Mr. Hood?

Mr. HOOD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness will be excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I call Myrtie Eugene Stephens.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STEPHENS. I do.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated.

#### TESTIMONY OF MYRTIE EUGENE STEPHENS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record.

Mr. STEPHENS. Myrtie Eugene Stephens.

Mr. APPELL. Represented by counsel?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stephens, are you appearing before the committee today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 25, 1965, at 226 12th South, Bessemer, Alabama?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I think that is South 12th Street, Bessemer, Alabama. I ask that the record be corrected.

Mr. WELTNER. The record will be corrected accordingly.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stephens, under the terms of the subpoena served upon you and an attachment thereto, which was made a part of the subpoena, you were ordered to produce, bring with you and to produce, documents described in two paragraphs. Paragraph 1 reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and Bessemer Klavern #20, Realm of Alabama, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Kligrapp, Bessemer Klavern #20, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. STEPHENS. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, or is such inquiry within the scope of that authority to be investigated by House Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress of the House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, can we stipulate that this witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and is familiar with the contents thereof?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Can we also stipulate that the directions of the subpoena to produce documents called for are made to the witness in the official representative capacity described in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Stephens, the committee does not accept your grounds for refusing to produce these documents, and, as chairman of this subcommittee, I order and direct you to produce them at this time.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. All right. At this time, the committee will extend to you an opportunity to bring before the committee any reason that you might have for any inability to comply with the requirements of this subpoena.

The record will show the witness remains silent.

Proceed to the next paragraph.

Mr. APPELL. Paragraph 2, Mr. Stephens, orders you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Kligrapp, Bessemer Klavern #20, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Can we have the same two stipulations with regard to this paragraph?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Stephens, you are hereby directed to produce the documents described in paragraph 2.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. And the Chair would like to direct that the reporter at this point in the record set out a portion of the Constitution and Laws of the United Klans of America previously entered into the record as Shelton Exhibit No. 3, specifically that portion identified at Section 5 on page 39 thereof, which sets forth the duties of the kligrapp of a Klavern.

(Section 5 follows:)

Section 5. KLIGRAPP: The Kligrapp is the secretary and recording officer of the Klan. He shall keep an accurate and complete record of all the proceedings of his Klan assembled, and a correct and systematic record of its membership, and of the date each member was naturalized, etc., as required by the record book for that purpose. He shall make a report through the proper channels [sic] to the proper officers not later than the 10th of the month for the calendar month last past on the regular blanks therefor; and with his reports he shall remit to said officer or officers, all monies belonging to this Order, such as Imperial Tax, Realm or Provincial Tax, Klektokons monies due for supplies and any and all other monies due and payable to said officers. He shall witness all requisitions made for any article or paraphernalia, regalia, jewelry, or other property of this Order, to be used by the Klan or a member thereof, and see that the required sum of money is sent therewith. He shall notify all members who are in arrears three months, and shall notify the Imperial office of the arrears of a member for three months. He shall be the custodian of the seal of the Klan and shall impress it on all papers and documents requiring same and perform such other duties as may be required of him by the Exalted Cyclops, the Kloran and the By-Laws of his Klan.

Mr. WELTNER. Proceed, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stephens, is the Klavern to which you belong, Bessemer Klavern No. 20, the Klavern which had among its membership W. O. Eaton and Eugene Thomas?

Mr. STEPHENS. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stephens, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that the cover name of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, and a name under which it operates a bank account at the First National Bank of Birmingham, Bessemer branch, is the Young Men's Social Club, Box 3093, Hueytown, Alabama.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. As an officer of that Klavern, were you ever a comaker of checks made payable to "Gene Thomas" and "W. O. Eaton"?

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact that you were the comaker, and I hand you Recordak copies of four checks to establish that fact.

Mr. Chairman, the record should be corrected. There are five.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness is handed five checks for his perusal.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Appell, the two names among others shown on those checks, "W. O. Eaton" and "Gene Thomas," are those the names of the individuals who along with Gary Rowe and Collie Leroy

Wilkins were involved in the Viola Liuzzo incident in March of 1965?

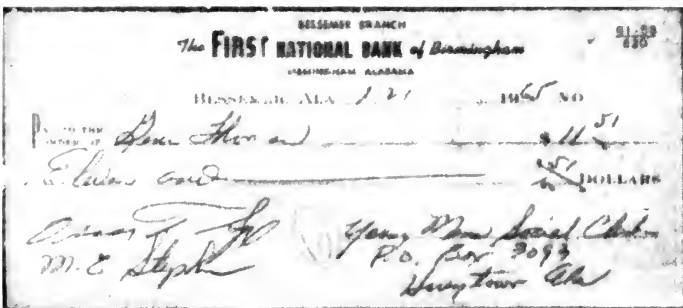
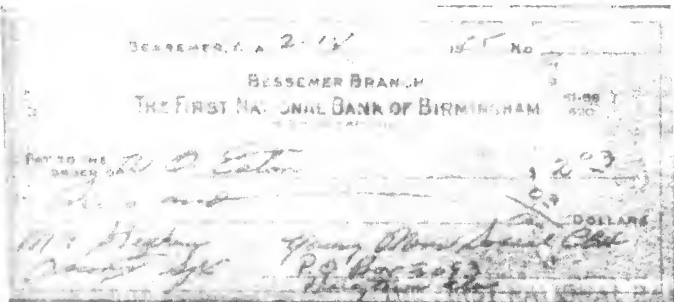
Mr. APPELL. They are, sir.

I would like to put to Mr. Stephens as a fact, and ask him to affirm or deny the fact, that Collie Leroy Wilkins was also a member of his Klavern.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Checks marked "Myrtie Stephens Exhibit No. 1." Two of said checks follow; others not reproducible.)

## MYRTIE STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 1



Mr. APPELL. Mr. Stephens, I put it to you as a fact that this Klavern has been known as the Young Men's Social Club since 1956, when it was affiliated with the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, under the leadership of Eldon Edwards.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I shall hand you for your verification, Mr. Stephens, signature cards filed with the First National Bank of Birmingham, Bessemer branch, which signature cards establish that July 28, 1956, that the authorized signatures to that account were L. J. Praytor,

P-r-a-y-t-o-r, R. R. Fields, F-i-e-l-d-s, George Houston, H-o-u-s-t-o-n; that this authorization was changed on November 9, 1960, to the names of Henry G. McDaniel, M. Eugene [Myrtie E.] Stephens, Oscar T. Syx; and that on March the 17, 1965, the signature card authorized signatures of James R. Whitefield, Cecil E. Davenport, and Oscar T. Syx.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Documents marked "Myrtie Stephens Exhibits Nos. 2-A through 2-C," respectively, follow:)

## MYRTIE STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 2-A

FORM 60-2-1M-10-54-53-A

BESSEMER BRANCH

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BIRMINGHAM, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

The signature Myrtie E. Stephens appearing below is the authorized signature of of this partnership which you will recognize in the payment of funds and the transaction of other business for our account. Checks, drafts, acceptances and notes must bear Myrtie E. Stephens of the within signatures.

The handling by this office of checks, drafts and other items will be subject to the conditions shown on the reverse side hereof, and the depositor hereby acknowledges receipt of notice of said conditions and consents and agrees to be bound thereby.

Title Myrtie E. Stephens, Partner Partnership

Address 2015 1st Ave. N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30317 Phone 462-1111

By Myrtie E. Stephens

Spouse Myrtie E. Stephens

Date 10/28/63 Introduced by Myrtie E. Stephens

## MYRTIE STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 2-B

FORM 45-B-1-M-3-59-97-C

BESSEMER BRANCH

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BIRMINGHAM, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

The handling by this office of checks, drafts and other items will be subject to the conditions shown on the reverse side hereof, and the depositor hereby acknowledges receipt of notice of said conditions and consents and agrees to be bound thereby.

Title Myrtie E. Stephens, Partner Incorporated

Home Office Address 1317 1st Ave. N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30317 Phone 462-1111

Local Address 1317 1st Ave. N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30317 Date 10/28/63

SIGNATURES

COUNTERSIGNATURES

Pres.

V. Pres.

Secty.

Treas.

The signatures appearing on this side of this card, are the duly authorized signatures of this Corporation which you will recognize in payment of funds and the transaction of other business for our account.

Checks, drafts, acceptances and notes must bear Myrtie E. Stephens of the within mentioned signatures.

By Myrtie E. Stephens Pres.-Secty.

MYRTIE STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 2-C

Form 48-17-1-4-6-2-97-0 HUEYTOWN BRANCH *Bessemer*  
**THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BIRMINGHAM, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.**

The handling of this office of checks, drafts and other items will be subject to the conditions shown on the reverse side hereof, and the depositor hereby acknowledges receipt of notice of said conditions and consents and agrees to be bound thereby.

Title *Young Men's Social Club* Incorporated  
 Home Office Address *P.O. Box 3098* Phone  
 Local Address *Hueytown, Ala* Date *3/17/65*

SIGNATURES

COUNTERSIGNATURES

James R. Whitefield Pres.

Cecil B. Savenport Secy.

Treas.

491-3636

not

signature

The signatures appearing on this side of this card, are the duly authorized signatures of this Corporation which you will recognize in payment of funds and the transaction of other business in our account.

Checks, drafts, disbursements and notes must bear \_\_\_\_\_ of the within mentioned signatures.

by *Cecil B. Savenport* Pres. Secy.

Mr. WELTNER. The record will show that the signature cards have been handed to the witness for his examination.

Mr. STEPHENS, after examining those, will you tell this committee whether or not that is your signature?

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. James R. Whitefield, whose name was added to the signature card of March 17, 1965, is he the exalted cyclops of the Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. In October 1964, did you know Eugene Thomas to be the Klaliff or vice president of the Realm of Alabama, and James R. Whitefield to be the kligrapp or secretary?

Mr. WELTNER. Is that the Grand Klaliff?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir; Grand Klaliff and the grand kligrapp.

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. And the office of Grand Klaliff would be equivalent to State vice president. Is that correct, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEPHENS, do you know Robert Creel to be the Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama at present?

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of Mr. Stephens.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Stephens, what is the Young Men's Social Club of Hueytown, Alabama?

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. For what purposes were the checks which have previously been exhibited to you issued to Eugene Thomas and W. O. Eaton?

Mr. STEPHENS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. The documents previously submitted to the witness for examination will be entered in the record at this point.

If there are no further questions, this witness will be excused.

Mr. APPELL. Herbert Eugene Reeves.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. REEVES. I do.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated.

### TESTIMONY OF HERBERT EUGENE REEVES, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record.

Mr. REEVES. Herbert Eugene Reeves.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. REEVES. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Reeves, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 26, 1965, at 1805 Second Ave. S., Birmingham, Alabama?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. REEVES. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Reeves, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena, and under the terms of the subpoena, you were commanded to bring with you and to produce documents set forth in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the attachment. Paragraph 1 reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and Eastview Klavern #13, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Eastview Klavern #13 of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1 of the subpoena, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents demanded by the committee upon subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate and violate my rights as granted to me by—guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope authorized to be investigated by the Rules XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by the House Resolution 8, adopted January the 4th, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, can we stipulate that this witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and is familiar with the content?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And that the directions in the subpoena to produce documents called for are made to the witness in the official representative capacity as described in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Reeves, the committee does not accept your reasons for failure to comply with this subpoena, and accordingly, as chairman of this subcommittee, I order and direct you to produce those documents at this time.

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents therefore ordered—heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. I further give you the opportunity to present any reason to this committee why you may be unable to produce the documents identified and described in that subpoena.

Absent a response, proceed to the next paragraph.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Reeves, paragraph 2 calls upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Eastview Klavern #13 of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the chairman that—to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Do we have the same two stipulations, Mr. Chalmers?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Reeves, I order and direct you to produce the documents.

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Reeves, committee investigation establishes you to be the exalted cyclops of Eastview Klavern No. 13. Is the result of the committee's investigation factual?

Mr. REEVES. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me in amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Reeves, within the membership of Eastview Klavern No. 13, is there William Holt, who is the grand kligrapp of the Realm of Alabama at the present time; Albert Peake, the grand night-hawk; Leroy Rutherford, holding the rank of major in the State security guard; Glenn Wheeler, secretary of Province No. 5?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claimed privilege and his consistent refusal to answer my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Reeves.

Mr. Reeves was born on September 11, 1929, in Huntsville, Alabama. He has a 9th grade education and has been employed generally as a printer since he left school, his most recent employment being a binding foreman with the Commercial Printing Company of South Birmingham, Alabama.

According to a news account of June 9, 1963, in an article over the byline of Tom Lankford, captioned "Jefferson men arrested with weapons near U of A," there is contained the following information:

Six men from Jefferson County were arrested just outside the University—and this is bylined from Tuscaloosa—

just outside the University campus Saturday night with an assortment of pistols, lighters, and bayonets in their autos.

\* \* \* \* \*

Arrested were William Ross Keith, 34, 201 11th St., Robinwood; Herman F. Cash, 44, 804 Tuscaloosa Ave., Birmingham; Herbert Reeves, 33, 5728 33rd St. North, Birmingham; Gary Rowe, Jr., 23, of Ninth Court West, Birmingham; Charles Cagle, 22, Birmingham Rt. 9, and Ellis R. Denesmore [D-e-n-e-s-m-o-r-e], 61, 1864 16th St. North, Birmingham.

C. W. Russell, assistant public safety director, quoted the men as saying they were KKK officials \* \* \*.

(Document marked "Herbert Reeves Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

HERBERT REEVES EXHIBIT NO. 1  
[Birmingham, Ala., News, June 9, 1963]

## Jefferson men arrested with weapons near U of A

BY TOM LANKFORD

News staff writer

TUSCALOOSA, June 8—Six men from Jefferson County were arrested just outside the University campus Saturday night with an assortment of pistols, nightsticks and bayonets in their autos.

State Public Safety Director Al Linga said the men were en route to a Klan rally. He said they were charged with violating the State Firearms Act.

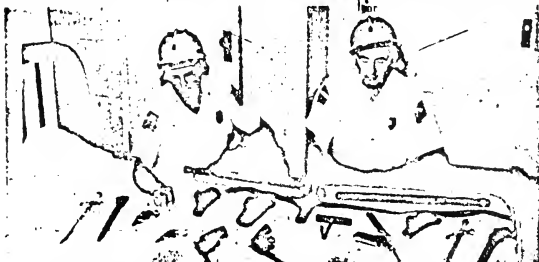
Arrested were William Rosa Keith, 34, 201 11th St., Robinson; Herman F. Cash, 44, 804 Tuscaloosa Ave., Birmingham; Herbert Reeves, 33, 5728 33rd St. North, Birmingham; Gary Rowe Jr., 23, of Ninth Court West, Birmingham; Charles Cagle, 27, Birmingham RT. 8, and Ellis R. Dgnesmore, 61, 1864 16th St. North, Birmingham.

C. W. RUSSELL, assistant pub-

lic safety director, quoted the men as saying they were KKK officials and were going to "police" the rally held on the U. S. Highway 11 bypass southwest of Tuscaloosa.

Russell said state troopers had prior information that the armed men were on their way here and roadblocks were set up. Two of the men were wearing pistols and two

their pistols were found in the



STATE TROOPERS SEIZE WEAPONS FROM BIRMINGHAM MEN  
... Maj. Bankhead Bates, left, and C. W. Russell, assistant director of public safety, survey arsenal



KLAN BURNS HUGE CROSS NEAR TUSCALOOSA  
... Robed Klansmen circle flaming 60-foot cross

Also found were four bayonets, two nightsticks, and a cotton hook. The arrested men were traveling in two cars, bearing Jefferson County license plates.

Two of the occupants in one of the cars were wearing white uniforms bearing Klan insignia with epaulettes on the shoulder and boots.

### Cross burned

ABOUT 3,000 persons attended the Klan rally held on private property just off the bypass. Many of the spectators were women and small children.

A gigantic cross, about 60 feet tall with 40 foot arms, enwrapped in burlap bags, was ignited to kick-off the rally.

About 60 newsmen, some of them with elaborate sound gear and cameras, were warmly welcomed by Robert Shelton, grand dragon of the KKK in Alabama.

Shelton gathered all newsmen behind a flat-bed semi tractor-trailer truck and gave them suggestions on possible photographs and other instructions.

He asked them not to take pictures of faces, only backs.

About 200 robed Klansmen, many of them wearing hoods over their faces, were present.

Calvin Craig, head of the Atlanta Klan, was opening speaker. Craig extended thanks to the "greatest man in Alabama"—Gov. George C. Wallace—for his promised schoolhouse door stand.

Mr. APPELL. On April 30, 1964, Robert Thomas, the province titan, appointed Gene Reeves as the new exalted cyclops of Eastview Klavern No. 13, replacing Ronald Tidwell in that position.

Mr. WELTNER. One minute.

Is the Gene Reeves referred to Herbert E. Reeves, the witness?

Mr. APPELL. Herbert E. Reeves, witness, and Gene Reeves are the same individual.

On May 14, 1964, it was known that Gene Reeves, together with four or five members of the Bessemer Klavern, went to Rickwood Field in Birmingham, Alabama, in order to do some "missionary work" with Negroes who were attending a baseball game at the integrated park. A Birmingham policeman had his gun taken away from him by Klansmen during this activity, but the gun was later returned to him at his home.

At a weekly meeting of the Eastview Klavern held July 9, 1964, Bob Morgan and Gene Reeves brought 22 pounds of mackerel and placed two mackerel each in a jar and left all the jars in a field behind Reeves's residence to sit in the sun.

The ingredient to be developed was to be used as a stink bomb ingredient with the Alabama theater the only specified location mentioned where the ingredient might be used.

At the weekly meeting of the Eastview Klavern held on June 11, 1964, it was announced that the city of Birmingham would be broken into four sections, with a squad assigned to each section.

Lowell Rogers would handle the western section; Gene Reeves would handle the eastern section; Harry Walker would handle the northern section; and Ronald Tidwell, the southern section. Each squad leader would have three men assigned to him. Gene Reeves would continue to handle the "action group."

At a meeting in August of 1964, Gene Reeves and Ronald Tidwell announced that they were instructing students at Phillips, Ramsey, and Woodland high schools in the art of jujitsu on Tuesdays and Wednesday nights at the Klavern hall.

On December 14, 1964, new officers of the Eastview Klavern were elected, and Gene Reeves was reelected as exalted cyclops.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Reeves possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Reeves, you now have the opportunity, having heard the sworn statement of the investigator as to the result of this committee's investigation, to reply to any portion of that statement. You may confirm or challenge the accuracy of the information or explain any part of it or any other matters that this committee deems relevant. You have that opportunity now.

Absent any rebuttal on your part or further evidence coming to this committee, we will rely upon the accuracy of that investigation.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Reeves, the committee's investigation establishes that you were a part of the Imperial Klokann Committee, along with Ralph Roton, Cecil Henson, Eugene Thomas, Madison Hill, and Ronald Tidwell. Is that information factual?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. As a member of the Imperial Klokann, were you ever ordered, and did you in fact carry out an order, which related to acts of intimidation or violence on the part of any citizen or property of a citizen of the State of Alabama?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. In the language of the Klan, is "missionary work" used to designate acts of intimidation or violence?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. Is the cover name of the Eastview Klavern No. 13 the Benevolent Brotherhood?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Any further questions by the staff?

Mr. REEVES, are you a member of any organization known as the Benevolent Brotherhood?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. WELTNER. What is the action group referred to in the investigator's statement, of which you were a member?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. WELTNER. One or two questions to the investigators.

The klokann committee under the United Klans of America is a group within the Klan organization whose function it is to carry out directives. Is that correct, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir, it is. It compares with what we established to be the "wrecking crews" in the State of Louisiana. Their functions are identical.

Mr. WELTNER. And the Imperial Klokann Committee for the State of Alabama is that group of members, Klansmen, who are charged to carry out the directions of the imperial office, headed by the Imperial Wizard, Robert M. Shelton?

Mr. APPELL. It is our information, Mr. Chairman, that this Imperial Klokann Committee was available for assignments any place that they might be needed.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, let me ask the witness: The sworn testimony indicates, Mr. Reeves, that you have served as a member of the Imperial Klokann Committee. Did you ever carry out any directives or instructions from Robert M. Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America?

Mr. REEVES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No questions.

Mr. WELTNER. Any further questions by the staff?

Mr. APPELL. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. This witness will be excused. And the subcommittee will stand in recess until 10 a.m. on Monday, next week, to meet in this same place.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., Friday, February 4, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Monday, February 7, 1966.)



# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

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MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 7 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:15 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Charles L. Weltner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Charles L. Weltner, of Georgia, chairman; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and John H. Buchanan, Jr., of Alabama.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Philip R. Manual, investigator.

Mr. WELTNER. The subcommittee will be in order.

The Chair would like to make a part of the record of today's proceedings the direction of the chairman of this committee, the Honorable Edwin E. Willis, designating as a subcommittee to sit for today myself as chairman, Messrs. Ashbrook and Buchanan.

(The order of appointment of the subcommittee follows:)

FEBRUARY 2, 1966.

To Mr. Francis J. McNamara,  
*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities:*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Honorable Charles L. Weltner as Chairman, and Honorable John M. Ashbrook and Honorable John Buchanan as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C. on Monday, February 7, 1966, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 30th day of March, 1965, authorizing hearings concerning the activities of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 2nd day of February, 1966.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis  
EDWIN E. WILLIS

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities*

Mr. WELTNER. The first witness today is Mr. James McCroskey. Mr. McCroskey, will you come forward, please?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you shall give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McCROSKEY. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF JAMES W. McCROSKEY

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McCroskey, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. McCROSKEY. James W. McCroskey.

Mr. APPELL. Are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on the 3d day of January 1966 by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

Mr. McCROSKEY. I am.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McCroskey, when and where were you born?

Mr. McCROSKEY. March 27, 1909, in Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McCroskey, what is your present employment?

Mr. McCROSKEY. I am the plant manager for the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company.

Mr. APPELL. How long have you been associated with the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Twenty-eight years.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McCroskey, during the committee's investigation it was determined that, starting in February of 1965 up to September or August of 1965, a series of acts of violence against individuals and property of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company was carried out.

Do you possess knowledge of these acts?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Can you tell the committee in a brief word what led up to these acts, and also if you have a chronology of the acts by dates and type of acts which have been carried out against the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. McCROSKEY. I do have the listing, and it was a labor dispute with some of our employees that led up to this strike situation.

Mr. APPELL. How many local—trade union locals represent employees of the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Prior to that time, only one. Currently, there are two.

Mr. APPELL. And what are the two locals now represented there?

Mr. McCROSKEY. United Steelworkers and the United Brick and Clay Workers.

Mr. APPELL. The labor dispute to which you referred—was this between the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company and the Steelworkers or the United Brick and Clay Workers?

Mr. McCROSKEY. The United Brick and Clay Workers.

Mr. APPELL. Without going into great detail, can you briefly explain to the committee that which led up to the strike to which you referred?

Mr. McCROSKEY. A small group of our employees identified as inspectors petitioned the NLRB for an election, for representation by

the United Brick and Clay Workers. An election was held, and the group certified by NLRB, and a union local was established. After this local was established, the Dickey Company met with representatives of this local and their international representatives in an effort to draw up a contract for working conditions and hourly rates.

We had several meetings during the latter part of November, during December, and in January, being unable to come to an agreement on the terms of the contract.

On February 8, 1965, the Brick and Clay Workers established a picket line in front of our plant.

Mr. APPELL. The inspectors that petitioned for a bargaining election, prior to their petitioning for an election, were they considered as supervisory personnel and therefore not within the contract entered into between the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company and the United Steelworkers local?

Mr. McCROSKEY. That is correct. They had been excluded in our contract with the Steelworkers.

Mr. APPELL. What was the date that the strike vote was taken and the actual date when a picket line was thrown across Dickey Clay property?

Mr. McCROSKEY. I don't know the date that the vote was taken, but it was probably prior, a few days prior to February 8. The picket line was established at 6 a.m. on February 8.

Mr. APPELL. Starting with February 8, can you give to the committee a listing of acts taken against the Dickey Clay Pipe Company? <sup>1</sup>

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes. Would you like me to furnish a copy, or shall I read it?

Mr. APPELL. Well, I would prefer that you read the items into the record and, if you have with you any photographic evidence of the extent of damage against either Dickey Clay property or property of employees of Dickey Clay, that you produce them in evidence as a part of your testimony.

Mr. McCROSKEY. I do have such evidence.

This listing does not cover all of the incidents, but it covers most of those major incidents that involved property damage.

Thursday, February 18—I will just read these as I have them here—damage to 36-inch pipe couplings, switch pulled on a stack fan, one automobile shot at 4:30 p.m., and—

Mr. APPELL. Now this automobile that was shot—this was an automobile of an enemy of Dickey Clay, which employee was not on strike?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, that was a car that belonged to a non-striking employee?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, proceed, Mr. McCroskey.

Mr. McCROSKEY. I do not have a photograph of this particular incident. I have a sheriff's report as to what did occur.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I think that if Mr. McCroskey can supply the sheriff's reports, which go into some detail, that we ac-

<sup>1</sup> Correct name W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Co.

cept them and make them a part of the record of Mr. McCroskey's appearance.

Mr. WELTNER. The report of the sheriff will be entered into the record at this point.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-A" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Friday, February 19, there was an automobile shot at 12:15 a.m. This automobile belonged to a nonstriking employee. His name was Tom Cotton.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-B" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Wednesday, February 24, we discovered sugar in the gasoline tank of one of our dump trucks.

On Sunday, February 28, there was an explosion occurred at 11 p.m. adjacent to our main building and just outside the wall of the electrical power control room.

Mr. APPELL. May I ask you there that if this explosion of dynamite had been placed closer to your electric power control, what damage would the plant have encountered?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Well, the plant would probably have been out of operation. This was the main control system adjacent to the substation, and all of the switch gear was just inside this wall.

Mr. APPELL. What was the extent of damage?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Relatively small. There was a drain pipe leading from the roof that was completely destroyed, two or three sheets of the transite (?) siding of the building was broken and damaged, there was a small hole blown in the ground against the side of the building, and an area about 2 feet square of the brick wall at the base of the building was damaged.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-C" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. At the time that explosion took place, was any part of the Dickey Clay property immediately accessible to anyone who would enter its grounds?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes, even though the plant was remote from the nearest roadways, there was no fencing around the property at any area.

Mr. APPELL. So that anyone could have come up to the property itself and lobbed a charge of dynamite that could have detonated at almost any place that person cared to destroy.

Mr. McCROSKEY. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Getting a little bit ahead of ourselves, because of this and subsequent acts of vandalism or bombings against the property, did Dickey Clay surround its property with fencing?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes, we did.

Mr. APPELL. And when did you approximately do that?

Mr. McCROSKEY. This was completed the latter part of July.

Mr. APPELL. Now picking up with February the 28th, would you continue with the acts of vandalism or other acts against your property or the property of employees?

Mr. McCROSKEY. On that same date of the 28th, in addition to the explosion, there were two tires cut on one of the trucks or truck trailers that was parked at our loading dock.

On March the 2d, one of our employees, as he left the property, reported that someone hit his car with rocks—and followed him down the highway, and what he thought was shots were fired, but they did not hit his car.

On Wednesday, March 3, there were two power shovels apparently shot at with a shotgun and the fuel lines cut on the engines. This equipment belonged to a contractor who stored his equipment on our property.

Saturday, March 6, one of our employee's cars was shot at as he left our property, and he found one hole in the trunk of his car. This occurred around midnight.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-D" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Monday, March 8, another employee's car was shot as he left the plant property. This particular occasion was rather severe; inasmuch as the shot was apparently buckshot, it punctured seven holes in this automobile, in the left front fender, as well as puncturing the tire on the left front of his car.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-E." See p. 3126.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McCroskey, I would like to interrupt you at this point. You have talked about Robert Smith's car being shot, Tom Cotton's car being shot, J. Macon's car being shot.

Are these employees Negro or white employees?

Mr. McCROSKEY. These particular ones are colored. Thus far.

Mr. APPELL. Would you please continue and when you deal with an employee, would you advise the committee as to whether or not he was a white or Negro employee?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes. Wednesday, March 10, one of our employees, who was colored, was using the company's station wagon to run an errand, was stopped on the road, the glass was broken in the door, the road was blocked, but this employee was able to get around the vehicle and reenter the plant.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-F." See p. 3120.)

Mr. WELTNER. What road was blocked?

Mr. McCROSKEY. The highway in front of our property.

Mr. WELTNER. The entrance to the plant was blocked?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Not with reference to this incident. It was away from the plant entrance, maybe 500 yards.

Mr. WELTNER. All right.

Mr. McCROSKEY. On this same date, March 10, some of A. F. James Truck Lines trucks as they entered the plant had windshields and side glasses broken with rocks or bottles being thrown from the picket line.

This is not listed on my schedule but this is the sheriff's report of an incident that occurred involving two of A. F. James Truck Lines and a house trailer or automobile trailer that was parked in our plant entrance.

Mr. APPELL. Does this refer to an incident whereby the trucks were attempting to leave and they were attacked with rocks, and in an attempt to return to the property that they struck a trailer which was being used as the strike headquarters?

Mr. McCROSKEY. That is right.

Mr. APPELL. Is this the incident which resulted in a complaint being made against the truck drivers, accusing them of an attack upon the individuals in the trailer with an intent to kill?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. And was one of the people in the trailer at that time Collie Leroy Wilkins?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was Collie Leroy Wilkins ever an employee of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. McCROSKEY. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Was this the first time, to your knowledge, of participation in the activity by Collie Leroy Wilkins?

Mr. McCROSKEY. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would you continue, Mr. McCroskey?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Pursuing this same subject, I will go following the list.

Mr. APPELL. Well, you pursue this, if I have not carried it further.

Mr. McCROSKEY. Well, in answer to your last question, there were several occasions in which Wilkins was present on our picket line.

Mr. WELTNER. Prior to this incident?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, we will put that copy of the sheriff's report concerning the trailer incident in the record at this point.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-G" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WELTNER. Would you move on to your next list, please, sir?

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Thursday, March 11, around 2:40 a.m., the main gas valve was turned off that supplies our plant, and this gas meter is located near the road and was also near the plant entrance in which the picket line was established. This necessitated contacting the utility company and having them to send someone out to turn the meter back on.

Mr. APPELL. Was any damage sustained to kilns or other Dickey property while this gas was turned off?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Inasmuch as there was only about a 4-hour delay, there was not any severe damage. It could have been, if it were not handled properly. That was the reason for the necessity of having the gas company to turn it back on.

Mr. APPELL. All right, sir.

Mr. McCROSKEY. This is a high-pressure system, and a hundred pounds of pressure on this line at that meter, and it is rather dangerous for someone that don't know what they are doing to handle it.

On Friday, March 12, our company was able to obtain an injunction against these proceedings, these things that had happened, acts of violence, blocking of driveways, and multiple pickets.

Mr. APPELL. Did the injunction result in a termination of these acts of violence and other acts?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Unfortunately, no.

Mr. APPELL. Would you continue with your list?

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Wednesday, March 17, I was advised of an explosion in the area of our plant, and upon my arrival at the plant area, I investigated and found that an explosive charge had been

dropped in gas line, some half a mile from our property. This gas valve led to a plant in our area, the Zimmer plant, and it stopped their operations temporarily, but did not affect ours.

We assumed that the effort was toward our gas supply.

On Friday, March 19, about 4 p.m., three cars, the property of our employees, left the plant, and all three of them were shot with shotgun blasts. The owner of one car was Joe Jones, who was a Negro; another car was Oscar Hinton, who was a Negro; the third car was Bob New, N-e-w, who was a white man.

All of these cars were shot with apparent shotgun blasts that pitted and damaged the paint and, in some instances, broke glasses.

(Documents marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-H" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Saturday, March 20, there was an explosion on the east side of our kiln building which occurred about 10:30 p.m. I have a report and photograph of the damage.

Mr. WELTNER. That will be entered in the record at this point.

(Documents marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-I" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McCROSKEY. That is true on most of these instances, I have the sheriff's report on them.

On Monday, March 22, there were two explosions. One occurred on our property, one occurred on the power company's right-of-way property, a short distance from our plant area.

There is a report and one photograph of this incident.

(Documents marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-J." See p. 3121.)

Mr. APPELL. Was the explosion on the power company right-of-way—was this an attempt to destroy the poles which were carrying power into your plant and to other plants in that area?

Mr. McCROSKEY. We have to assume that it was. It did occur, and we do get our source of power from that line.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Friday, April the 2d, it was reported that apparent rifle shot was shot from the road toward our building, making a small hole through the transite siding of the wall.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-K" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Friday, April 9, there was two explosions that occurred on our property, just a few seconds apart. One was thrown through a window and landed on top of our large continuous kiln, doing some damage to the kiln, and some slight damage to the building. The other charge was placed in a hack of 8-inch pipe and destroyed and damaged quite a number of pieces of the same.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-L" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McCROSKEY. On Wednesday, May 26, there was an explosion that occurred inside of this large continuous kiln. We assumed that this charge was placed on one of the cars that traveled through the kiln and did not explode until such time it reached the hotter area, which was around 300 degrees, before it exploded.

It did considerable damage to the cars and to the kiln structure itself, as well as the product on the cars.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-M" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. McCroskey. On Thursday, June 13, our most severe explosion occurred, and we think that this charge was also thrown through a window of the building. It went under the kiln, did extensive damage to the kiln and to the kiln building.

(Document marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-N" and retained in committee files.)

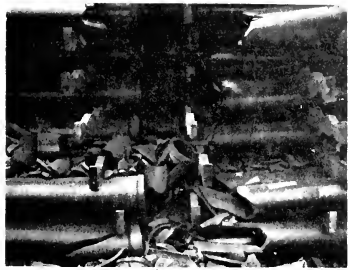
(Several photographs attached to various of the sheriff's reports, Exhibits 1-A through 1-N, showing damage done at various times follow:)

PHOTOS FROM JAMES McCROSKEY EXHIBITS NOS. 1-A—1-N



Photographs showing damage to cars of four Dickey Clay employees as result of shotgun blasts on dates indicated on photos.

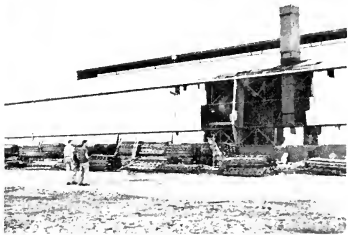
PHOTOS FROM JAMES McCROSKEY EXHIBITS NOS. 1-A-1-N-- Continued



4/9/65



5/26/65



Photographs showing some of damage done at Dickey Clay plant as result of explosions on dates indicated on photos.

Mr. McCROSKEY. As a result of this continued violence that had been going on for several months, the Dickey Company employed some special off-duty deputy sheriffs from our area and used them continuously at night for the purpose of security, until they were recently released.

As we mentioned earlier, because of this violence also, we felt it necessary to enclose our plant property with a fence, and we did, completing it during the later part of July.

Mr. APPELL. What did it cost Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company to erect this fence around its property?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Approximately \$10,000.

Mr. APPELL. Did that erection of the fence eliminate the damage to Dickey property?

Mr. McCROSKEY. I don't know if it was the completion of the fence or whether it was the employment of the deputies, but except for one other incident, the violence did stop.

And that other incident occurred on August 9. And as mentioned earlier, this gas meter that supplies our plant is located near the roadway that runs in front of our plant, which is a county road, and an

explosive charge was thrown from a passing automobile toward the meter and apparently struck the fence and dropped to the ground. There was some explosion that knocked a hole about 2 feet in diameter in the ground.

The deputies that investigated found three sticks of dynamite that had not been exploded and pieces of what they determined were four more sticks that were not exploded. How many were actually exploded, we don't know.

Mr. APPELL. Did it appear from the investigation conducted by the sheriff's department that a package of sticks of dynamite, when thrown apparently for the purpose of clearing the fence, struck the fence, and the package broke apart, which resulted in not all of the sticks exploding?

Mr. McCROSKEY. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Does that complete the listing of acts against the property or employees of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes, it does.

Mr. APPELL. In addition to this, were you advised from time to time of threats, telephone threats, against employees or management during this period of labor dispute?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes, as this matter progressed, some of the employees that were involved with the Brick and Clay Workers took the position that they were willing to resign from the local union, and requested reinstatement. They did this on two or more occasions.

On one occasion, I decided that we would reinstate several of these employees and advised them to report for work at such-and-such a time. Some of this contact was by telephone. These employees had phoned me and stated that they would return and, later in the night, phoned me and said that they had received numerous telephone calls from women, stating to them that if they did return to work that their homes would be bombed.

And as a result of that, none of these employees that had requested reemployment or reinstatement returned to work.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. McCroskey, the committee's investigation established that, during the time that this was going on, James Whitefield, an employee of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company, was the exalted cyclops of the Klavern known as Bessemer Klavern No. 20 and known further by a cover name of the Young Men's Social Club.

Was James Whitefield covered by either the United Steel contract or by the contract of the Brick and Clay Workers?

Mr. McCROSKEY. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Was James Whitefield employed during this period of time?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Did he remain continually employed from the start of the strike until its termination?

Mr. McCROSKEY. No.

Mr. APPELL. Did he go out or leave his employment in sympathy with the strike, even though he was not a member of either of the locals?

Mr. McCROSKEY. He told me that he would prefer not to cross the picket line.

Mr. APPELL. Is his brother, William Whitefield, also employed by the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Was he covered by either the Steelworker contract or the Brick and Clay Worker contract?

Mr. McCROSKEY. He was covered by the Brick and Clay Workers.

Mr. APPELL. What part did William Whitefield play in the activities against either employees, nonstriking employees of the plant, or the plant of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. McCROSKEY. He was present quite often on the picket line. It had been reported on several occasions that he had thrown rocks at employees, that he had followed trucks and employees' automobiles down the roadways.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever have discussion with those who were leading the strike with respect to the acts of violence against nonstriking workers or the company plant?

Mr. McCROSKEY. I did during the early stages of this work stoppage, discussing with both International Brick and Clay Worker representatives, stating—I stating to them that even though they denied any connection with these acts of violence that it was my opinion that they were still responsible.

Mr. APPELL. Did they take the position that they were responsible, or did they deny responsibility of these acts that were taking place?

Mr. McCROSKEY. They denied responsibility.

Mr. APPELL. Did they discuss with you who they thought might be responsible for these acts?

Mr. McCROSKEY. No.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever have a conversation with any of these people as to the role that members of the Ku Klux Klan were playing in this act of violence?

Mr. McCROSKEY. No.

Mr. APPELL. Has the W. S. Dickey Company come to terms with the United Brick and Clay Workers local over its dispute?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Yes. This contract was signed on Friday, February 5, 1966.

Mr. APPELL. What were the terms of settlement as compared to the terms available for settlement at the start of the contract?

Mr. McCROSKEY. The contract was finally settled on the basis of our offer that was made on, possibly in February or March of 1965. Also that we reinstate 4 of these 16 employees.

Mr. APPELL. What four will be reinstated?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Larry Mason, Dale Mason, Norman Davis, and Elder White.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of the witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. McCroskey, how many employees were included in the designation of the bargaining unit represented by the Brick and Clay Workers?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Sixteen.

Mr. WELTNER. And how many in the unit represented by the United Steelworkers?

Mr. McCROSKEY. Approximately 150.

Mr. WELTNER. And how many employees did you have during this period of time, all together?

Mr. McCROSKEY. About 190. That's counting the supervisor group, office employees, and so on.

Mr. WELTNER. I see.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank this witness for his testimony. You have been very helpful.

Mr. McCROSKEY. Thank you.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. McCroskey, the committee does appreciate your coming here today and assisting us. And at this point, I would like to direct into the record those official reports from the sheriff's departments and other documents which are relative to the incidences and acts previously testified to by this witness.

(All documents available included in James McCroskey Exhibit Nos. 1-A through 1-N.)

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. McCroskey, you are excused. Thank you very much.

Mr. McCROSKEY. Thank you, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Mr. Robert N. Washington.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WASHINGTON. I do.

#### **TESTIMONY OF ROBERT N. WASHINGTON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, MICHAEL H. GOTTESMAN**

Mr. APPELL. Would you state your full name for the record, Mr. Washington?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Robert N. Washington.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Would counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. GOTTESMAN. Yes, Michael H. Gottesman, G-o-t-t-e-s-m-a-n.

Mr. APPELL. Where do you have offices, Mr. Gottesman?

Mr. GOTTESMAN. In Washington, D.C.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Washington, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served on you on January 3, 1966, by John D. Sullivan, an investigator of this committee?

Mr. WASHINGTON. I am.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Washington, when and where were you born?

Mr. WASHINGTON. August 2, 1911.

Mr. APPELL. Where, sir?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Where?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. WASHINGTON. Selma, Alabama. That is in Dallas County.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. Washington, are you currently president of a local of the United Steelworkers of America at the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company in Hopewell, Alabama?

Mr. WASHINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. And how long have you held the office of president?

Mr. WASHINGTON. About 16 years.

Mr. APPELL. Up to November 1964, was the United Steelworkers local, of which you are the president, the only local representative of employees at the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. WASHINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Was the United Steelworkers membership available to the 16 employees that petitioned the NLRB for a bargaining election in behalf of the United Brick and Clay Workers?

Mr. WASHINGTON. We gave them cards, I gave one Charles Grammar 16 cards to sign, and he promised to sign those cards and give them back to me, that we would get these fellows in our union, but he didn't do it.

Mr. APPELL. Did the United Steelworkers participate in the bargaining election, or was the issue United Brick and Clay or no union?

Mr. WASHINGTON. The United Steelworkers did not participate in the election of this group.

Mr. APPELL. Under the terms of the contract between Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company and the United Steelworkers, the United Steelworkers could not support the strike of the United Brick and Clay Workers. Is that true, sir?

Mr. WASHINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Was this, in fact, known by the people who had called a strike against the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. WASHINGTON. It was known by them.

Mr. APPELL. Therefore, if your employees would have struck, then they would not have been available—would not have had available to them either strike benefits funds of the United Steelworkers nor would they have been eligible for unemployment compensation under State law. Is that correct?

Mr. WASHINGTON. That is correct.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. APPELL. Therefore, your employees that continued to work continued to work, in effect, without choice on their part.

Mr. WASHINGTON. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. Did employees who were members of your local have acts pulled against them by members on the picket line of the Brick and Clay Workers?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Were you ever involved or were you ever in an automobile upon which an act was taken against?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Yes. On Friday, March the 19th, I was riding with Oscar Hinton, and the car that he was driving was shot at, shot upon with apparently a shotgun, at Sparks Gap Road, and of course we stopped and we didn't see anyone after the shot was made, but we did go to the sheriff's office in Bessemer and report it.

Mr. APPELL. How far from the plant site was this automobile when it was fired upon?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Approximately three blocks.

Mr. APPELL. Did you have discussion with any of the leaders of the strike of the Brick and Clay Workers about these acts against your employees?

Mr. WASHINGTON. No.

Mr. APPELL. As president of the local, was there justification for these acts against your employees?

Mr. WASHINGTON. We don't think so.

Mr. APPELL. In addition to—in your opinion, were these acts against your employees designed to keep them from working?

Mr. WASHINGTON. I think it was.

Mr. APPELL. Did these acts against these employees result in other employees giving up their employment with the Dickey Company, out of fear or any other reason?

Mr. WASHINGTON. We had no one in our union to give up employment. There was one man, Tom Cotton, he asked for a transfer to another department that was in the north Birmingham area, but no one gave up employment because of the acts.

Mr. APPELL. Did you possess any knowledge that among the strikers were individuals who held membership in the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WASHINGTON. I do not know of anyone that was in the United Klans, that were a Klansman. Personally, I don't know of any of them being Klansmen as such.

Mr. APPELL. As president of the local, did you believe that any of these acts grew out of activities on the part of members of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Speaking personally, some of our members of our union said they saw some of them at midnight around the picket line, but I did not see any of them.

Mr. APPELL. And who were some of those that were observed around the picket that your members reported to you?

Mr. WASHINGTON. They didn't say that anyone individually by name, because they were all dressed in their regalias.

Mr. WELTNER. You mean to say that Klansmen in robes and masks were on the picket line, according to what was told you?

Mr. WASHINGTON. That was reported to me. I did not see them.

Mr. WELTNER. And during what period of time would that be?

Mr. WASHINGTON. That was the fellows that worked the midnight shift said they saw them up there on the picket line, near the trailer that they had on the picket line.

Mr. WELTNER. And this strike lasted for about a year. And referring to the acts of violence, they started on February the 8th and continued through August the 9th of last year, and during that 6-month period, what portion of time was it that, as reported to you, Klansmen in regalia were attending the strike headquarters in the trailer?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Oh, that was in about April, I believe it was.

Mr. WELTNER. And how many times was it reported to you that some of your members had observed Klansmen in their regalia?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Only twice.

Mr. WELTNER. Two times.

Mr. WASHINGTON. That is right.

Mr. WELTNER. Were those two times close together, or were they spread apart?

Mr. WASHINGTON. I think it was around about a week or two apart that the reports came to me. I don't know the date specifically.

Mr. WELTNER. All right.

Mr. APPELL. In addition to the shotgun blasts fired into automobiles, did your members report to you receipt of anonymous telephone calls, threatening them with respect to continued employment?

Mr. WASHINGTON. None of our members reported to me anonymous telephone calls with respect to their going back to work.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever receive any telephone calls?

Mr. WASHINGTON. I received only one. I didn't attach too much importance to it, because I had received several before that.

Mr. APPELL. What was the content of this call that you received?

Mr. WASHINGTON. The only thing the man said was, and I assume he handed the telephone to another person, because he said, "Here he is." He said, "You had better not cross the picket line," and that was all.

Mr. APPELL. Do you possess any knowledge of other acts, other than those that were described by Mr. McCroskey, involving members of your union?

Mr. WASHINGTON. No. I have the list of acts here. The ones that he stated are the same ones that I know of. As far as I am concerned, I have only seen the results of the dynamite or explosive. But as far as seeing anyone doing it, I didn't see them.

Mr. APPELL. Has any of your members made any positive identification against anyone who did carry out an act against them?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Only on directly on the picket line, there were rock-throwing. That was directly on the picket line.

Mr. APPELL. And to your knowledge, to the information you received from your employees, were any of these rocks and things thrown by people not striking employees of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. WASHINGTON. No.

Mr. APPELL. Were you familiar with the presence on the picket line of Collie Leroy Wilkins?

Mr. WASHINGTON. No.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to of Mr. Washington.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Washington, what percentage of your membership in the local union of the SWU is Negro?

Mr. WASHINGTON. Oh, it is about, close to about 90 percent.

Mr. WELTNER. Are there any Negro members of the United Brick and Clay Workers Union?

Mr. WASHINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Washington, we wish to thank you for assisting us today. You may be excused.

Mr. WASHINGTON. All right.

Mr. WELTNER. We will take about a 3-minute recess.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken. Present at time of recess and when hearing resumed: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.)

Mr. WELTNER. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. James R. Whitefield.

James R. Whitefield?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Mr. Whitefield, come up, please.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF JAMES R. WHITEFIELD, ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. James R. Whitefield.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Would counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 26, 1965, 2 miles south of the McCalla Post Office on old Tuscaloosa Highway, McCalla, Alabama?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Whitefield?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena. Under the conditions of the subpoena, you were ordered to bring with you and to produce documents called for in two paragraphs. Paragraph 1 reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and Bessemer Klavern #20, Realm of Alabama, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Bessemer Klavern #20, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, Mr. Whitefield, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to this committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated on October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, may we stipulate that the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and that he is familiar with the contents?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, and that the directions of the subpoena to produce the documents called for are made to the witness in the official representative capacity described in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. I stipulate.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Whitefield, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusing to produce these documents, and accordingly, as chairman of the subcommittee, I order and direct you to produce those documents at this time.

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Whitefield, I offer you an opportunity, if you so desire at this point, to present to the committee any reason whereby you might be unable to comply with the mandate of this subpoena.

Hearing no response, Mr. Appell, proceed to the next paragraph.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, paragraph 2 called upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Bessemer Klavern # 20, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir—

Mr. APPELL. In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Do we have the same stipulations on this paragraph?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Whitefield, I order and direct that you produce the documents.

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, on March 17, 1965, were you the exalted cyclops of Bessemer Klavern No. 20?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, I hand you a copy of a signature card filed with the Bessemer branch of the First National Bank of Birmingham, Birmingham, Alabama, which is a signature card filed in connection with the "Young Mens Social Club," P.O. Box 3093, Hueytown, Alabama.

In putting it to you as a fact that this is an account of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, I hand you this document, and ask you if it is your signature shown on the card as president?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "Myrtie Stephens Exhibit No. 2-C." See p. 3083.)

Mr. APPELL. I ask you if you knew Robert M. Creel to be Grand Dragon; Eugene Thomas to be the Klaliff or vice president; Melvin Sexton to be treasurer; and James R. Whitefield, yourself, to be the kligrapp or secretary of the Realm of Alabama, United Klans of America?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a document entitled "Resolution of Lodge, Association, or Other Like Organization Designating Depository," executed on the 11th day of March 1965, signed "James R. Whitefield, Secretary," which designates the bank [Birmingham Trust National Bank] as the depository and designates Robert M. Creel, Grand Dragon, Melvin Sexton, klabee, to be the new signers to that account.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. APPELL. In handing you the document, I ask you if that is your signature on that document?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "James Whitefield Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

JAMES WHITEFIELD EXHIBIT NO. 1

RESOLUTION OF LODGE, ASSOCIATION, or OTHER LIKE ORGANIZATION DESIGNATING DEPOSITORY

NAME United Klans of the United States

located at Office 1701-13th Avenue

City Birmingham County Jefferson State Ala.

I, James R. Whitefield, the Secretary of United Klans of the United States, do hereby certify that at a meeting

of \_\_\_\_\_ of the \_\_\_\_\_

duly held on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of JAN 4, 1965, at 7 PM

whereat was present a quorum, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, all as appear on the minutes of that meeting:

"RESOLVED: That Birmingham Trust National Bank, located at Birmingham, Alabama, is hereby designated as a depository of this United Klans and that a checking or deposit account be opened and maintained in the name of this United Klans with said depository and that, as and when, in the opinion of its Secretary the needs of this United Klans require it, a safe deposit box be rented from said depository;

"FURTHER RESOLVED: That all checks, drafts or other orders for the payment of money from said account shall be signed by the United Klans, and all notes of this \_\_\_\_\_

shall be signed by the United Klans and the right to enter the safe deposit box shall be in United Klans, and any one of such officers is authorized to endorse all notes, drafts, checks, bills, certificates of deposit or other instrument, owned or held by this United Klans for deposit in said account;

"FURTHER RESOLVED: That the depository is hereby directed to accept and pay, without further inquiry, any draft, or check against said account, bearing the signature or signatures of such officers as so required, even though drawn or endorsed to the order of any officer signing the same or tendered by such officer for cashing, or in payment of the individual obligation of such officer, or for deposit to his personal account, and said Bank shall not be required, or be under any obligation to inquire as to the circumstances of the issuance, or use of any instrument signed in accordance with the foregoing resolution, or the application, or disposition of such instrument, or the proceeds thereof;

"FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Secretary shall certify to said Bank the names of the presently duly elected and qualified officers of this United Klans and shall from time to time hereafter, as changes in the personnel of said officers are made, immediately certify such changes to the Bank, and said Bank shall be fully protected in relying on such certifications of the Secretary and shall be indemnified and saved harmless from any claims, demands, expenses, loss or damage resulting from, or growing out of, honoring the signature of any officer so certified, or refusing to honor any signature not so certified;

"FURTHER RESOLVED: That the foregoing resolutions shall remain in full force and effect until written notice of their amendment or rescission shall have been received by said Bank, and that receipt of such notice shall not affect any action taken by the Bank prior thereto; and

"FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Secretary be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to certify to said Birmingham Trust National Bank the foregoing resolutions and that the provisions thereof are in conformity with \_\_\_\_\_."

I further certify that the Officers is the body of the \_\_\_\_\_ authorized to adopt such resolutions and that the resolutions and powers therein granted conform to the rules, by-laws, constitution and articles of this United Klans now in force and effect.

I further certify that the following are the names and official signatures of the present officers of this United Klans:

Name	Title
<u>Robert M. Cecil</u>	<u>Grand Dragon</u>
<u>William Sexton</u>	<u>Clarius</u>

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of this \_\_\_\_\_ this 11 day of March, 1965

James R. Whitefield  
Secretary

FORM 285

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that the Eugene Thomas listed on this account as the vice president is the man who was involved, along with Collie Leroy Wilkins and W. O. Eaton, in the Viola Liuzzo murder?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that Collie Leroy Wilkins, Eugene Thomas, and W. O. Eaton were members of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, known as the Young Men's Social Club, of which you were the exalted cyclops?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, do you know Mr. James McCroskey, who has testified this morning?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know Mr. Robert N. Washington, who testified immediately prior to yourself?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, as the exalted cyclops of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, did you order members of that Klavern to participate in acts of violence against Dickey Clay Pipe Company or its striking employees?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. As the exalted cyclops, did you order Donald Smitherman, Collie Leroy Wilkins, W. O. Eaton, Eugene Thomas, to participate in acts of violence against the Dickey Clay Pipe Company or its striking employees?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. What purpose was there in petitioning the NLRB for a bargaining election on behalf of the United Brick and Clay Workers?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Was the strike which was called designed to economically affect the employees of Dickey Clay Pipe Company who were predominantly Negro?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to James R. Whitefield.

James R. Whitefield was born on November 27, 1936, at Texarkana, Arkansas.

Committee investigation establishes him to be the exalted cyclops of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, which is known as the Young Men's Social Club, Box 3093, Hueytown, Alabama.

This Klavern has been in existence since 1956 and has been affiliated with the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Incorporated; the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Incorporated; and, since 1962, with the United Klans of America.

Authorized signatures on the bank account maintained at the Bessemer branch of the First National Bank of Birmingham have been: On July 28, 1956, L. J. Praytor, R. R. Fields, and George Houston (Myrtie Stephens Exhibit No. 2-A, p. 3082).

November 9, 1960, Henry G. McDaniel, Myrtie E[eugene] Stephens, Oscar T. Syx (Myrtie Stephens Exhibit No. 2-B, p. 3082).

The subsequent card, although undated, Henry G. McDaniel, M[yrtie] Eugene Stephens, R. A. Harrell, H-a-r-r-e-l-l; the following undated card, Leonard L. Goff, C. O. McCullough or McCullaugh, and Bob Harrell.

(Documents marked "James Whitefield Exhibits Nos. 2-A and 2-B," respectively, follow:)

## JAMES WHITEFIELD EXHIBIT NO. 2-A

FORM 45-B-1-M-3-59-97-C

## BESSEMER BRANCH

## THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BIRMINGHAM, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

The handling by this office of checks, drafts and other items will be subject to the conditions shown on the reverse side hereof, and the depositor hereby acknowledges receipt of notice of said conditions and consents and agrees to be bound thereby.

Title Young Men's Social Club Incorporated  
Home Office Address Huntsville, Ala. P.O. Box 5013 Phone  
Local Address \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## SIGNATURES

## COUNTERSIGNATURES

Henry G. McDaniel Pres.  
M. Eugene Stephens V. Pres.  
R. A. Harrell Secty.  
Bob Harrell Treas.

The signatures appearing on this side of this card, are the duly authorized signatures of this Corporation which you will recognize in payment of funds and the transaction of other business for our account.

Checks, drafts, acceptances and notes must bear 2 of the within mentioned signatures.

By M. Eugene Stephens  
Pres.-Secty.

## JAMES WHITEFIELD EXHIBIT NO. 2-B

FORM 45-B-1-M-3-57-53-A

## BESSEMER BRANCH

## THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BIRMINGHAM, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

The handling by this office of checks, drafts and other items will be subject to the conditions shown on the reverse side hereof, and the depositor hereby acknowledges receipt of notice of said conditions and consents and agrees to be bound thereby.

Title Young Men's Social Club Incorporated  
Home Office Address \_\_\_\_\_ Phone 84400  
Local Address P.O. Box 5013, Huntsville, Ala. Date \_\_\_\_\_

## SIGNATURES

## COUNTERSIGNATURES

Leonard L. Goff Pres.  
Bob Harrell V. Pres.  
Bob Harrell Secty.  
Bob Harrell Treas.

C. O. McCullough

The signatures appearing on this side of this card, are the duly authorized signatures of this Corporation which you will recognize in payment of funds and the transaction of other business for our account.

Checks, drafts, acceptances and notes must bear 2 of the within mentioned signatures.

By Leonard L. Goff  
Pres.-Secty.

Mr. APPELL. And the current signature card at the time of the committee subpoena duces tecum, James R. Whitefield, Cecil E. Davenport, Oscar T. Syx (Myrtie Stephens Exhibit No. 2-C, p. 3083).

The Grand Dragon, Robert M. Creel, as well as his predecessor, Hubert A. Page, both held membership in this Klavern. The membership also included W. O. Eaton, Collie Leroy Wilkins, and Eugene Thomas, who were involved in the Liuzzo murder.

Eugene Thomas was Grand Klaliff or vice president of the Realm of Alabama, and an authorized signatory on an account maintained by the realm in the name of the United Klans of America, which account was maintained at the Birmingham Trust National Bank.

The realm account was opened on October 28, 1964, with the authorized signatures of Robert M. Creel and Cecil E. Davenport. These signatures were changed in 1965 to Robert M. Creel, president; Eugene Thomas, vice president; Melvin Sexton, treasurer; and James R. Whitefield, secretary.

(Documents marked "James Whitefield Exhibits Nos. 3-A and 3-B," respectively, appear on p. 3113.)

Mr. APPELL. On March 11, 1965, James R. Whitefield, as secretary, filed with the bank a certificate designating the Birmingham Trust National Bank as a depository for the United Klans.

In this document, Whitefield certified that at a meeting held on January 4, 1965, that Robert M. Creel, Grand Dragon, and Melvin Sexton, klabee, were designated signatories to the account.

In 1965, James R. Whitefield, together with his brother, William Whitefield, was among the leaders in the forming within the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company, Local 827 of the United Brick and Clay Workers.

This group voted to call a strike against the Dickey Company in February 1965. During the strike, beginning on February 18, 1965, close to 25 acts of violence have been carried out against the buildings and property of the Dickey Company or against nonstriking employees who are members of the United Steelworkers, Local No. 1631.

James R. Whitefield, the exalted cyclops of the Klavern, has utilized members of his Klavern to carry out these acts of violence and has used them for picket activities, even though they are not employees in the Dickey Company.

Committee investigation established that in addition to James R. Whitefield and his brother, William Whitefield, both striking employees who are Klansmen, the following nonstriking Klansmen have engaged in strike activities: Collie Leroy Wilkins, W. O. Eaton, Eugene Thomas, Calvin Green, Johnnie Lee Burnette, Donald Smitherman. Other unknown members of the Bessemer Klavern have been likewise used in this activity.

Bessemer Klavern has a membership of about 65 violence-prone members. Members are heavily armed when attending Klavern meetings, and this resulted in Grand Dragon Creel announcing at a meeting in April 1964 that, thereafter, Klansmen would not be allowed to bring firearms into the meetings. He told the majority of the members who objected that the reason behind his announcement related to a possible raid by the FBI. He stated that it would not appear too well if the FBI collected sawed-off shotguns, pistols, and chains. However, in spite of the announcement, members continued to come to the Klavern meetings heavily armed.

JAMES WHITEFIELD EXHIBIT No. 3-A

TRADE NAME—COMMERCIAL ACCOUNT OF		BESSEMER OFFICE
NAME <u>United Klans Of America</u>		69-163858
<b>BIRMINGHAM TRUST NATIONAL BANK</b>		
WILL RECOGNIZE ONLY THE AUTHORIZED SIGNATURES BELOW. IN THE PAYMENT OF FUNDS OR THE TRANSACTION OF ANY OTHER BUSINESS RELATING TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE UNDERSIGNED DEPOSITOR, WHO HEREBY AGREES WITH SAID BANK THAT THE CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS CARD SHALL APPLY TO TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO THE ACCOUNT. YOU ARE HEREBY AUTHORIZED TO MAIL STATEMENT OF THIS ACCOUNT AS RENDERED TO THE ADDRESS AS SHOWN.		
<p>The signature appearing below are which you will recognize in the payment of funds and the transaction of other business for this account.</p> <p>Checks must bear <u>Both</u> of the within signatures.</p>		
<p>1. <u>Cecil E. Davenport</u></p> <p>2. <u>Robert M. Cuel</u></p>	<p>3. <u>Acct # 69-163858</u></p>	
Address <u>P. O. Box 3093, Hueytown</u>		Phone <u>491-3636</u>
Signature of Owner authorizing the above		
<p>DATE OPENED <u>10-28-64</u> FIRST DEPOSIT \$ <u>126.80</u> DEPOSIT RECEIVED BY <u>aking</u></p> <p>FORM B-11A</p>		

LATER CARD IN FILE

6-6

JAMES WHITEFIELD EXHIBIT No. 3-B

(CORPORATION)		BESSEMER OFFICE
NAME <u>UNITED CLANS OR AMERICA</u>		69-163858
<b>BIRMINGHAM TRUST NATIONAL BANK</b>		
WILL RECOGNIZE ONLY THE AUTHORIZED SIGNATURES BELOW. IN THE PAYMENT OF FUNDS OR THE TRANSACTION OF ANY OTHER BUSINESS RELATING TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE UNDERSIGNED DEPOSITOR, WHO HEREBY AGREES WITH SAID BANK THAT THE CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS CARD SHALL APPLY TO TRANSACTIONS RELATING TO THE ACCOUNT. SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR TERMS OF COLLECTION AGREEMENT UNDER WHICH THIS BANK ACCEPTS ITEMS FROM YOU FOR DEPOSIT. YOU ARE HEREBY AUTHORIZED TO MAIL STATEMENT OF THIS ACCOUNT AS RENDERED TO THE ADDRESS AS SHOWN.		
<p>1. <u>Robert M. Cuel</u></p> <p>2. <u>Eugene Thomas</u></p> <p>3. <u>Melvin Sexton</u></p> <p>4. <u>James R. Whitefield</u></p>	<p>PRESIDENT</p> <p>VICE-PRESIDENT</p> <p>TREASURER</p> <p>SECRETARY</p>	
ADDRESS <u>P.O. Box 3093 - Hueytown</u>		
CHECKS WILL BE SIGNED BY <u>Melvin Sexton</u>		
AND COUNTERSIGNED BY <u>Robert M. Cuel</u>		
TEL. NO. <u>491-3636</u>		INSTRUCTIONS AS TO SIGNATURE O.K'D BY
<p>DATE OPENED <u>10-28-64</u> FIRST DEPOSIT \$ <u>126.80</u> DEPOSIT RECEIVED BY <u>aking</u></p> <p>FORM B-7</p>		

change in file

James R. Whitefield and his brother William traveled to Jacksonville, Florida, for the purpose of protecting UKA officers and leaders who planned a rally in Jacksonville, Florida, in November 1964 and who expected trouble from the United Florida Ku Klux Klan organization.

The Alabama Klansmen, included members of the Imperial Klans Committee—Robert Thomas, Ralph Roton—as well as Wilkins, Thomas, and Eaton. While in Florida, they discussed the elimination of William Rosecrans, the United Florida Ku Klux Klan member who bombed the Godfrey residence in Jacksonville and who confessed, implicating other members of the United Florida Klan in this action.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Whitefield possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Whitefield, you have the opportunity at this point to reply to any portion of the statement of the investigator. You may, if you desire, confirm or challenge the accuracy of any part of it or offer any additional matter that the committee deems relevant. The Chair gives you that opportunity at this point.

Hearing no response, you are advised that, absent your rebuttal or any other facts which come to the committee, we will rely upon the accuracy of this investigation.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, I hand you a copy of a registration card at the Capri Motel, Jacksonville, Florida, dated November 21, 1964, indicating that Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Whitefield were assigned Room 335. I hand you this document, and put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you did register at the Capri Motel in Jacksonville, Florida, as indicated on that registration form.

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "James Whitefield Exhibit No. 4" follows:)

JAMES WHITEFIELD EXHIBIT NO. 4

**Welcome**  
**Capri Motel**  
*One Of The South's Largest and Finest Motels*

**No 12600**

Date NOV 21 1964 Room No. 335

Name Mr & Mrs J R Whitefield Rate 7.73

Address Rt 3 Box 130

City Bessemer State Ala

Make 60 Day License Number 10 30833 State Ala

Auto

CHECK OUT TIME—12:00 NOON

All valuables must be deposited in the office safe—otherwise we are not responsible for any loss.

*1 Day Paid*

DAYS OCCUPIED		
SUN.		
MON.		
TUES.		
WED.		
THUR.		
FRI.		
SAT.		

**For the Best in Food**

**CAPRI MOTEL RESTAURANT**

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, were members of the United Klans of America that traveled to Jacksonville, Florida, along with yourself, heavily armed with rifles, pistols, and even hand grenades?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, a report of the Jefferson County sheriff's department dated March 26, 1965, states that Randle Strozier, S-t-r-o-z-i-e-r, an employee of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company, filed a complaint against Harry Findley, F-i-n-d-l-e-y, and Joseph Higginbotham, because they had surveilled him from the plant to his home.

The report states that upon arrival of law enforcement officers the vehicle was searched and that charges were placed against Harry Findley for violating the Uniform Firearms Act.

Do you possess knowledge of this event?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "James Whitefield Exhibit No. 5" follows:)

## JAMES WHITEFIELD EXHIBIT NO. 5

44-003-6865

1. NATURE OF INCIDENT		3. DATE & TIME OF OCCURRENCE		4. DATE & TIME POLICE ARRIVED	
2. LOCATION OF INCIDENT		5. DATE & TIME POLICE DEPARTED		6. DATE & TIME POLICE DEPARTED	
7. ADDRESS REPORTING INCIDENT TO POLICE		8. ADDRESS		9. ADDRESS	
10. NARRATIVE		11. NARRATIVE		12. NARRATIVE	
<p>Rec call from Det Trammell, BPD that Subject had made complaint against one Harry Findley, 211 Republic Ave, age 22, self employed and Joseph Higginbotham, 211 Republic Ave, age 20, employed Jones Foundry Bessemer. Complainant alleged that named men followed him from Dickey Clay Mfg Co where he has been employed approximately one week, through Bessemer to his home. Upon arriving at his home Mr Strozier covered the men with an unloaded shot gun until the BPD officer Det. Brand arrived. Upon searching vehicle driven by Wm C 64 Chev. Buck Up, Lic # 63H1185 as revolver, 41 cal. Colt Serial # 439274 and a scrap of paper bearing the placen Mr Strozier had stopped this date indicating that they had followed Mr Strozier. BPD placed charges of Viol. Unif. Firearms Act against Mr Findley returned for 30 April 1965.</p>					
13. REPORTING OFFICER		14. INVESTIGATING OFFICER		15. SUPERVISING OFFICER	
		JRB Lyle			

Mr. APPELL. Were Harry Findley and Joseph Higginbotham members of Bessemer Klavern No. 20?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Whitefield, what interest did the Bessemer Klavern No. 20 of the United Klans of America have in the labor dispute between the Dickey Clay Pipe Manufacturing Company and Local 827 of the United Brick and Clay Workers?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, were any members of the Bessemer Klavern No. 20 involved in the picketing activities or any other activities conducted by the striking workers at the Dickey Clay Pipe Company?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you use your position as exalted cyclops of the Klavern to recruit members of the Klavern to participate in strike activities?

Mr. JAMES WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I don't think so.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness will be excused.

The subcommittee will now stand in recess until 2 p.m. this afternoon.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.)

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., Monday, February 7, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1966

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:35 p.m., Hon. Charles L. Weltner, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.)

Mr. WELTNER. The committee will come to order.

The Chair will note that the meeting is beginning shortly after 2:30 rather than 2 o'clock, because of the intervention of a rollcall vote requiring attendance of the members on the floor.

Call your next witness, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. William P. Whitefield.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM P. WHITEFIELD, JR., ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Whitefield.

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. William P. Whitefield, Jr.

Mr. APPELL. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. Appell, might I find out the date of this subpoena? Not the date of service, but the date of issuance?

Mr. APPELL. 27 October.

Mr. Whitefield, are you appearing before the committee today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on November 1, 1965, at 618 North 15th Street, Bessemer, Alabama, by a deputy United States marshal?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, when and where were you born?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America—5, 1, 4, and 14. of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, are you acquainted with Mr. James McCroskey, who was the first witness this morning?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Are you acquainted with Robert N. Washington, president of the Local 1631 of the United Steelworkers?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. On March 10, 1965, in the course of a strike against the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company, were you in a trailer being used for strike headquarters with James W. Bullock, Leroy Wilkins, and Larry Mason?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, as a result of the trailer being struck, did you and others bring a complaint against the driver of the trailer truck, charging him with assault with the intent to kill?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, Collie Leroy Wilkins testified in the preliminary hearing in that matter and, in the course of direct examination, he testified that, and I will quote from his testimony:

Q. Were you inside the trailer, or where were you?

A. Yes, sir, I was inside the trailer.

Q. What were you doing inside the trailer?

A. Sitting down playing a game of cards.

Q. Who all was inside the trailer?

A. Bill Whitefield and J. W. Bullock.

Is Collie Leroy Wilkins' testimony, as given in that pretrial examination, truthful?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "William Whitefield Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that at the time of the strike action you were a member of Bessemer Klavern Number 20 of the United Klans of America.

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, did you know an employee of the Dickey Company, Hughie Maxwell Bloodsworth?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. In connection with an injunction brought against the union and its members with respect to the picketing and the violence at the plant, Hughie Maxwell Bloodsworth gave a statement to the effect that he left the company plant on March 8, was followed by a white 1960 Ford, accompanied by three men and a woman, and that he was told that he should not return to work, and in the course of stopping his car and talking to him, one of the men in the 1960 white Ford noticed that he had some shotgun shells lying on the floor.

They remarked to him that, "I see you've got a shotgun. That don't worry me. I've got a gun, too."

Then Mr. Bloodsworth said he pulled back the left side of his jacket—

and I could see a revolver in a shoulder holster. I could see the handle and the cylinder. The handle appeared to be brown wood. There was a ring at the butt of the handle, like those on some policemen's and MP's pistols, to tie a string or a lanyard to. \* \* \*

Who were the occupants of the 1960 white Ford that followed Mr. Bloodsworth, Mr. Whitefield?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, do you know Wallace A. Swanson, an employee of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you possess knowledge of whether or not persons supporting the strike action of the United Brick and Clay Workers did, in fact, fire shotguns into the vehicles of nonstriking workers?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. In a sworn statement, signed statement, Mr. Swanson related a story that he heard a shotgun go off and looked in the direction of where the shotgun blast came from and stated in his signed statement as follows:

I saw a man in this direction whom I recognized as Jackie C. Gamble [G-a-m-b-l-e] an inspector who is on strike against W. S. Dickey. When I first saw him, he was lowering a firearm from the firing position. As he was lowering it, it was pointed in a northwesterly direction, over across the Road and in the vicinity of the employees' cars which were still passing. Gamble was slightly crouched over and was hidden from direct view from the portion of Sparks Gap Road that the employees' cars were passing by on, by some fallen trees and underbrush. From the point I was, however, it so happened that I could see him clearly. I observed Gamble there for approximately 10 to 20 seconds. He then cut back into the woods, retracing part of his route, and then circled around further east to get back to Sparks Gap Road. He appeared to be still carrying the firearm. I never did lose sight of Gamble as he circled through the woods. The point he came out of the woods was about 100 feet further east than the picket trailer. At that time, Smitherman and Whitefield got into Whitefield's car, a 1960 white Ford, and drove down the road to the point where Gamble was just coming out of the woods and picked him up. They then drove east down Sparks Gap-Hopewell Road.

Is this story factual?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know an employee, William Palmer of the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Palmer in a signed statement said that on March 9, 1965, he was working at the plant, and three pickets named W. P. Whitefield, Jr., Charles Grammer, and Jimmy Whitefield, threw rocks at him.

Is his statement truthful?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "William Whitefield Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, Mr. McCroskey testified that one of his employees went out on an errand in a 1959 station wagon, and was stopped by a roadblock. Was a car owned by you and driven by you involved in the roadblock against the company station wagon?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. The sheriff's report says:

59 Chev. station wagon belonging to Dickey Clay driven by Elmer Lee Skinner \* \* \* left plant to pick up parts. On way back near plant—60 white Ford. IB30834, driven by Wm. P. Whitefield WM & 2 other men blocked road & broke window in station wagon—58 Chev. IB10432 driven by James Howell WM stopped behind station wagon—Negro driver was scared & trying to get away backed into James Howell's car & bent grill & bumper.

Who were the other occupants of the car which you were driving?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-F" appears on p. 3120.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, on March 22, 1965, two bombings occurred at the Dickey plant. A report of the sheriff's department reads that:

After the two bombings, [P. L.] Misso [M-i-s-s-o] & I [H. M. Johnson, Bessemer sheriff's office] stopped a '62 Chevrolet in the area of Dickey Clay with two WM's [white males] in it. (1) Raymond C. Myers, the driver & (2) Collie L. Wilkins, 4005 10th Way, Fairfield \* \* \*.

Did these two participate in any way with those bombings, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-J" appears on p. 3121.)

## JAMES McCROSKEY EXHIBIT NO. 1-F

CONTINUATION SHEET (FIELD)		JEFFERSON COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT	
PAGE NUMBER	KIND OF REPORT CONTINUED	DATE AND TIME OF INCIDENT	NAME OF VICTIM OR ARRESTEE
650		11/21/64	44-001-025
<p>38 Chev. station wagon belongs to Dickey Clay Pipe Co. By driver see Skinner 11/21-11/22/64 - Heft Plant to Pick up. Porter on way back here plant - 60 Whitefield 11/23/64 driven by W.P. Whitefield 11/23/64. New Black Road + Porter unknown at station wagon - 38 Chev. 11/24/64 driven by James Howell 11/24/64 stopped behind station wagon - began driver was scared + trying to get away. Backed into James Howell car + Bill Whitefield + Porter -</p> <p>Howell + Walden</p>			

Mr. APPELL. The report further states that at 11:45 p.m. they stopped and checked a green '58 Chevrolet, I.B.-37863, with two passengers in it, one W. P. Whitefield, Jr., and the other Charles Grammer.

Did you participate in either of the bombings at the Dickey Clay plant that night?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Whitefield, was your brother the exalted cyclops of the Klavern at the time of the Dickey Clay strike?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know the composition of the klokann committee appointed by Bessemer Klavern No. 20?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Were any of the acts of violence taken against the Dickey Clay Pipe Company or personnel employed by the Dickey Clay Pipe Company, or Clay Manufacturing Company, rather, by members of the Bessemer Klavern No. 20 klokann committee?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Did you on November 21, 1964, accompany your brother and other Klansmen from the Alabama area to Jacksonville, Florida?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a registration, copy of a registration card, Capri Motel, Jacksonville, Florida, signed Bill Whitefield, dated November 21, 1964, which reflects that Bill Whitefield was assigned Room No. 166.

JAMES McCROSKEY EXHIBIT No. 1-J

CONTINUATION SHEET - (FIELD)				
PAGE NUMBER	KIND OF REPORT CONTINUED	OFFENSE - CHARGE OR INCIDENT	NAME OF VICTIM OR ARRESTEE	DATE - TIME
				44-003- 45
<p>App. 8:25 P.M. 3-22-65 -                      received call about Blasting near Raymond Camp or Dickie Clay                      at app. 8:45 We found 3 Rubber Balls Blown into on top of hill                      between Raymond + Hopewell on the dirt Rd near what is                      called Sheriff Thompson's road he came to scene - etc                      Sgt Jacobs, notified the owner Th. This owner went                      to Dickie Clay + other plants in area. Owner was                      not knocked out by 3 Rubber Balls in all had been                      blown <del>damaged</del> Sheriff Bailey                      McCay - Webster</p>				
Sgt Jacobs				

CONTINUATION SHEET - (FIELD)				
PAGE NUMBER	KIND OF REPORT CONTINUED	OFFENSE - CHARGE OR INCIDENT	NAME OF VICTIM OR ARRESTEE	DATE - TIME
				44-003- B65
<p>Mar 22-65 11:25 AM. JEFFERSON COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPT.                      Dickey Clay</p> <p>AFTER The Two Bombings Misso + I Stopped a '62 Chevy                      in The area of Dickey Clay with two w/ons in it. (1) Raymond                      C. Myers, The Driver + (2) Collie L. WILKINS 4005 10th Ave                      Fairfield (City who reportedly belongs to KKK). We Called Sheriff                      Thompson + He Came down to where we were. Meanwhile we                      Checked The Truck and Talked To The two w/ons, Ray                      C. Myers was on strike at Dickey Clay and held a Job in                      The Labor Union. Collie L. WILKINS was not working.                      Munkus Took Two Gloves out of the Truck to have sent off                      The Car.</p> <p>11:45 PM Stopped + Checked a Chevy 58 Chev 1B-27863, with                      in it. (1) Wm P. Whitefield JR. Rt. 7 Box 887, Bess Ala                      License # 2502335, ON Strike at Dickey Clay. (2) Charles                      Grammar, 207 Griffin Ave Bess. Ala. We found 9 S&amp;W                      Shot Gun Shells in the CAR which Munkus took Also -</p> <p>P.L. Misso. + W.M. Johnston Bess Sheriff's off.</p>				

I ask you if the signature that appears on that card is your signature?

Mr. WILLIAM WHITEFIELD. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "William Whitefield Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

WILLIAM WHITEFIELD EXHIBIT NO. 3

No 12608

# Welcome Capri Motel

NOV 21 1964 One Of The South's Largest and Finest Motels

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Room No. 166  
 Name Bill Whitefield Rate 14.42  
 Address At 2 Box 130  
 City Bessemer State Ala  
 Make Auto Ford License Number 1B-36034 State Ala.

CHECK OUT TIME—12:00 NOON

For the Best in Food

CAPRI MOTEL RESTAURANT

All valuables  
must be deposited  
in the office  
safe—otherwise  
we are not  
responsible for  
any loss

*1 Day Paid*

DAYS OCCUPIED	
SUN.	
MON.	
TUES.	
WED.	
THUR.	
FRI.	
SAT.	

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of Mr. Whitefield.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No questions.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness will be excused.

Call your next witness, please.

Mr. APPELL. Johnnie Lee Burnette.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in the hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BURNETTE. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF JOHNNIE LEE BURNETTE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Burnette?

Mr. BURNETTE. Johnnie Lee Burnette.

Mr. APPELL. And is Johnnie spelled J-o-h-n-n-i-e or J-o-h-n-n-y?

Mr. BURNETTE. They spell it both ways.

Mr. APPELL. Well, how do you spell it?

Mr. BURNETTE. J-o-h-n-n-i-e.

Mr. APPELL. Thank you.

Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BURNETTE. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Burnette, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on November 3, 1965, at 2529 22d Street, Hueytown, Alabama?

Mr. BURNETTE. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Burnette?

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reasons that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Burnette, as a member of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, did you render any aid and assistance to the strikers at the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company plant in Hopewell, Alabama?

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds that are previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Let's ask the witness first if he is a member of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, United Klans of America.

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Burnette, do you possess knowledge of the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963?

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir—

Mr. WELTNER. Is that the date of September 15, 1963?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. At a klonvokation of the United Klans of America held at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama, on September 5-6, 1964, did you receive four electric blasting caps from the exalted cyclops of the Marietta, Georgia, Klavern of the United Klans of America?

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. As you left that Klavern, or that klonvokation, were you accompanied by Eugene Thomas?

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Were you for a short period of time surveilled by agents of the FBI?

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Thinking that those agents were going to continue to surveille you to a parking lot where your vehicle was parked, did you and Thomas pull pistols in preparing to fire on the FBI agents that were surveilling you?

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim or privilege and his consistent refusal to answer questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Burnette.

Mr. Burnette was born on August 10, 1925, at Piper, P-i-p-e-r, Alabama. He resides at 2529-22d Street, Hueytown, Alabama.

Committee investigation establishes Mr. Burnette to be a member of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, known as the Young Men's Social Club, and a delegate to the 1964 Klonvokation held at the Dinkler-Tutwiler Hotel on September 5-6, 1964.

During this klonvocation, Burnette was furnished four electric blasting caps by the EC of the Marietta, Georgia, Klavern. As Burnette, accompanied by Eugene Thomas and another Klansman, left the hotel, they were followed by agents of the FBI. The Klansmen drew pistols and were preparing to fire on the agents after the Klansmen had reached a dark section of a lot where they had parked their car. However, the agents discontinued their surveillance prior to this, unbeknownst to the Klansmen.

Burnette is known to possess knowledge of acts of violence carried out by members of the United Klans of America, including the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in September 1963 and the bombings at the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Burnette possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Burnette, you have heard the sworn statement of the investigator. You now have an opportunity to confirm or qualify or explain any portion of that testimony or offer any further information that the committee deems relevant.

Do you wish to offer any further matter for this committee's consideration?

Hearing no response, I must advise you that, absent other evidence which will come to the committee, we will rely upon the accuracy of this investigation.

I would like to inquire of the witness as to whether or not, Mr. Burnette, do you have knowledge of the bombing of the church in Birmingham on September 15, 1963?

Mr. BURNETTE. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Appell, the record does not indicate that this witness is or has been employed by the clay pipe company. Is that correct?

Mr. APPELL. To the best of the committee's investigation, the witness has never been employed by Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company.

Mr. WELTNER. There being no further questions, the witness will be excused.

Call your next witness, please.

Mr. APPELL. Donald A. Smitherman.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the answers you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD ANDREW SMITHERMAN, ACCOMPANIED  
BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

MR. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Smitherman.

MR. SMITHERMAN. Donald A. Smitherman.

MR. APPELL. Does the "A" stand for Andrew?

MR. SMITHERMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

MR. SMITHERMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. APPELL. Counsel, will you identify yourself for the record?

MR. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

MR. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, are you appearing before the committee today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 25, 1965, at the Pullman-Standard Company, in Bessemer, Alabama?

MR. SMITHERMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, are you a member of Bessemer Klavern No. 20 of the United Klans of America?

MR. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question for the reason that I honestly believe that my answer might tend to incriminate me in my violation of rights as guaranteed to me by the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States.

MR. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, have you ever been employed by the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company in Hopewell, Alabama?

MR. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

MR. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, on March 8, 1965, Alfonza Ragland, Jr., an employee of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company, at 3:20 p.m. was leaving the plant. And according to a report of the sheriff's department, when he reached the picket line, rocks and bottles were thrown by pickets and a shot was fired which struck the left front fender, just above the wheel, part of the charge striking the tire.

What knowledge do you possess of that incident, Mr. Smitherman?

MR. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

MR. APPELL. The supplementary report from the sheriff's department which I read to you stated that after this incident happened a check was made of the picket line, and a report says that :

One man present was not an employee of Dickey Clay but stated that he belonged to the same Union. This man was employed [sic] at the Pullman Plant, Bessemer. His name and address are: Donald A. Smitherman, 104 Park Ave. or 306 Terrace Court, \* \* \* Ala. Driver's License No. 1875725.

Is the report of the sheriff's department factual, Mr. Smitherman?

MR. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

(Document previously marked "James McCroskey Exhibit No. 1-E" follows:)

## JAMES McCROSKEY EXHIBIT No. 1-E

Shooting into Auto - Labor trouble

Sparks Gap Road-Dickey Clay Plant

3-8-65 3:20 PM

3-8-65

Alfonza RAGLAND Jr

#6 Shades Street

425 1278

I

RAGLAND reported by phone to this office that his automobile had been shot as he was leaving the W. S. Dickey Clay Mfr Plant where he is employed. RAGLAND had worked the day shift and just as he reached the ricket line rocks and bottles were thrown by Pickets and a shot was fire which struck the left front fender just above the wheel, part of the charge striking the tire. Shot imbedded in the tire were buck shot apparently 00. RAGLAND was driving a 1956 Pontiac, 4-door, white over blue, license # 1B 27599. RAGLAND did not know who fired the shot but thought that it was fired from the trailer used by the pickete. Photographs taken by Sheriff J. W. Thompson

J. W. Thompson Asst to the Sheriff J. B. Sexton Sgt

March 8 1965

DATE		SUPPLEMENTARY OFFENSE REPORT		JEFFERSON COUNTY SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT	
1. ORIGINAL OFFENSE Shooting into Auto		2. ORIGINAL CLASSIFICATION		3. DIST. 4. COMP. 5. R & I NUMBER 44-003-B65	
6. OFFENSE CHANGED TO Labor Disturbance		7. CLASSIFICATION CHANGED TO		8. MULTY. CLEAR-UP (IF YES, LIST OTHER OFF REPT. NO IN NARRATIVE.) YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
9. VICTIM Alfonza RAGLAND Jr #6 Shades Street Bessemer 425 1278		ADDRESS		PHONE	
10. PROPERTY TAKEN TYPE OF PROPERTY TAKEN <input type="checkbox"/> MONEY <input type="checkbox"/> JEWELRY <input type="checkbox"/> FURS <input type="checkbox"/> CLOTHING <input type="checkbox"/> AUTO <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER		(SPECIFY)		TOTAL VALUE CONDITION	
11. PROPERTY RECOVERED <input type="checkbox"/> MONEY <input type="checkbox"/> JEWELRY <input type="checkbox"/> FURS <input type="checkbox"/> CLOTHING <input type="checkbox"/> AUTO <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER		(SPECIFY)		TOTAL VALUE CONDITION	
12. NARRATIVE After checking auto of Victim a check was made of the picket line and the names obtained of all present. List is attached. One man present was not an employee of Dickey Clay but stated that he belonged to the same Union. This man was employed at the Pullman Plant, Bessemer. His name and address are: Donald A Smitherman 104 Park Ave or 306 Terrace Court HAP 4947 Ala Driver's License No1 1875725  Even tho Mr SMITHERMAN is not an employee of Dickey Clay he appeared to be taking a very active part in the picket line. He was advised that it would be to the best interest of the men on strike for him to leave.  Sec. Eng. Guard B. R. WRIGHT, 111 Pine Ave, Hueytown, Phone 491 3127, wa on duty at the time of the shooting of RAGLAND'S auto and stated that the shot came from the wooded area across the road from the picket line. Mr. WRIGHT further stated that he saw and identified a white male as being across the road at the time the shot, in fact, this white male was the only per on to rejoin the picket line from across the road. This man was Jackie Clyde GAMBLE, Rt 2 Box 619, Rt 3 Box 67G, Alabama Driver's License No. 1647012.					
13. STATUS <input type="checkbox"/> CLEARED <input type="checkbox"/> PENDING OR NOT CLEARED <input type="checkbox"/> UNFOUNDED		14. FURTHER POLICE ACTION AND REPORT REQUIRED <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO			
15. IF CLEARED CHECK ONE <input type="checkbox"/> ARRESTED & PROSECUTED <input type="checkbox"/> PROSECUTED OTHER AGENCY <input type="checkbox"/> LESSER OFFENSE <input type="checkbox"/> SUICIDE <input type="checkbox"/> ARRESTED BUT RELEASED <input type="checkbox"/> LACK OF PROSECUTION <input type="checkbox"/> EXTRADITION DENIED <input type="checkbox"/> RESTITUTION					
16. REPORTING OFFICER J. B. Sexton Jr		REPORTING OFFICER		ASSGN SUPERVISOR APPROVING	

Mr. APPELL. As a matter of fact, as an employee of Pullman-Standard, you could not be a member of the United Brick and Clay Workers, because they have no bargaining rights at Pullman-Standard, do they?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. Was your participation in the acts there as a result of orders which you had received as a member of the Bessemer Klavern No. 20 of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, can you advise the committee as to what that pin is in your left lapel?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. That is the lapel pin of a member of the United Klans of America; is it not?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, as a member of the Bessemer Klavern participating in the strike at the Dickey Clay Pipe Company, have you ever fired a shotgun into the car of a nonstriking worker, or have you ever engaged in placing of any of the explosives which have exploded at the plant property?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, have members of Bessemer Klavern No. 20 been active in a campaign against the integration of schools, the Bessemer High School in Bessemer, Alabama?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. Did you participate in any Klan activity against that, in the accompaniment of Eugene Thomas?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully—

Mr. WELTNER. Wait just a minute. Repeat that question, please?

Mr. APPELL. Did he participate in any Klan activity in the Bessemer area, accompanying Eugene Thomas?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, the *Birmingham Post-Herald*, Friday, September 3, 1965, contains a story with respect to enrollment at the Bessemer High School. On page 2 of the continuation of the story, I read this:

Another Klansman, Eugene Thomas, one of the three men charged in the death of a Detroit woman in Lowndes County last Spring, removed his son from Bessemer High School yesterday, second day of school.

A white man accompanying Thomas at the time, Donald Smitherman, 28, of 1004 Park Av., Raimund, was arrested by Bessemer Police Chief George Barron and charged with disorderly conduct and driving without a license. He was released under \$150 bond.

Is that account as I read to you factual, Mr. Smitherman?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

(Document marked "Donald Smitherman Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

DONALD SMITHERMAN EXHIBIT NO. 1  
[Birmingham (Ala.) Post-Herald, September 3, 1965]

## In Birmingham—

# Enrollment In Schools At 65,373

BY LILLIAN FOUCUE VANN

New books and homework assignments were the order of business last night for students in five school systems in Jefferson County after the first complete day of classes yesterday.

Birmingham schools, opening a day later than other systems, scheduled first day of complete classes today. Enrollment at the end of the day yesterday was 65,373 in Birmingham schools, a drop of 1060 from the first day's enrollment in 1964.

Enrollment by the end of the first month last year in Birmingham city schools topped 71,000, however, and authorities predict the end of the next month will see enrollment nearly at this mark.

Birmingham Elementary school enrollment totaled 47,302; students and high schools reported 18,071. Included in the totals were 49 Negro students attending predominately white schools. First grade transfers by Negro students were not compiled last night.

Fairfield reported 28 Negro students enrolled in previously all-white schools and Bessemer 13. Jefferson County schools reported 24, making a total to date in all county systems of 114 Negro students in 19 desegregated schools.

Desegregated Birmingham city schools and number of Negro students attending each include: Graymont Elementary, 1; Ensley High, 12; Jones Valley High, 5; Phillips High, 9; Ramsay High, 13; West End High, 2; and Woodlawn High, 6. One Negro special student was admitted to Charlanne part of Elyton Elementary School.

Applications for transfer are still being processed for Negro first graders. Birmingham schools attorney Reid Barnes

said several applications for transfer to white first grades were made by parents of Negro children yesterday.

At Fairfield, 3834 students were enrolled overall, a drop from 3980 students enrolled the first day of school in 1964, the superintendent's office said.

Negro students approved for transfer included eight in the seventh grade, 13 in the eighth grade, four in the 10th grade and three in the senior class.

Bessemer schools reported about 90 per cent complete enrollment on the first day of the expected 8100 students. Some 4700 of the expected 5200 Negro students were registered in Bessemer the first day, include 13 at the white junior and senior high schools, four in the seventh grade, six in the 10th and three in the 12th grades.

State-provided textbooks, for the most part, were adequate, but some additional books would have to be purchased with local funds, authorities said.

Bessemer school lunch program, once thought to be ineligible this year for Federal assistance, does qualify and will operate as it did last year.

The system is in compliance with Health, Education and Welfare Dept. and Department of Agriculture requirements, the superintendent, Dr. James O. Knuckles, said, while the Civil Rights Act is tested in Federal Court in a suit filed by the Bessemer board.

Another Klansman, Eugene Thomas, one of three men charged in the death of a Detroit woman in Lowndes County last Spring, removed his son from Bessemer High School yesterday, second day of school.

A white man accompanying Thomas at the time, Donald Smitherman, 28, of 1004 Park-av., Raimund, was arrested by Bessemer Police Chief George Barron and charged with disorderly conduct and driving without a license. He was released under \$150 bond.

Wednesday William M. Eaton, another of the KKK members accused in the fatal shooting of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, removed his son from desegregated Hueytown High School.

week in connection with violations at the opening of school.

William P. Whitfield Jr., 23, Rt. 1, Box 284, McCalla, was arrested Monday near Bessemer High School for refusing to obey the lawful command of a police officer.

In Jefferson County schools a total of 23 Negroes were approved for transfer in an overall enrollment of 61,911, an increase of 12,045 over first day enrollment last year.

The Jefferson County Board of Education met in special session yesterday to consider applications for transfer by first graders and four were approved.

School authorities said it was up to parents whether first graders whose transfers were approved would start at desegregated schools today or wait until after Monday's Labor Day holiday and start classes Tuesday.

Fourteen seventh graders and four first graders were approved for transfer yesterday, which added to the eight students previously approved for transfer in higher grades brought the total in county schools to 26, but two were not in school.

Desegregated county schools and number of Negro students attending included McDonald's Chapel—3 first graders; McNeil, 1 first grader and 1 seventh grader; Graysville, 2 seventh graders and 1 ninth grader; Dixie, 11 seventh graders and 3 ninth graders. Hueytown, two senior high students.

Mountain Brook schools reported an increase in enrollment at three of the city's four. Only Crestline School showed a drop, registering 682 students as compared to 735 last year the first day of school.

Other Mountain Brook schools and registration the first day included Junior High, 1019 students, compared to 981 last year; Elementary, 533 as compared to 498 last year; and Brookwood Forest, 673 compared to 581 last year.

Tarrant school authorities said school enrollment the first day lived up to the expected figure of 2000.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Smitherman, that arrest—was that the only arrest that you have ever had during your lifetime?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. In 1957, were you arrested by the Jefferson County sheriff's office as a Naval deserter?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Smitherman, we are endeavoring to determine what function Bessemer Klavern No. 20 of the United Klans of America had in the strike of Dickey Clay Pipe Company. And of course this committee is not concerned with the implementation of the Labor-Management Relations Act or of the terms of the strike or the grievances that might have led to it or the union that might ultimately represent any of the employees of that company, nor are we concerned with the details of the negotiations or the basis for any contract settlement of that labor dispute.

We are concerned with discerning whether or not there is any connection between the long train of violent acts that took place during last year and the United Klans of America. That is our only concern, and I would ask you to tell this committee, if you will, just what function or what position the Bessemer Klavern No. 20 took in that labor dispute last year.

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the grounds previous stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Questions?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Only one, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Smitherman, do you feel that when a group carries out acts of bombings, firing shotguns in automobiles, and rocking and threatening people, they are doing something to help organized labor?

Mr. SMITHERMAN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. BUCHANAN. No further questions.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, this witness will be excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Curtis O'Neil Doles.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DOLES. Yes, sir.

### TESTIMONY OF CURTIS O'NEIL DOLES, SR., ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Doles.

Mr. DOLES. Curtis O'Neil Doles, Sr.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. DOLES. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Doles, are you appearing before the committee today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 25, 1965, at 1820 Alameda Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. DOLES. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. When and where were you born, Mr. Doles?

Mr. DOLES. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Doles, are you a member of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Doles, I put it to you as a fact that you are a member of Bessemer Klavern No. 20, United Klans of America, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact.

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Doles, last week, the committee had as a witness a one-time member of the United Klans of America, McComb, Mississippi, Emery Allen Lee.

Are you acquainted with Emery Allen Lee?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Within the United Klans of America, in McComb, Mississippi, Emery Allen Lee was the Klan's demolition man. Are you the Klan's demolition man for the State of Alabama?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Appell, so the record might be clear, in your question, would you kindly state what is meant by the term "demolition man"?

Mr. APPELL. A man who is an expert in the preparation of implements of demolition—bombs and other implements.

Mr. WELTNER. I must ask the witness, Mr. Doles, are you familiar with the construction of explosive devices and means of setting them off?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. In October 1964, Mr. Doles, were you in charge of the United Klans of America booth at the Alabam State Fair at Birmingham, Alabama?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Doles, do you have an arrest record in the States of Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. In October 1964, did Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton praise you for being a dedicated Klansman?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Was your arrest record known to Imperial Wizard Shelton at the time he praised you as a dedicated Klansman?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Did you prepare any of the explosive devices used against the Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company?

Mr. DOLES. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Does the investigation indicate this witness to be an employee of the Dickey Clay Pipe Company?

Mr. APPELL. The record, Mr. Chairman, reflects that Mr. Doles is employed with the Doles Home Improvement Company, Midfield, Alabama.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Doles, you have an opportunity at this time to offer any matter that you feel might be of assistance to this committee and to respond in any way you see fit to some of the questions or the statements that were put to you.

Do you wish to avail yourself of that opportunity?

The witness remaining silent, the record will so reflect.

The witness is excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Eugene Curtis Vann, Jr.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. VANN. I do.

# **TESTIMONY OF EUGENE CURTIS VANN, JR., ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, please, sir.

Mr. VANN. My name is Eugene Curtis Vann, Jr.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. VANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Vann, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 25, 1965, at Vann & Johnson Electric Service, 323 Molton Street, Montgomery, Alabama?

Mr. VANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Vann, the subpoena served upon you had an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena, and under the terms of the subpoena, you were commanded to bring with you and to produce documents set forth in the attachment which reads as follows:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, and Lawrence Lodge #610. Klavern, Realm of Alabama, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Exalted Cyclops,

Lawrence Lodge #610, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that if I do so, might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by the committee under subpoena dated October the 14th, 1965, for the information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of the authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress of the House of Representatives, No. 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, do we have the stipulation that this witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and is familiar with the contents thereof?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And that the directions of the subpoena to produce documents are made to the witness in the official representative capacity described in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. As stated in the subpoena; yes.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Vann, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusal to comply with the subpoena, and as chairman of the subcommittee, I order and direct you to furnish the documents called for therein.

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents therefore ordered by the chairman—heretofore ordered heretofore by the committee—ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. You have at this point, Mr. Vann, an opportunity to place into this record any reason why you are unable to comply with the terms of that subpoena.

There being no response, proceed with paragraph 2, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Vann, paragraph 2 called upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Lawrence Lodge #610, Realm of Alabama, of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, we have the same two stipulations with regard to this paragraph?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Vann, I order and direct you to produce the documents called for by the subpoena.

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Vann, are you the exalted cyclops of a Klavern of the United Klans of America which is known by the name Lawrence Lodge No. 610?

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in the violation of any rights as guaranteed to me by the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Vann, does this Klavern of the United Klans of America maintain a bank account at The Union Bank & Trust Company, Montgomery, Alabama, under the name, "White Patriots, P.O. Box 7094, Montgomery, Alabama"?

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Vann, the committee obtained the records of this account through subpoena duces tecum, and the signature cards filed with this account reflect that an account was opened November 29, 1963, with the authorized signatures of this account being Gene Mims and Raymond C. Howard; that these signatures were changed on February 10, 1965, to the authorized signatures or signers Gene Vann and Gene Mims.

I hand you the signature cards for your examination, and put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that the Gene Vann whose signature appears on the signature card is yourself.

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Documents marked "Eugene Vann Exhibits Nos. 1-A and 1-B," respectively, appear on p. 3134.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Vann, do you act as a liaison officer for the United Klans of America with the State Government in Montgomery, Alabama?

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Vann.

Eugene Curtis Vann, Jr., is known as Gene Vann. He is connected with Vann & Johnson Electric Service, Montgomery, Alabama. He is the exalted cyclops of Lawrence Lodge No. 610, which has maintained a bank account at The Union Bank & Trust Company since 1963 in the name of the White Patriots. The officers authorized to sign checks against the account, effective November 29, 1963, were Gene Mims and Raymond C. Howard, and on February 10, 1965, Gene Vann and Gene Mims.

## EUGENE VANN EXHIBIT NO. 1-A

## CAPITOL HEIGHTS BRANCH

105-3155

Account Number

SIGNATURE CARD

Clubs, Associations, Etc.

THE UNION BANK &amp; TRUST CO., Montgomery, Alabama

The handling by this Bank of checks, drafts and other items will be subject to the conditions shown on the reverse side hereof, and the depositor hereby acknowledges receipt of notice of said conditions and consents and agrees to be bound hereby.

Title

White Patriots

Home Office Address

Phone

Local Address

P.O. Box 7094

Date

NOV 29 1963

SIGNATURES

COUNTERSIGNATURES

Gene Mims and Raymond C. Howard

Nature of Business

CLUB

Introduced by

See reverse side which is part of this contract

7-61-4M—BROWN PRINTING CO., MONTGOMERY 1961

## EUGENE VANN EXHIBIT NO. 1-B

## CAPITOL HEIGHTS BRANCH

Account Number

SIGNATURE CARD

Clubs, Associations, Etc.

THE UNION BANK &amp; TRUST CO., Montgomery, Alabama

The handling by this Bank of checks, drafts and other items will be subject to the conditions shown on the reverse side hereof, and the depositor hereby acknowledges receipt of notice of said conditions and consents and agrees to be bound hereby.

Title

White Patriots

Home Office Address

P.O. Box 7094

Phone

263-0761

Local Address

Montgomery, Alabama

Date

Dec 19 1965

SIGNATURES

COUNTERSIGNATURES

Gene Vann and Gene Mims

Nature of Business

Introduced by

See reverse side which is part of this contract

7-63-4M—BROWN PRINTING CO., MONTGOMERY 1963

Officers of the Klavern, in addition to Gene Vann, are the klaliff, Paul Dennis, Jr.; the kligrapp or secretary, Sylvester Trawick, T-r-a-w-i-c-k; the klabee or treasurer, Gene Melvin Mims; the kludd or chaplain, the Reverend John Mitchell; the kladd or conductor, Alfred E. Edwards; the klexter, Grady E. Harris; the night-hawk, Douglas Cannon; and the chief of the klokann committee, Raymond C. Howard.

Vann was the speaker, together with Grand Dragon Creel and Imperial Wizard Shelton, on July 8, 1965, at a rally across the road from Maxwell Air Force Base. Vann berated President Johnson and Alabama Attorney General Flowers for their condemnation of the Klan. Vann referred to a Klan committee which was attempting to promote an investigation of the FBI. There was distributed a leaflet claiming that the FBI was harassing an 81-year-old Klansman who is known by the name of Pop Blanton. Committee investigation reflects that the Klan had stationed Blanton in front of FBI headquarters in Birmingham for the purpose of embarrassing that agency.

Vann has frequent contact with Imperial Wizard Shelton and is believed to be a liaison officer for Shelton around the State capital.

Mr. Vann, are the officers of the Klavern that were just read to you in the statement, in fact, the officers of the Klavern as designated?

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Vann possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Vann, you have heard the statement of the investigator. You have now an opportunity to offer any matter which you may desire to appear in this record concerning that statement or anything in addition thereto.

Do you wish to avail yourself of that opportunity?

There being no response, you understand that this committee, unless there is further evidence or in rebuttal, will rely upon the accuracy of this investigation.

What is the White Patriots, Mr. Vann?

Mr. VANN. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Any further questions?

Mr. APPELL. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness will be excused.

Call your next witness, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Sylvester Trawick.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TRAWICK. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF SYLVESTER TRAWICK, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Trawick.

Mr. TRAWICK. Sylvester Trawick.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. TRAWICK. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on October 26, 1965, at the

Capital Advertising Company, 115 East Jefferson Street, Montgomery, Alabama?

Mr. TRAWICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena, and under the conditions of the subpoena, you were commanded to bring with you, and to produce, documents described in the attachment, paragraph 1 reading:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and Lawrence Lodge #610, Klavern, Realm of Alabama, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Kligrapp, Lawrence Lodge #610, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. TRAWICK. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all different documents as commanded by the committee in its subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October the 14th, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, can we have the stipulation that this witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And he is familiar with the contents thereof?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And the directions in the subpoena are directed to the witness to produce the documents in a representative capacity as described in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Trawick, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusing to comply with the subpoena, and I hereby order and direct you to produce the documents identified in the subpoena.

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. You have at this point, Mr. Trawick, if you desire, the opportunity to present to the committee any reason you may have for being unable to comply with the terms of the subpoena.

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents—

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WELTNER. There being no response, we will proceed to the next paragraph.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, paragraph 2 calls upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Kligrapp, Lawrence Lodge #610, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. May we have the same stipulation, Mr. Chalmers?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Trawick, I order and direct you to produce the documents described in paragraph 2 of the subpoena.

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, the Constitution and Laws of the United Klans of America sets forth the responsibilities of the kligrapp or secretary.

What disposition do you as secretary of this Klavern make of applications for membership in the United Klans of America?

Mr. TRAWICK. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, in preparing the necessary documentation to forward per capita dues to the State of Alabama or to the imperial office in Tuscaloosa, do you report the identity of the members of Klavern?

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you make no report of the identity of members to the imperial headquarters and, further, that the members within your Klavern are known only by a number designation.

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, in September, on September 3, 1964, your Klavern, on a check drawn against an account in the name of the White Patriots, The Union Bank & Trust Company, Montgomery, Alabama, wrote a check for \$32, payable to Tom Whitehead.

Tom Whitehead, Mr. Trawick, is the exalted cyclops of a Klavern in Athens, Georgia; and as these investigations have disclosed, funds forwarded for the defense of the Klansmen involved in the Penn murder have been forwarded to Tom Whitehead.

Can you tell the committee what knowledge your Klavern possessed of the Klan affiliation of these men at the time this check was drawn and forwarded to Tom Whitehead?

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "Sylvester Trawick Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, on June 24, 1965, a check was drawn against the account of the White Patriots, made in the amount of \$56, and payable to the White Mans Defense Fund.

I put it to you as a fact that the White Mans Defense Fund was, in fact, an account whose full designation was "White Mans Defense Fund for the relief of Collie Leroy Wilkins, W. O. Eaton, and Eugene Thomas."

What knowledge did the members of your Klavern possess at the time this check was written to the White Mans Defense Fund in the amount of \$56?

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "Sylvester Trawick Exhibit No. 2." Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2 follow:)

SYLVESTER TRAWICK EXHIBIT NO. 1

150  
MONTGOMERY, ALA 9-3-64  
WHITE PATRIOTS  
P. O. BOX 7094  
61-38  
621  
PAY TO THE ORDER OF *Sam Whitehead* \$32.00  
*Thirty Two & 00/100* DOLLARS  
UNION BANK & TRUST CO  
MONTGOMERY, ALA  
*Gene Mims*  
⑆0621-0038⑆ ⑆105-365-5⑆ ⑆000000000000⑆

SYLVESTER TRAWICK EXHIBIT NO. 2

NO 163  
MONTGOMERY, ALA 6-24-65  
WHITE PATRIOTS  
P. O. BOX 7094  
61-38  
621  
PAY TO THE ORDER OF *White Mans Defense Fund* \$56.00  
*Fifty Six & 00/100* DOLLARS  
UNION BANK & TRUST CO  
MONTGOMERY, ALA  
*Gene Mims*  
⑆0621-0038⑆ ⑆105-365-5⑆ ⑆000000000000⑆

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, are funds now payable to the Realm of Alabama payable to Melvin Sexton of the Tuscaloosa, Alabama, area?

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Can you explain to the committee why a check payable to Mr. Sexton is deposited by him in an account not a Klan account, but the account of the Reid Sexton Corporation?

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "Sylvester Trawick Exhibit No. 3.")

Mr. APPELL. Is there a second Klavern of the United Klans of America in Montgomery, Alabama?

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, on March 5th of 1964, a check was drawn against the White Patriot account, payable to Frank Conway, in the amount of \$26 and the notation on the check appears "For Transfer."

This was deposited by Frank Conway into an account, "Confederate Den # 11." Does the notation "For Transfer" mean a transfer of members of your Klavern to membership in Confederate Den No. 11?

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "Sylvester Trawick Exhibit No. 4.")

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Trawick, on September 25, 1965, a check was drawn against the White Patriots' account, in the amount of \$319.50. This check was made payable to Confederate Lodge #11, which maintains a bank account in Birmingham, Alabama, and in which the signer of this account is Grand Dragon Robert Creel. The endorsement on the reverse of this check reads "Confederate Lodge #11, For Deposit only U.K.A. Defense Fund."

To what UKA Defense Fund was this \$319.50 contributed?

Mr. TRAWICK. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "Sylvester Trawick Exhibit No. 5." Exhibits Nos. 3, 4, and 5 follow:)

NO 166

WHITE PATRIOTS  
P. O. BOX 7094

MONTGOMERY ALA 7-1-65

PAY TO THE  
- ORDER OF

*Mr. Melvin Sexton* \$23.50

*Talentz E. H. + 770*

UNION BANK & TRUST CO.  
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

*Walter M. H. H.*

⑆0624⑉0038⑆ ⑆105⑉315⑉3⑆ ⑆00000002350⑆

*Melvin Sexton*

FOR DEPOSIT ONLY  
REID SEXTON CORP.

PAID

THRU MONTGOMERY CLEASHING HOUSE  
ANY BANK OR CREDIT CO.

JUL 19 1965

FIRST NATIONAL BANK  
MONTGOMERY ALA 6136

SYLVESTER TRAWICK EXHIBIT NO. 4

NO. 119 For Transfer MONTGOMERY ALA. 3-5-64

WHITE PATRIOTS  
P. O. BOX 7094

PAY TO THE  
ORDER OF Frank Conway \$26.00

Sylvester Trawick  
UNION BANK & TRUST CO.  
MONTGOMERY, ALA.

10626-0038: 105-365-54 10000002500

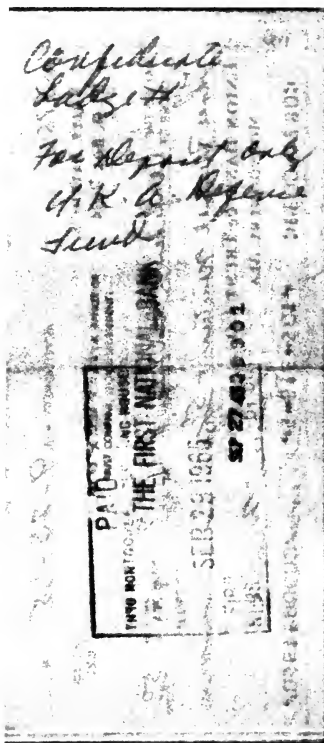
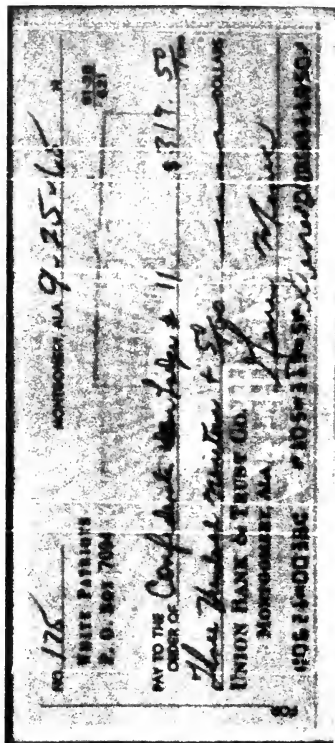
6136  
621

DOLLARS

Frank Conway  
Confederate Bank

PAID  
THRU MONTGOMERY CLEARING HOUSE  
OR PAY TO THE ORDER OF  
ANY BANK, BANKER OR TRUST CO.  
OR CASHIER  
ALL PAID ENCLOSURES RETURNED

MAR 16 1964  
FIRST NATIONAL BANK  
61-36 MONTGOMERY, ALA. 61-36



Mr. WELTNER. Was this check deposited in an account under the name of Confederate Lodge #11?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir. Well, Mr. Chairman, there is an account in the name of the Confederate Lodge #11, maintained at the bank in Birmingham; and in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, there is also an account known as the UKA Defense Fund account, and before giving you a definite answer, I would like to check that against both accounts.

Mr. WELTNER. But there is an account under the name of the Confederate Lodge #11?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir; there is.

Mr. WELTNER. So there is no cover name for the account of that Klavern, other than Confederate Lodge #11.

Mr. APPELL. Well, we are talking about two separate organizations. Confederate Den No. 11, which is a Klavern in Montgomery, and Confederate Lodge #11, which is the name of a bank account upon which Robert Creel is one of the signers, in Birmingham, Alabama.

Confederate Den and Confederate Lodge are only similar in that both are instrumentalities of the United Klans of America, Realm of Alabama.

Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of Mr. Trawick.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness will be excused.

Call the next witness.

The documents used during the examination of the preceding witness will be introduced into evidence.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Mr. Charles Wilkinson.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILKINSON. I do.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated.

### TESTIMONY OF CHARLES JERRY WILKINSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. APPELL. Will you state your full name for the record, Mr. Wilkinson?

Mr. WILKINSON. Charles Jerry Wilkinson.

Mr. APPELL. Is that Jerry?

Mr. WILKINSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. J-e-r-r-y?

Mr. WILKINSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WILKINSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilkinson, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on the 26th day of October 1965 in front of 2509 North Ripley Street, Montgomery, Alabama, by a deputy United States marshal?

Mr. WILKINSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilkinson, the subpoena contained an attachment thereto, which was made a part of the subpoena, and under the conditions of the subpoena, you were commanded to bring with you and to produce documents described in the subpoena, paragraph 1 reading:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and Confederate Den, Klavern #11, Realm of Alabama, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Confederate Den Klavern #11, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. WILKINSON. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by the House Resolution 8, adopted January the 4th, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers.

Mr. CHALMERS. Our same two stipulations.

Mr. WELTNER. Same two stipulations with regard to this witness.

Mr. CHALMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wilkinson, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusing to produce the documents. Accordingly, as chairman of the subcommittee, I order and direct you to produce the documents described in paragraph 1 at this time.

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. And I now offer you an opportunity to present any reason why you are unable to comply with the requirement of the subpoena, if you so desire.

There being no response, proceed with the next paragraph.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilkinson, paragraph 2 called upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Confederate Den Klavern #11, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Same two stipulations, Mr. Chalmers?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wilkinson, I direct you to produce the documents called for in paragraph 2 of the subpoena.

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilkinson, are you presently the exalted cyclops of Confederate Den No. 11, United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WILKINSON. I respectfully decline to answer that question, for the reasons that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you copies of two checks, one dated March 5, 1964, made payable to Frank Conway, and another dated September 24, 1964, made payable to "Confederate Den #11."

I ask you the purpose for which these checks were drawn.

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. The check of March the 5th shows "For Transfer."

Does this relate to a transfer of Klansmen from the Lawrence Lodge 610 to Confederate Den No. 11 in Montgomery, Alabama, area?

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer this question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check previously marked "Sylvester Trawick Exhibit No. 4." See p. 3141.)

Mr. APPELL. The check of September 24, 1964, shows that it was reimbursement for a conference. Explain to the committee what conference was held in which this check is a payment of expenses.

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "Charles Wilkinson Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

CHARLES WILKINSON EXHIBIT NO. 1

NO. 152 \_\_\_\_\_ MONTGOMERY, ALA 9-24-64 19  
 WHITE PATRIOTS 61391  
 P. O. BOX 7094 6138  
 621  
 PAY TO THE ORDER OF *Confederate Den #11* \$20.45  
*Twenty + 45/100*  
 UNION BANK & TRUST CO.  
 MONTGOMERY, ALA *Gene Meins*  
 ⑆0621-0038⑆ ⑆105-315⑆ 5⑈ *Raymond C. Brown*

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilkinson, it is the duty of the exalted cyclops to form within a Klavern a klokann committee.

Could you give the committee the identify of the klokann committee of Confederate Den No. 11?

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. To your knowledge, as exalted cyclops, has the klokann committee engaged in any act of intimidation or violence against any citizen in the State of Alabama?

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Wilkinson, were you born on February 11, 1930, at Georgiana, Alabama?

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you reside at Apartment 208, Hilltop Arms Apartments, 600 Montgomery Street, Montgomery, Alabama?

Mr. WILKINSON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer the question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness is excused.

Call the next witness, please.

Mr. APPELL. Lewis Edward Perkins.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Yes, sir.

**TESTIMONY OF LEWIS EDWARD PERKINS, ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. State your full name for the record, Mr. Perkins.

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Lewis Edward Perkins.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501; First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, are you appearing before the committee today in accordance with subpoena served upon you on October 26, 1965, at 4004 Fifth Street, East Tuscaloosa, Alabama?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment, which was made a part of the subpoena, and under the terms of the subpoena, you were commanded to bring with you, and to produce, documents called for in the attachment.

Paragraph 1 reads as follows:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, and Klavern #5, Realm of Alabama, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Klavern #5, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Realm of Alabama, of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October the 14th, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same will not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, or is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution adopted January the 4th, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, do we have the same two stipulations?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Perkins, the committee does not accept your reason for refusing to produce documents. Accordingly, I direct and order you to produce documents at this time.

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins—

Mr. WELTNER. One minute, please.

Mr. Perkins, you have at this point an opportunity to give to this committee any reason why you are unable to produce the documents called for in paragraph 1 of the subpoena, if you so desire.

There being no response, we will proceed to the second paragraph.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, paragraph 2 calls for you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Exalted Cyclops, Klavern #5, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In a representative capacity set forth in paragraph 2, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. The same two stipulations?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Perkins, you are directed and ordered to produce the documents called for in paragraph 2.

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, are you acquainted with the fact that the cover name used by the United Klans of America is the Alabama Rescue Service?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, I hand you Robert M. Shelton Exhibit No. 25, bills of the telephone company, which are addressed to the Alabama Rescue Service, care of Lewis E. Perkins, Alston Building, Room 401, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

I ask you if that Lewis E. Perkins is yourself?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, the first day of the committee's inquiry into the United Klans of America, it was established that the comakers on checks drawn against the account of the Alabama Rescue Service were Robert M. Shelton and T. M. Montgomery, and then later, Robert M. Shelton and James J. Hendrix.

Did you know that "T. M. Montgomery" was signed by Carol Long, and did you know that the name "James J. Hendrix" was signed by Mrs. Robert Shelton?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, is Klavern No. 5, of which you are the exalted cyclops, the home Klavern of the Imperial Wizard, Mr. Robert Shelton?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, the committee has a copy of a letter addressed on the letterhead of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, signed by William L. Taylor, General Counsel.

This letter states in part:

It has come to our attention from various sources that radio-equipped automobiles are being used by terrorist groups in various parts of the South for the purpose of coordinating attacks on Negroes and civil rights workers.

In particular, we have reports that in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, a group has been using radio-equipped automobiles to inform one another of places of public accommodations at which Negroes attempt to obtain service. \* \* \*

Listed thereafter are the call letters of certain citizens band radio stations. One of the numbers listed is KDD 6965.

(Document marked "Lewis Perkins Exhibit No. 1" appears on p. 3149.)

Mr. APPELL. I hand you an application for a citizens band radio, dated May 27, 1963, signed Lewis E. Perkins, and ask you if you are the signer of that application?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the ground previously stated.

(Document marked "Lewis Perkins Exhibit No. 2" appears on p. 3150.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, is the report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights to the effect that citizens band radios are used as I read to you?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. The question was whether or not that report is correct, Mr. Perkins. Is this report contained in the letter from the Civil Rights Commission correct?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

## LEWIS PERKINS EXHIBIT NO. 1

## UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Mr. Henry Geller  
General Counsel  
Federal Communications Commission  
New Post Office Building  
12th & Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20260

August 3, 1964

Dear Mr. Geller:

It has come to our attention from various sources that radio-equipped automobiles are being used by terrorist groups in various parts of the South for the purpose of coordinating attacks on Negroes and civil rights workers.

In particular, we have reports that in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, a group has been using radio-equipped automobiles to inform one another of places of public accommodations at which Negroes attempt to obtain service. Apparently, when a person in one of the cars observes Negroes going into a restaurant a call is sent out to other cars which converge on the scene. We understand that these gatherings have resulted in acts of intimidation and violence.

The following call letters are reportedly being used by these cars:

[1] 6Q 4311 (headquarters call number)	
[2] KDE 1133	[10] KKM 3135
[3] KDD 1756	[11] KDB 3776
[4] KDE 0356	[12] KKM 1017
[5] KDB 4724	[13] KDB 0071
[6] KDE 1975	[14] KDB 0050
[7] 6Q 3434	[15] KDD 2533
[8] KDD 6965	[16] KDH 2456
[9] KDH 2451	[17] KDD 4272

We have also received information that radio-equipped cars are or have been used by terrorist groups in St. Augustine, Florida, Hinds County, Mississippi and in Southwest Mississippi.

We understand that the use of two-way radios for the purposes indicated would constitute a violation of FCC regulations. If so, we would appreciate being advised of any action your agency may take in these matters.

Sincerely yours,



William L. Taylor  
General Counsel

<sup>1</sup> Committee footnote—Applications for above citizens band radios executed by the following: [1] Robert M. Shelton, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; [2] Sammy Houston Sexton, Holt, Ala.; [3] Silas Seaton, Greeneville, Tenn.; [4] Davis Welding & Machine Co. (J. R. Davis), Northport, Ala.; [5] Alice E. Perkins, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; [6] Charles F. Crawford, Greenville, S.C.; [7] Charles Larry Oswald, Northport, Ala.; [8] Lewis E. Perkins, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; [9] Isadore Pizitz, Orlando, Fla.; [10] ...; [11] Page Aircraft Maintenance, Inc., Fort Rucker, Ala.; [12] ...; [13] David P. Perkins, Tuscaloosa, Ala.; [14] James G. Moore, Northport, Ala.; [15] Perkins Cabinet Shop (William O. Perkins), Northport, Ala.; [16] Samuel G. Lande, Jacksonville, Fla.; [17] Linny N. Fulmer, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

## LEWIS PERKINS EXHIBIT NO. 2

FCC Form 155 October 1962 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION <b>CITIZENS RADIO LICENSE</b> This authorization permits the use only of transmitters which (1) are listed under Special Conditions below, (2) appear in the Commission's "Radio Equipment List," Part C, or (3) in the case of Class C or Class D stations, are crystal controlled. <b>Lewis E. Perkins</b>		Form Approved Budget Bureau No. 57-8173-1 1. Class of station (Check one) A <input type="checkbox"/> B <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> D <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 2. Number of transmitters <b>2</b> COMMISSION FILE COPY FOR COMMISSION USE ONLY <b>KDD 6965</b> CALL SIGN	
3 (a) Name (see instructions) <b>LEWIS E. PERKINS</b> <b>4004-5th. St. E.</b> (b) Permanent mailing address (number, street, city, state) <b>Tuscaloosa, Ala.</b>		<b>CONDITIONS OF GRANT</b> A. Subject to the provisions of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, subsequent acts, treaties, and all regulations hereafter or hereafter made by this Commission, and further subject to the conditions and requirements set forth in this authorization the licensee or licensee herein is authorized to use and operate the radio transmitting facilities herein described. This authorization shall not entitle the licensee or licensee herein any right to operate the station nor any right in the use of the available frequencies specified or the Commission or rules beyond the term hereof, nor in any other manner than authorized herein. B. Neither this authorization nor the right granted herein shall be assigned or otherwise transferred to any person, firm, company or corporation. C. This authorization is issued on the licensee's representation that the statements contained in licensee's application are true and that the undertakings therein contained, so far as they are concerned herewith, will be carried out in good faith. The licensee shall, during the term of this license, render such service as will serve public interest, convenience or necessity to the full extent of the privileges herein conferred. D. This authorization is subject to the right of use or control by the Government of the United States conferred by Section 696 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended. E. This authorization applies and supersedes any previous authorization of this class for the same radio station or group of transmitters. <b>Special Conditions</b> Term of authorization: This authorization is effective <b>AUG 2 1963</b> and will expire 3:00 A. M. EST <b>AUG 2 1969</b> and is subject to further conditions as set forth in separate order. By direction of the FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION <i>Ben F. ...</i> SECRETARY	
4. Station authorized (Check one) INDIVIDUAL <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PARTNERSHIP <input type="checkbox"/> ASSOCIATION <input type="checkbox"/> CORPORATION <input type="checkbox"/> GOVERNMENT ENTITY <input type="checkbox"/> (If applicant is a corporation or an unincorporated association, Item 11 or Item 12 whichever is applicable, on the reverse side of this form must be completed.)		5. Will applicant own the radio equipment? If answer is "No," give name of owner and answer (b) below. YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> (b) If not the owner of the radio equipment, to the applicant a party to a written lease or other agreement under which control will be exercised in the same manner as if the equipment were owned by the applicant? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
6. Location of permanent mailing address indicated in item 3(b) above. County (or equivalent subdivision) <b>Tuscaloosa</b> State <b>Ala.</b>		7. Has applicant read and understood the provisions of Subpart D of Part 97 dealing with the permissible communications for which this type of station may be used? YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> (b) Will the intended use of the station conform in all respects with the permissible communications set forth in Subpart D of Part 97? YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> (c) Will the operating authority under this station license issued pursuant to this application be transferred, assigned, delegated or disposed of in any manner, directly or indirectly? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
8. Have you or any party to this application ever been convicted of any crime for which the penalty imposed was a fine of \$500.00 or more, or an imprisonment of six months or more? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> If yes, you must attach a separate sheet with this form giving details of each such conviction.		9. If you are now authorized to operate the same class of station, at the same or any other address, give call sign and when you are filing this application. 10. If it is proposed to use a transmitter which does not appear on the Commission's "Radio Equipment List," Part C, or a non-crystal-controlled transmitter in a Class C or D station, describe such transmitter in detail. (See Subpart C of Part 97, Attach Additional Sheets.) <b>FOR COMMISSION USE ONLY</b> <i>gh</i>	
All the statements made in the application and attached exhibits are considered material representations, and all the exhibits are a material part hereof and are incorporated herein as if set out in full in the application. <b>I CERTIFY THAT</b> The applicant has a current copy of Part 97 of the Commission's rules governing the Citizens Radio service. If an individual or partnership applicant, I am or we are a citizen of the United States, and eighteen or more years of age for twelve or more years of age if of Class C. The applicant is not the representative of an alien or foreign government. The applicant agrees to pay to the use of all frequencies or all the other as against the regulatory power of the United States because of the previous use of the same, whether by licensee or otherwise. The station will be operated in accordance with applicable law and the consent rules of the Federal Communications Commission. The station will not be used for any purpose prohibited by federal, state or local law. The applicant will have adopted measures to the reasonable and effective measures will be taken to prevent its use by unauthorized persons, and the statements in this application are true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief and are made in good faith. DO NOT OPERATE UNTIL YOU HAVE YOUR OWN LICENSE. USE OF ANY CALL SIGN NOT YOUR OWN IS PROHIBITED. <i>Lewis E. Perkins</i> SIGNATURE OF THE APPLICANT (AND OTHER SIGNATORY AS SHOWN IN ITEM 3(a)) <b>5-27-63</b> (DATE)			
APPLICATION MUST BE SIGNED AND DATED UNLAWFUL FALSE STATEMENTS MADE ON THIS FORM ARE PUNISHABLE BY FINE AND IMPRISONMENT, U.S. CODE, TITLE 18, SECTION 1001 BY SIGNING APPROPRIATE CLASSIFICATION BELOW INDIVIDUAL APPLICANT <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> PARTNERSHIP APPLICANT <input type="checkbox"/> OFFICER OF APPLICANT CORPORATION OR ASSOCIATION <input type="checkbox"/> OFFICIAL OF GOVERNMENTAL ENTITY COMPETENT UNDER THE JURISDICTION TO SIGN FOR THE APPLICANT <input type="checkbox"/> (OVER)			

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, under orders of the Klan, have you used your citizens band radio for the purpose of participating in acts of harassment or violence upon any citizens in the Tuscaloosa, Alabama, area?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, you are employed by Gulf States Paper Corporation. How does a citizens band radio affect that employment?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' consistent refusal to answer questions, invoking constitutional privileges, I shall now read the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Perkins.

Lewis Edward Perkins was born on July 30, 1924, at Bessemer, Alabama. He has an eighth-grade education. He served in the Army from April 28, 1943, to November 27, 1945, with a military specialty of a cannoneer and truck driver. He received an honorable discharge.

He is employed by the Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and resides at 4004 Fifth Street, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Mr. Perkins is the exalted cyclops of Unit No. 5, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, the home Klavern of Imperial Wizard Shelton, Melvin Sexton, and Imperial Klaliff W. O. Perkins. Lewis Perkins is one of many Klansmen belonging to Unit 5 that hold licenses to operate citizens band radios who use them in connection with Klan activities in the Tuscaloosa area. Others holding citizens band licenses are Robert M. Shelton, W. O. Perkins, and Sammy Houston Sexton.

On January the 20th, 1965, Melvin Sexton ordered a number of Klavern No. 5 members to report to the office of Imperial Wizard Shelton in the Alston Building. In addition to Lewis Perkins, Sexton ordered Sammy Sexton, Ollie Hayes, Ray Street, Thomas Estes, Melvin Morris, G. L. Gaddey, Curtis Gambel, Joe Hughes, and James Mosley.

Shelton gave those assembled the telephone number of the Reverend P. Y. Rogers, executive secretary of the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee. He instructed them to call the Rogers telephone number all night long and further instructed them not to say anything when the telephone was answered.

Shelton also ordered them to be at Garner's Steak House, starting at 6 a.m. on January the 21st in order to keep the place full so that there would be no place for Negroes to sit.

Telephone bills of the imperial office in the Alston Building are addressed to Lewis in care of Lewis Perkins. Perkins possesses knowledge of Klan finances.

Mr. Chairman, this information indicates that Mr. Perkins has knowledge which would aid the committee in a consideration of legislation.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Perkins, you have an opportunity now to respond to this statement or any portion thereof, to confirm it, or to offer any other matter which might be relevant.

Do you wish to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Absent any response, we will, unless other evidence comes before the committee, rely upon the accuracy of this investigation.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, are there any depository funds of the United Klans of America, to your knowledge, other than those main-

tained in the name of the Alabama Rescue Service, at The First National Bank of Tuscaloosa, Tuscaloosa, Alabama?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

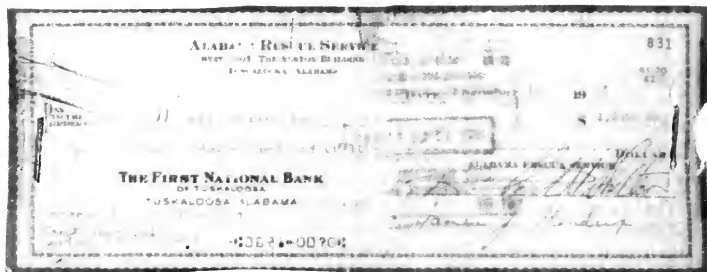
Mr. APPELL. Mr. Perkins, on November 15, 1965, a check cosigned by Imperial Wizard Shelton and James J. Hendrix was drawn in the amount of \$2,600. The notation of this check shows that it was payment in full for a 1963 Chrysler Imperial.

Was there a meeting which authorized the Imperial Wizard to appropriate from the Alabama Rescue Service account the sum of \$2,600?

Mr. LEWIS PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "Lewis Perkins Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

LEWIS PERKINS EXHIBIT NO. 3



Date: November 15, 1965

Pay to the order of: Claud W. Dent Motors, Inc., \$2,600.00

Payment: In full for 1963 Chrysler Imperial

Signed: Robert M. Shelton and James J. Hendrix

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. The documents used in the course of the inquiry will be inserted in the record at this point.

Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, at the risk of sounding like a broken record, I would like to reiterate to this witness what I said on the opening day of these hearings and again on last Friday, the first day in which we had the Alabama witnesses testifying again.

I approach this investigation from the point of view, Mr. Perkins, of one who loves the South and its people and who understands about them that an overwhelming majority there deplore acts of violence and terrorism.

Indeed, such acts, those who commit such acts have demonstrated themselves to be the worst enemies to the people of the South, creating a false impression of the people and what they are all over the world, bringing down the wrath of the Nation upon our heads, in legislation and otherwise, and playing into the hands of Communist conspiracy and thereby serving the cause of world communism, both in fomenting

racial strife and disorder and in providing grist for the Communist propaganda mill.

In light of that fact, and in light of the fact that, as I have said several times previously, also, as the chairman has said, he that has nothing to hide, has nothing to fear, I want to give you one more opportunity to tell us something in refutation of all the testimony we have heard concerning acts of violence and terrorism, concerning bombings and burnings and beatings and worse, allegedly committed by individuals and groups connected with Klan organizations, in various places.

We have had no leader, to my memory, of the Ku Klux Klan at any level, to tell us anything good about that organization or to refute any of the charges that have been made, any of the evidence that has been presented in these hearings.

Now you are the exalted cyclops of the home Klavern of the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America and you ought to be in a position to refute or to tell us something good, if you will.

I would like to give you that opportunity, sir.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WELTNER. The record will show that there is no response from the witness.

Any further questions by the staff?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, one more then, please.

I would just like to say that in light of the fact that Tuscaloosa, Alabama, has been often referred to in these hearings as the central, the home office of the United Klans of America, as the location thereof, I would like to point out it is also the city in which there is located the main campus of the University of Alabama and that the young men of coach Paul "Bear" Bryant's first-ranking Alabama football team are much more representative of the fine people of Alabama than any members of the United Klans of America that I have met.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Any further questions from the staff?

Mr. APPELL. No further questions.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness is excused, and the committee will stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow morning.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.)

(Whereupon, at 4:20 p.m., Monday, February 7, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Tuesday, February 8, 1966.)



# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 8 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:15 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Joe R. Pool (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas, chairman; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and John H. Buchanan, Jr., of Alabama.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool, Ashbrook, and Buchanan.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Philip R. Manuel, investigator.

Mr. Pool. The committee will come to order.

Chairman Willis has designated a subcommittee to interrogate the witnesses this morning, a subcommittee composed of myself, Joe Pool, as chairman; Representative Buchanan; and Representative Ashbrook.

(The order of appointment of the subcommittee follows:)

February 7, 1966

To: Mr. Francis J. McNamara

*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Honorable Joe R. Pool as Chairman, and Honorable John M. Ashbrook and Honorable John Buchanan as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C. on Tuesday, February 8, 1966, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 30th day of March, 1965, authorizing hearings concerning the activities of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 7th day of February, 1966.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis

EDWIN E. WILLIS

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities*

Mr. POOL. Mr. Manuel, will you call the first witness?

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff would like to call at this time Mr. William Perkins.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM OTTO PERKINS, ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, would you state your full name for the record, sir?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. William Otto Perkins.

Mr. MANUEL. And Mr. Perkins, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. I am.

Mr. MANUEL. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, is it stipulated that the opening statement of the chairman has been read by the witness and he understands the contents thereof?

Mr. CHALMERS. It has been explained to him by me, and I so stipulate; yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right, thank you.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, when and where were you born, sir?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Where do you currently reside, Mr. Perkins?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, are you appearing before the committee this morning in response to a subpoena served upon you at 7:10 p.m. on the 2d day of November 1965 at 3601 16th Street, Northeast, Holt, Alabama, by a deputy U.S. marshal?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, under the subpoena served to you, you were commanded to bring and produce certain articles and documents in your possession, custody, or control.

Paragraph 1 of that subpoena reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and the Whiteman's Defense Fund and Heritage Enterprises, Inc., in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) and present or former Klabee (Treasurer) of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

I request you to produce in your representative capacity stated in paragraph 1 the documents called for by part 1 of your subpoena. (Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. CHALMERS. May I ask, Mr. Manuel, was that subpoena dated October the 14th, 1965?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, it was, Mr. Chalmers.

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. POOL. Hold it just a minute.

Mr. CHALMERS. He is not through with his answer yet.

Mr. POOL. He isn't? Oh, all right, go ahead.

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records that are requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that advised (sic) to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January the 4th, 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a direction that the witness be asked to produce the documents.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, what do you have to present?

Mr. CHALMERS. I think at this point, we enter into stipulations that we have entered into before with respect to an order by you, before you order direction.

Mr. POOL. Restate it. I don't know what you are talking about.

Mr. CHALMERS. Well, sir, as I understand it, we have heretofore stipulated that the witness is familiar with the opening statement of the committee chairman.

Mr. POOL. Yes, we have got that in.

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; secondly, that the witness is here and with respect to the capacity named in the subpoena, representative capacity.

Mr. POOL. That is what we stipulated.

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; aren't those the two stipulations that we have entered into before with all witnesses? And it is so stipulated now with respect to this witness, if that satisfies the chairman.

Mr. POOL. That doesn't satisfy the answer to the question though.

Mr. CHALMERS. No, sir; no, sir.

Mr. POOL. We are just advised.

All right, it is so stipulated as you said.

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right, now. Then I direct the witness to answer the question. The committee rejects your answer and orders you to produce the material asked for under paragraph 1 of the subpoena.

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. All right, go ahead.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, paragraph 2 of your subpoena commands you to bring forth and produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) and present or former Klabee (Treasurer) of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

I request you to produce in your representative capacity stated in paragraph 2 of the subpoena the documents called for in that paragraph.

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to produce the documents.

Mr. POOL. The chairman rejects your reasons and orders you to produce the material asked for under paragraph 2.

Mr. CHALMERS. And with respect to paragraph 2, the stipulations that were entered into with respect to paragraph 1 are so stipulated, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. You should have said that before I directed him.

Mr. CHALMERS. All right, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right, with the stipulations there, I will direct you again, then. We accept the stipulations. We reject your reasons given for not answering, and I direct you and order you to produce the materials and records ordered under paragraph 2 of the subpoena.

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. All right, go ahead, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Paragraph 3 of your subpoena, Mr. Perkins, orders you to produce:

Copies of U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Form 1120, "U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return," for the fiscal years 1961 through June 30, 1965, filed by you as Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary), present or former, and present or former Klabee (Treasurer) of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity stated therein, Mr. Perkins, I ask you to produce the documents called for in paragraph 3 of the subpoena.

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, do we have the same stipulations?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right, accepted, and I reject your reasons for not producing the records asked for in paragraph 3.

I order and direct you to produce them at this time.

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, paragraph 4 of your subpoena commands you to produce:

Copies of U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Form 1040, "U.S. Individual Income Tax Return," for the calendar years 1958 through 1964, filed by you as an individual taxpayer with the U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service.

I ask you now, sir, to produce the documents called for in paragraph 4.

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectively decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. That includes the fifth amendment?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Yes.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, are you currently a member of the Realm of Alabama, United Klans of America?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my rights might tend to incriminate—my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever held any office on the imperial level of the United Klans of America?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever been elected to the position of Imperial Kligrapp?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectively decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Manuel, on the results of your investigation, do you have any facts on that?

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer any of my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Perkins.

Mr. Perkins was born on April 23, 1930, at Tuscaloosa, Alabama. He currently operates the Perkins Cabinet Shop at 3601 16th Street, Holt, Alabama. He currently resides on Route 1, Northport, Alabama, and Mr. Perkins is known to have held membership in the United Klans of America, Incorporated, and has attended United Klan meetings in the past at the Tuscaloosa Klavern No. 5 in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

William Otto Perkins is listed as a director of Heritage Enterprises, Incorporated, along with Robert Shelton, Donald Luna, Calvin Fred Craig, and others. Heritage Enterprises is known to have been established by certain leaders of the United Klans of America as a corporate device to raise money through the sale of insurance, mostly to Klan members, and other legitimate business ventures. In addition to being a director of the corporation, Perkins was listed as an assistant secretary of that company (Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 12).

When the United Klans of America applied as a foreign corporation to do business in the State of North Carolina in July 1965, William Otto Perkins of 17 Lake Sherwood, Northport, Alabama, was listed as the treasurer of said corporation.

Raymond Mills, who was the exalted cyclops of a United Klans of America Klavern in New Bern, North Carolina, turned over to the committee the charter which was granted to that Klavern by the imperial office of the United Klans of America.

Signatures on this document are identified as follows: Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard; James R. Jones, Grand Dragon of the

Realm of North Carolina; and W. O. Perkins, Imperial Kligrapp or secretary.

Mr. POOL. Just a minute.

Mr. MANUEL. Further, Mr. Chairman, investigation by this committee has established that William O. Perkins was elected to the office of Imperial Kligrapp, or secretary, of the United Klans of America on February 9, 1964, at a convention of that organization at the Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that he possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. POOL. Is that all of the statement?

Mr. MANUEL. That is all of the statement right now, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Perkins, you have heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator.

You now have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement, to confirm, admit, or deny or challenge the veracity of the information. And also, you can use this time to explain or modify any part of that statement. In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter the committee may deem pertinent to this inquiry.

What is your pleasure? Would you like to do any of that?

You don't care to make any further statement along this line.

Mr. CHALMERS. Let the record so show, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Let the record so show what?

Mr. CHALMERS. That he does not desire to make any statement.

Mr. POOL. He can't say "no," even?

You are not going to allow him to say "no", he doesn't care to?

How about taking the fifth amendment?

Mr. CHALMERS. I don't think he needs to take the fifth. I have no objections, but there was no question asked.

Mr. POOL. All right, do you have a statement to make?

Mr. CHALMERS. He does not.

Mr. POOL. Are you going to answer me?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel in my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. POOL. All right, Mr. Perkins, I must inform you that, absent your rebuttal and other facts that may come to the attention of the subcommittee, this committee will rely upon the accuracy of this investigation.

Bearing this in mind, do you have anything further to say?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. All right, from now on, I ask a question, you either answer it or take the fifth amendment, and don't rely on your lawyer to do your answering. He is a nice fellow, but I am asking you the questions.

Go ahead, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, I would like to show you a photostatic copy of an application for certificate of authority of the foreign corporation, in this case, the "Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc.," which as the document says, was incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia for a period of 35 years on the 20th of February 1961, listing the headquarters of the organization as Suite 401, Alston Building, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and this particular document is a photostatic copy of the request to do business as a corporation in the State of North Carolina.

On page two of this document are listed the following individuals: Mr. Robert M. Shelton, Suite 401, Alston Building, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, president; Mr. Melvin Sexton, Suite 401, Alston Building, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, secretary; Mr. Robert Thompson, vice president, of "Marbleton," Georgia; and "Mr. W. O. Perkin," treasurer, 17 Lake Sherwood, Northport, Alabama.

Mr. PERKINS. I show you this document, and ask if you are the "W. O. Perkin" so listed?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 21." See pp. 1662-1664.)

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Robert M. Shelton listed herein to be the president of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Incorporated?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Mr. Melvin Sexton to be the secretary of that corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, has Mr. Melvin Sexton ever been elected to the position of secretary of the United Klans of America?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever been elected to the position of treasurer of that corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that on February 9, 1964, at a convention of the general membership of the United Klans of America, you were elected to the position of Imperial Kligrapp or secretary?

Would you explain to the committee, in light of that, how Mr. Melvin Sexton applies or signs as secretary of the corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Under what authority do you, Mr. Perkins, sign as treasurer of that corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, I would like to show you a photostatic copy of a charter granted by the Imperial Palace of the Invisible

Empire of the United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Incorporated, to a Klavern located at New Bern, North Carolina.

On this copy of this charter, you will see the signatures of Robert M. Shelton, signing as Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire, United Klans; James R. Jones, signing as Grand Dragon of the realm; and a signature bearing the name "William O. Perkins, Imperial Kligrapp," or secretary.

I show you this document, Mr. Perkins, and ask you if that is your signature on that photostatic copy?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Document previously marked "James Jones Exhibit No. 26." See p. 1765.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, I should like to show you a portion of that photostatic copy, considerably blown up by photographic means, listing the name William O. Perkins, the signature William O. Perkins, and under that signature, there is printed the initials "C L."

I would like to show you this, Mr. Perkins, and ask you if you can identify for the committee the initials "C L."

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, I would like to ask you at this time whether the initials "C L." stand for the name "Carol Long"?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Carol Long?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, investigation conducted by this committee has established that one Carol Long has in the past signed the name "T. M. Montgomery" to checks of the Alabama Rescue Service, of an account maintained at the First National Bank of Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Do you have any knowledge of this, sir?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, at this time, I would like to read into the record from the Constitution and Laws of the United Klans of America, Incorporated, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 3), Section 4 of Article X which lists the duties of the imperial officers and duties of the Imperial Kligrapp:

IMPERIAL KLIGRAPP: Is the Supreme Secretary and recording officer of this Order. He shall be the secretary of the Imperial Klönvokation and shall act as secretary of the Imperial Klöncilium and shall have general supervision of all the clerical work and workings. He shall keep an accurate account of the receipts and disbursements. He shall sign all papers, vouchers and other documents requiring his signature of attestation. He shall prepare and submit a report of the workings of his office to each session of the Imperial Klönvokation. He shall furnish the Imperial Klöncilium, when requested, with such information as they desire with reference to his office. In the event additional clerical help is needed in the Imperial office it may be secured upon recommendation of the Imperial Wizard and approval of the Imperial Board.

Mr. Perkins, having been elected to the position of Imperial Kligrapp, have you performed the duties for the Invisible Empire, United Klans of America, as outlined in the Constitution and Laws of that organization?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, investigation has shown that you were elected to the position of Imperial Kligrapp on February 9, 1964, and that subsequent to that election—and incidentally, Mr. Chairman, according to the constitution, the Imperial Kligrapp holds the position for 2 years, which would mean that technically, according to the constitution, Mr. Perkins' term of office ends tomorrow.

Investigation of the committee has shown that an additional kloncilium or klonvokation of the United Klans was held in September, at Birmingham, Alabama.

Did you, Mr. Perkins, as secretary, keep the records of that klonvokation?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Where are those records now, sir?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Are you a candidate for reelection?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show that, subsequent to the klonvokation held in September of 1964 in Birmingham, the rules of the United Klans have been changed and amended to include the term of office for the Imperial Kligrapp, which now lasts for 3 years, so that Mr. Perkins has an additional year in his term of office.

Mr. Perkins, would you please inform the committee of your knowledge of a corporate institution known as Heritage Enterprises, Incorporated?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you ever a director of that corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever buy stock or contribute financially to that corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. In your duty as assistant secretary of that corporation, did you maintain any of its records?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you know Mr. Robert M. Shelton, Mr. Donald E. Luna, and Mr. Calvin Fred Craig to be also directors of that corporation?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, did you ever purchase an insurance policy from Heritage Enterprises, Incorporated?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you, as a matter of fact, default on your payment on one of the policies written by Heritage Enterprises, Incorporated?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MANUEL. Just a moment.

Mr. Perkins, do you maintain a citizens radio license?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you been granted a license by the Federal Communications Commission to include 10 transmitters?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Is your call sign KDD 2533?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, I would like to show you a copy of the Federal Communications Commission citizens radio license listing your own name, care of Perkins Cabinet Shop, giving the call letters that I have just mentioned, stating that you have been authorized to maintain citizens band radios for the period from March 22, 1963, to March 22, 1968, and listing that you are authorized 10 transmitters.

I hand you this document, and ask you if the information contained thereon is correct?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "William Perkins Exhibit No. 1" appears on pp. 3165, 3166.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, have you ever used citizens band radios in connection with any Klan activity?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Perkins, the subcommittee has in its possession a letter from the United States Commission on Civil Rights, to the Federal Communications Commission, and I will quote a passage of that particular letter:

It has come to our attention from various sources that radio-equipped automobiles are being used by terrorist groups in various parts of the South for the purpose of coordinating attacks on Negroes and civil rights workers.

In particular, we have reports that in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, a group has been using radio-equipped automobiles to inform one another of places of public accommodations at which Negroes attempt to obtain service. Apparently, when a person in one of the cars observes Negroes going into a restaurant a call is sent out to other cars which converge on the scene. We understand that these gatherings have resulted in acts of intimidation and violence.

The following call letters are reportedly being used by these cars: \* \* \*

## WILLIAM PERKINS EXHIBIT NO. 1

FCC Form 155 October 1962		Form Approved Budget Bureau No. 57-1277		Class of station (Check one) B <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> D <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	7. Number of members  <b>10</b>	COMMISSION FILE COPY FOR COMMISSION USE ONLY  <b>KDD 2533</b>  CALL SIGN
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION  <b>CITIZENS RADIO LICENSE</b>						
This authorization permits the use only of transmitters which: (1) Are listed under Special Conditions below; (2) appear in the Commission's "Radio Equipment List," Part C or (3) in the case of Class C or Class D stations, are crystal controlled.						
3. Full name and address of licensee: <b>WILLIAM O. PERKINS</b> <b>DBA PERKINS CABINET SHOP</b>  (b) Permanent mailing address (number, street, city, state): <b>ROUTE ONE</b> <b>NORTHPORT, ALABAMA</b>						
4. State whether applicant is (Check one) a. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual <input type="checkbox"/> Partnership <input type="checkbox"/> Corporation <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/> b. <input type="checkbox"/> Governmental entity <input type="checkbox"/> (If applicant is a corporation or an unincorporated association, item 11 or item 12 whichever is applicable, on the reverse side of this form must be completed.)						
5. (a) Will applicant own the radio equipment? If answer is "No," give name of owner: and address (fill below) _____ YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> (b) Must the owner of the radio equipment, if the applicant is party to a written lease or other agreement under which control will be exercised in the same manner as if the equipment were owned by the applicant? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>						
6. Location of permanent mailing address indicated in item 3(b) above. Country (or equivalent subdivision): _____ State: _____ <b>Tuscaloosa ALABAMA</b>						
7. (a) Has applicant read and understood the provisions of Subpart D of Part 15 dealing with the permissible communications to which this type of station may be used? YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> (b) Will the intended use of the station conform in all respects with the permissible communications as set forth in Subpart D of Part 15? YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> (c) Will the operating authority under any station license issued pursuant to this application be transferred, sub-leased, delegated, or disposed of in any manner, directly or indirectly? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						
8. Have you or any party to this application ever been convicted of any crime for which the penalty imposed was a fine of \$500 or more, or an imprisonment of six months or more? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						
If so, you must attach a separate sheet with this form giving details of each such conviction.						
9. (a) This authorization is effective <b>MAR 22 1963</b> and will expire 3 (3) years <b>MAR 22 1968</b> and is subject to further conditions as set forth in Subpart D of Part 15. By direction of the FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION <i>Ben T. Waples</i> SECRETARY						
10. (a) If it is proposed to use a transmitter which does not appear on the Commission's "Radio Equipment List," Part C, or a transmitter cancelled transmitter, in a "Class C" station, describe such transmitter in detail. (See Subpart C of Rules.) Attach Additional Sheets.						

All the statements made in the application and attached exhibits are considered material representations and all the exhibits are a material part hereof and are incorporated herein as if set out in full in the application.

## I CERTIFY THAT

The applicant has a current copy of Part 15 of the Commission's rules governing the Citizens Radio Service.

If an individual has a current copy of Part 15, each partner is a citizen of the United States and eighteen or more years of age (or twelve or more years of age if for Class C).

The applicant is not the representative of a foreign government.

The applicant accepts full responsibility for the operation of any Citizens Radio Station licensed to this person in this application.

The station will be operated in full accordance with the applicable law and the current rules of the Federal Communications Commission.

The said station will not be used for any purpose contrary to federal, state or local law.

The station will be operated in accordance with the applicable law and the current rules of the Federal Communications Commission.

The station will be operated in accordance with the applicable law and the current rules of the Federal Communications Commission.

The station will be operated in accordance with the applicable law and the current rules of the Federal Communications Commission.

DO NOT OPERATE UNTIL YOU  
HAVE YOUR OWN LICENSE  
USE OF ANY CALL SIGN NOT  
YOUR OWN IS PROHIBITED

Ferkins Cabinet Shop

3-15-63

NAME OF SIGNATURE TO APPLICATION MUST AGREE WITH NAME AS SHOWN IN LIST

BY *William O. Perkins*  
 (Indicate appropriate association below)

OWNER

☒ INDIVIDUAL APPLICANT

☐ MEMBER OF APPLICANT'S FATHERSHIP

☐ OFFICER OF APPLICANT'S FATHERSHIP

☐ OFFICIAL OF A GOVERNMENTAL ENTITY (COMPLETE UNDER THE JURISDICTION TO SIGN FOR THE APPLICANT)

APPLICATION MUST BE SIGNED AND DATED

WILLFUL FALSE STATEMENTS MADE ON THIS FORM ARE PUNISHABLE  
BY FINE AND IMPRISONMENT. U.S. CODE, TITLE 18, SECTION 1001

## WILLIAM PERKINS EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

## WARNING

- A. When you accept this license you agree to tolerate all interference to the operation of your station which is caused by other stations or equipment operating in accordance with applicable laws, treaties, and regulations.
- B. It is your responsibility to see that the station is properly operated at all times.
- C. Discontinue operation immediately if the equipment fails to function in the normal manner. Do not tamper with the equipment. A licensed commercial operator is required for any adjustments that might affect the proper operation of the station.
- D. There are height restrictions on any antenna that may be used at a fixed location by this station. (See Section 19.35(c) of the rules)
- E. When you change your permanent address, you must obtain a new license showing your new address. (See Section 19.34(a) of the rules)
- F. Keep informed. Your license may be revoked for failure to comply with the law and the Commission's Rules.
- G. Transfer or assignment of the operating authority granted under this license in any manner, directly or indirectly, is prohibited.
- H. Do not make unnecessary transmissions. Remember that Citizens Radio frequencies are available only on a shared basis which requires the cooperation of all users.
- I. The transmission of profane, indecent, or obscene language is prohibited by law, and severe penalties are provided for violators.
- J. You may not engage in any form of broadcasting or providing communications for hire.
- K. If you are using radio equipment, do not transmit unless there is a definite need in a situation which requires the use of radio communications to accomplish or expedite a specific objective.

## (TO BE COMPLETED ONLY BY APPLICANTS WHICH ARE CORPORATIONS OR ASSOCIATIONS)

11. If the applicant is a non-governmental corporation:	
(a) Under the laws of what State is it organized?	
(b) Is any officer or director of such corporation an alien?	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Is more than 1/4 of the capital stock of such corporation either owned or owned or may be owned by alien or their representatives, or by a foreign government or representative thereof, or by any corporation organized under the laws of a foreign country?	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Is applicant directly or indirectly controlled by any other corporation?	
If "Yes", give name and address of controlling corporation	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
(e) Under the laws of what State is such controlling corporation organized?	
(f) Is any officer of such controlling corporation an alien?	
If "Yes", give name, nationality, and office held by such alien officer	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
(g) Are more than 1/4 of the directors of such controlling corporation officers owned or owned or may be owned by alien or their representatives, or by a foreign government or representative thereof, or by any corporation organized under the laws of a foreign country?	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
(h) Is the above-described controlling corporation in turn controlled by other companies?	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
If "Yes", attach additional sheets answering the question in this item for each such controlling company, in and including the same information herein last asked.	
12. If applicant is an unincorporated association:	
(a) Is any officer or director of such association an alien?	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Are more than 1/4 of the voting members of the association alien or representatives of alien, foreign governments or representatives thereof, or corporations organized under the laws of a foreign country?	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Is the applicant association directly or indirectly controlled by any other organization? If "Yes", explain in a separate attachment	YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS AND ADDITIONAL DATA

1. Yes  
 Owner - William O. Perkins  
 Nature of business activity  
 Cabinet making & Millwork

## Location &amp; Purposes:

Base #1 Home  
 Base #2 Business  
 1 in Business Automobile  
 1 in Business Truck  
 3 in Employee's Automobiles

## Units to be used for business.

Base #1 home  
 1 in Business Automobile

## To be used for personal pleasure.

And in the series of call letters listed, Mr. Perkins, is KDD 2533, which is, according to the record of the Federal Communications Commission, the call letters assigned to you.

I ask you, Mr. Perkins, if the information that I just read to you from this letter is correct?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "Lewis Perkins Exhibit No. 1." See p. 3149.)

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have knowledge of any other Klansmen or any other person known to you to be a member of the United Klans using citizens band radios to promote acts of intimidation or violence?

Mr. WILLIAM PERKINS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Manuel, I would like to put in the record here that this committee, I believe, will go on record as asking the Federal Communications Commission to investigate this further, and in view of the fact that this gentleman has taken the fifth amendment in answer to your questions on this use of the citizens band radio, they certainly should look into it and see whether or not any illegal use has been made of his license.

Let the record so show.

The witness is excused.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, at this time, the staff would like to call Mr. Fredrick Smith.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SMITH. I do.

#### **TESTIMONY OF FREDRICK GERALD SMITH, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, would you please state your full name, sir?

Mr. SMITH. Fredrick Gerald Smith.

Mr. MANUEL. And are you represented by counsel, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. I am.

Mr. MANUEL. Would counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. POOL. Just a minute.

Do we have the same stipulations, Mr. Chalmers, that the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement when this hearing started?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. And he is familiar with the contents therein and understands them.

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. That is the stipulation. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, when and where were you born?

Mr. SMITH. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. POOL. Do you seriously think that that would incriminate you, telling where and when you were born?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. And you don't care to cooperate with the Congress of the United States in this investigation?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Well, your answers definitely show that you are not going to cooperate, but go ahead, Mr. Manuel, and ask further questions.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, where do you currently reside?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, have you ever been a member of the United Klans of America, Realm of Alabama?

Mr. SMITH. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, are you appearing before the committee this morning in response to a subpoena served upon you at 12:10 p.m. on the 27th day of October 1965 at Route 1, Fayette, Alabama, by a deputy U.S. marshal?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, paragraph 1 of your subpoena commands you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and Whiteman's Defense Fund, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Imperial Klabeer (Treasurer) and present or former Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. Smith, in the representative capacity stated in paragraph 1 of that subpoena, I ask you now to produce the documents called for.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, are you going to make your stipulation at this time?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; the same stipulation with this witness as with respect to all other witnesses that the chairman and myself have heretofore entered into are certainly stipulated with respect to this witness.

Mr. POOL. All right.

I direct the witness to answer the question or to furnish the material as called for in the subpoena, paragraph 1.

Mr. CHALMERS. No, sir; I believe he has not given an answer. He has not answered yet. I think we are a little premature.

Mr. POOL. All right, go ahead and answer.

Mr. SMITH. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, the same stipulations that I have heretofore entered into with respect to the other witnesses I have represented before this committee are also entered into and stipulated with the chairman with respect to this witness, with respect to paragraph 1 of the subpoena duces tecum.

Mr. POOL. All right, now the committee rejects the reasons given and directs and orders you to produce the material and the other information that was called for under paragraph 1 of the subpoena.

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. I wish to point out at this time that the House of Representatives, by an overwhelming vote, a few days ago—I think there were only 28 dissenting votes—supported the committee's reasons for rejecting your answer and voted to send the citation to the Federal attorney to present to a grand jury to see whether or not seven members of the Ku Klux Klan are in contempt of Congress.

Go ahead.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, paragraph 2 of your subpoena calls for you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Imperial Klabebe (Treasurer) and present or former Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In the representative capacity stated in paragraph 2, Mr. Smith, I ask you now to produce the documents called for.

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to produce.

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, the stipulations with respect to this witness as entered into and stipulated by me as his attorney with

respect to paragraph 1 are also stipulated and entered into with respect to paragraph 2.

Mr. POOL. All right, so stipulated.

I direct the—have you answered? Have you given your answer to the interrogator?

I direct you to furnish the committee the material and papers that were called for under paragraph 2 of the subpoena.

I direct and order you to present them at this time.

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, paragraph 3 of your subpoena calls for you to produce:

Copies of the U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Form 1120, "U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return," for the fiscal years 1961 through June 30, 1965, filed by you as present or former Imperial Klabee (Treasurer) and present or former Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. Smith, in the representative capacity listed in paragraph 3, I ask you now to produce those documents, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Do you have a stipulation on that?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; with respect to paragraph 3, the same stipulation.

Mr. POOL. So stipulated.

I direct you to present to the committee at this time the materials and information that are called for in paragraph 3 of the subpoena.

I direct and order you to present them at this time.

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, paragraph 4 of your subpoena calls upon you to produce:

Copies of U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Form 1040, "U.S. Individual Income Tax Return," for the calendar years 1958 through 1964, filed by you as an individual taxpayer with the U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service.

I ask you now to produce those documents.

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Including the fifth amendment.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, have you ever held an office on the imperial level of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith was born on July 16, 1936, at Dearborn, Michigan. He currently resides on Route 1, Fayette, Alabama, and is employed as a night inspections and control foreman at Arvin Industries in Fayette, Alabama.

Smith is an active member of the Tuscaloosa Klavern No. 5 of the United Klans of America.

Committee investigation has established that Fredrick Smith was elected Imperial Klabee or treasurer of the United Klans of America at a klonvocation held on February the 9th, 1964, at the Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham, Alabama, and Smith has served as Imperial Klabee of United Klans of America since the founding of that organization in July 1961.

Investigation of this committee reflected that in the December 13, 1962, edition of the weekly newspaper *Graphic* of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, an article appeared identifying Fred Smith as a special constable of Justice of the Peace W. E. Johnston.

Smith's job was described as a variety of duties, and he was commissioned to carry a pistol. It is known that Fredrick Smith owns a pistol and has a permit to carry same.

Smith is known to have attended meetings of Tuscaloosa Klavern No. 5 at the Klan hall near Cottondale, Alabama, on May 22, 1963, and January 30, 1963, as well as other meetings during the years of 1964 and 1965.

Investigation has revealed that on June 24, 1964, Fred Smith was in attendance at a closed meeting of the Tuscaloosa Klavern No. 5, and Smith indicated that Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton wanted the antimask law read carefully by the Klan lawyer, as Shelton wanted some cases brought into court to test the law.

It was also discussed at these meetings that those members who had gun permits were to wear their guns at the forthcoming Klan rally to be held at J.C. Park in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on June 27, 1964, which was to be an open-air rally, and the public was to be invited.

As of April 17, 1964, it was known that Smith had been traveling around the State of Alabama at that time endeavoring to solicit new Klansmen and set up new Klaverns and reactivate old Klaverns and had been in the area of Dothan, Alabama, recently in that regard. Also, Smith was known to have visited the vicinity of Greensboro, North Carolina, in an effort to secure new Klan members in that area.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that Mr. Smith possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Smith, you have heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator.

Now you have the opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement. You have the opportunity to confirm or deny or challenge the accuracy of the information or to explain it, or any part of the statement.

In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter the subcommittee may deem relevant to this inquiry.

Do you have a further statement?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Smith, I must inform you that, absent your rebuttal or other facts that may come to the attention of the committee, this committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation.

Bearing this in mind, do you have any further thing to say?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. All right, go ahead, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, at this point, I should like to read into the record from the Constitution and Laws of the United Klans of America, Incorporated (Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 3), the duties of the Imperial Klabebe as stated in the Constitution:

IMPERIAL KLABEE: Is the Supreme Treasurer of this Order and is, therefore, the custodian of its funds, and he shall countersign all checks with the Imperial Wizard, and he shall make a full and complete report of his office to the regular Klonvokation each and every year.

Mr. Smith, I ask you as the elected Imperial Klabebe of the United Klans of America, have you performed the duties outlined in the Constitution and Laws of that organization?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Where are the records which you, under the Constitution and Laws, are supposed to keep as Imperial Klabebe?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, the committee has obtained by subpoena duces tecum the account of the Alabama Rescue Service from The First National Bank of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and an examination of checks issued by the United Klans of America fails to reflect the name of Fredrick Smith.

Could you explain to the committee why this is?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, do you know an individual named Carol Long?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have knowledge that Carol Long has signed the name "T. M. Montgomery" to disbursements made by the United Klans of America?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know James J. Hendrix?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know that Mrs. Robert Shelton has signed the name "James J. Hendrix" to checks of the account of the Alabama Rescue Service, that is, the account of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, Mr. Smith, by what authority are the names "T. M. Montgomery" and "James J. Hendrix" affixed to checks of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, do the membership and officers of the United Klans of America know that Carol Long and Mrs. Robert Shelton sign the names "T. M. Montgomery" and "James J. Hendrix" to checks of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, I would like to hand you a copy of a signature card filed with The First National Bank of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, dated September 24, 1961, on which appears the names "Fredrick G. Smith" and "Alvin B. Sisk," giving the address 401 Alston Building, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and the account opened is that of the Alabama Rescue Service.

I show you this, Mr. Smith, and ask if that is your signature on the document?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 6." See p. 1619.)

Mr. MANUEL. Has that signature card ever been changed, Mr. Smith, to reflect other names, even though, according to the committee's investigation, you have kept the office of Imperial Klabebe or treasurer?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. When was the last time you ever signed a check of the United Klans of America as Imperial Klabebe?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Smith, have you any knowledge of the bombings which occurred in the Birmingham, Alabama, area in September of 1963?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you participate in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church on September 15, 1963?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you any knowledge of where the Klan obtains dynamite?

Mr. SMITH. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. POOL. Do you have questions?

Mr. BUCHANAN. This witness was born in Michigan, did you say?

Mr. MANUEL. Dearborn, Michigan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Do you have information indicating when he came to Alabama?

Mr. MANUEL. Our records do not reflect that.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Mr. POOL. I might make this comment. I wish we had kept a record of how many fifth amendments have been taken since the hearings started in October. I think maybe we have set a new record here.

The witness is excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, we would like to call Mr. William Sexton. William Melvin Sexton.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SEXTON. Yes.

**TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM MELVIN SEXTON, ACCOMPANIED BY  
COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, would you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. SEXTON. William Melvin Sexton.

Mr. MANUEL. Are you known mostly by the name Melvin Sexton?

Mr. SEXTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Sexton?

Mr. SEXTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. POOL. Just a minute.

Mr. Chalmers, is it so stipulated that the witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and he understands the contents therein?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Go ahead.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, when and where were you born, sir?

Mr. SEXTON. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, where do you currently reside?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, are you appearing before the committee this morning in response to a subpoena served upon you at 11:50 a.m. on the 26th day of October 1965 by a deputy U.S. marshal at the Dent Motor Company, Tuscaloosa, Alabama?

Mr. SEXTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. An attachment of the subpoena, Mr. Sexton, calls upon you to produce, and I will read to you paragraph 1:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated

organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service and Whiteman's Defense Fund, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. Sexton, in the representative capacity stated in paragraph 1, I ask you now to produce the documents called for.

Mr. POOL. Just a minute. Let me see that subpoena.

Now where were you?

Mr. MANUEL. I just asked Mr. Sexton, I believe, to produce the documents in the paragraph 1.

Mr. POOL. Do you wish to enter into a stipulation at this time?

Mr. CHALMERS. I will do it either way, at the end of his answer, or either way the chairman suggests.

Mr. POOL. All right, let's do it at the end of his answer.

Mr. CHALMERS. All right, sir.

Mr. SEXTON. I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated October the 14th, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records as requested by this committee under subpoena dated October the 14th, 1965, for the information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress by House Resolution 8, adopted January the 4th, 1965.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, state your stipulation again; will you?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; it is stipulated, if the chairman pleases, that the witness has been furnished a copy of the opening statement of the chairman; it is also stipulated that with respect to the representative capacity listed in the subpoena, that he is here in accordance with what is stated in a representative capacity as to paragraph 1 of the subpoena.

Mr. POOL. All right. So stipulated.

That is the same stipulation you have entered into previously on other witnesses.

Mr. CHALMERS. With respect to every witness that I have appeared with here in the hearings, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Thank you. Thank you, sir. Let the record so show.

The committee rejects your reasons and orders you to produce the material and records called for in paragraph 1 of the subpoena.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, paragraph 2 of your subpoena calls upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as present or former Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) of the United Klans of

America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

In the representative capacity outlined in paragraph 2, I request you now to produce those documents.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CHALMERS. With respect to paragraph 2—

Mr. POOL. Same stipulation?

Mr. CHALMERS. Same stipulation as to paragraph 1, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. All right, the committee rejects your reasons and orders and directs you to produce the material and records called for in paragraph 2 of the subpoena.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, paragraph 3 of your subpoena calls upon you to produce:

Copies of U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Form 1120, "U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return," for the fiscal years 1961 through June 30, 1965, filed by you as present or former Imperial Kligrapp (Secretary) of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity stated in paragraph 3, I ask you now to produce those documents.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. CHALMERS. Same stipulation with respect to paragraph 3 as with respect to paragraphs 2 and 1.

Mr. POOL. All right, so stipulated.

The Chair now rejects the reasons given and orders and directs you to produce the material and records called for in paragraph 3.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, paragraph 4 of your subpoena calls upon you to produce:

Copies of U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Form 1040, "U.S. Individual Income Tax Returns," for the calendar years 1958 through 1964, filed by you as an individual taxpayer with the U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, have you ever been elected by the membership of the United Klans of America to any position in that order?

Mr. SEXTON. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, have you ever signed in an official capacity as the secretary of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, in view of the witness' claim of privilege and his consistent refusal to answer any of my questions, I present to the committee the results of our investigation as they pertain to Mr. Sexton.

Mr. Sexton is known to be a member of the United Klans of America and he attends meetings at the Klavern No. 5 at Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Mr. Sexton is not known by this committee to have been elected to any position on the imperial level by the membership. Mr. Sexton's name appears on several bank accounts of the United Klans of America, namely, the United Klans of America Defense Fund, held at The First National Bank of Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Mr. Sexton is also known to have signed as secretary on the income tax returns filed by the United Klans of America in the year 1964.

This information, Mr. Chairman, indicates that he possesses additional information which is both pertinent and relevant to this inquiry and would materially aid the Congress in enacting remedial legislation.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Sexton, you heard the sworn statement of the committee's investigator.

You now have an opportunity to reply to any portion of that statement and confirm or challenge the accuracy of this information, or to explain any part of that statement. In addition, you may, if you desire, offer any other matter that the committee may deem pertinent to the inquiry. Do you have a statement?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Sexton, I must inform you that, absent your rebuttal or other facts which may come to the attention of the committee, this committee will rely upon the accuracy of its investigation.

Bearing this in mind, do you have anything further to say?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, I would like to show you a copy of an application for certificate of authority of a foreign corporation, namely, the "Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc.," which was incorporated under the laws of the State of Georgia on the 20th day of February 1961, the headquarters listed at Suite 401, Alston Building, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

This photostatic copy of an application is for the United Klans of America to do business in the State of North Carolina.

On the second page of this document, Mr. Sexton, I point your attention to the signature of Melvin Sexton, using the title of secretary of the corporation. I show you this, Mr. Sexton, and ask if you did, in fact, sign this particular document?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. MANUEL. The original of that document.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 21." See pp. 1662-1664.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, by what authority within the United Klans of America do you sign your name as secretary of the corporation?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that on February 9, 1964, Mr. W. O. Perkins was elected to the position of Imperial Secretary by the general membership of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. Counsel, what did he sign? What was the document?

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, he signed an application for certificate of authority of a foreign corporation to do business in the State of North Carolina.

This document was filed in the State of North Carolina in July 1965 and bears the signatures of the principal officers, namely, Robert M. Shelton as president and Melvin Sexton as secretary.

The committee—

Mr. POOL. You have no information, though, that he actually was secretary; do you?

Mr. MANUEL. We have no information, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Sexton was ever elected secretary by the general membership of the United Klans of America, and my question to Mr. Sexton was by what authority does he sign his name as secretary of the corporation, when committee investigation has revealed that in the year 1964 Mr. W. O. Perkins, a previous witness before the committee, was elected to that position for a period of 2 years, which was amended to include an additional year.

Mr. POOL. Was that signed under oath?

Mr. MANUEL. It is certified by a notary public in the State of Alabama.

Mr. POOL. Let's see the certification.

Let the record show that this notarization certificate of the notary public says:

Robert M. Shelton and Melvin Sexton, each being duly sworn, deposes and says that he signed the foregoing "Application for Certificate of Authority" in the capacity indicated, and that the statements therein contained are true and correct.

So with this document in the record, I think that we certainly should notify the State of North Carolina of a discrepancy there in the fact that we have evidence that one man is supposed to be the secretary, and yet he signed this as secretary on this application.

I think, certainly, that should be brought to their attention.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, on the same document, "Mr. W. O. Perkin"<sup>1</sup> of 17 Lake Sherwood, Northport, Alabama, is listed as the treasurer of the Invisible Empire.

<sup>1</sup> Correct name "W. O. Perkins."

Is that certification of Mr. Perkins as treasurer, to your knowledge, truthful?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, to your knowledge, is Mr. Fredrick Smith the treasurer or Imperial Klabee of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. POOL. You have had evidence to that effect, that he is treasurer?

Mr. MANUEL. Committee investigation, Mr. Chairman, has shown that Mr. Smith was elected to the position of treasurer on the same date and at the same convention or klonvokation that Mr. W. O. Perkins was elected secretary.

The committee has no information that these men have not been—have not held that office continuously from that time on.

Mr. Sexton, the committee has obtained by subpoena duces tecum from The First National Bank of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, an account of the "U.K.A. Defence Fund," and on this signature card is listed the signature of Melvin Sexton, care of 17 Lake Sherwood, Northport, Alabama.

I show you this, Mr. Sexton, and ask if you are the Melvin Sexton listed on that account?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

WILLIAM SEXTON EXHIBIT NO. 1

INDIVIDUAL											
FIRST NATIONAL BANK, TUSKALOOSA, ALABAMA											
<p>The bank is hereby authorized to recognize the signature executed herewith in payment of funds or transaction of any other business of said party. In receiving items for deposit or collection, this bank acts only as depository or collecting agent and assumes no responsibility beyond the exercise of due care. All items are credited subject to final payment in cash or solvent credit. This bank will not be liable for default or negligence of its duly selected correspondents nor for losses in transit, and each correspondent or selected shall not be liable except for its own negligence. This bank or its correspondents may send items, directly or indirectly, to any bank including the payor, and accept its draft or credit as conditional payment in lieu of cash; it may charge back any item at any time before final payment, whether returned or not, also any item drawn on this bank not good at close of business on day deposited. Service charges will be made in accordance with rules and regulations, effective as of date of this deposit.</p>											
<p>SIGNATURE <i>W. K. A. Defence Fund</i></p>											
<p>OCCUPATION OR BUSINESS <i>Dr. Melvin Sexton</i></p>											
<p>BUSINESS ADDRESS <i>17 Lake Sherwood Northport, Ala.</i></p>											
<p>RESIDENCE ADDRESS <i>17 Lake Sherwood Northport, Ala.</i></p>											
<p>INTRODUCED BY</p>											
<p>PREVIOUS BANKING CONNECTION</p>											
<p>ACCOUNT ACCEPTED BY <i>[Signature]</i></p>											
<p>TITLE <i>FOR BANK</i></p>											
<p>NEW SIG. REG. 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12</p>											

U K A Defence Fund

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, what is the address 17 Lake Sherwood, Northport, Alabama?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Can you explain to the committee how you are listed at 17 Lake Sherwood, Northport, Alabama, and at the same time, in the document which we just went over, the application for a foreign corporation, Mr. W. O. Perkins was listed at that same address, 17 Lake Sherwood, Northport, Alabama?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that particular address in the proximity of Mr. Robert Shelton's address?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please explain to the committee, Mr. Sexton, what the U.K.A. Defense Fund is?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Were moneys used by the U.K.A. Defense Fund in any way for the defense of Collie Leroy Wilkins, W. O. Eaton, and Eugene Thomas, persons indicted in the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, investigation conducted by the committee in this regard has revealed that, in this particular account, the total deposits from the 30th day of August 1965 until the 10th day of December 1965, totaled \$5,164.06. Could you please explain to the committee where that money came from?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Ledger sheets marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MANUEL. What has become of that money, that \$5,000, since December of 1965?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, I would like to show you a series of deposit items which were made out either to the name of Melvin Sexton or to the name of the U.K.A. Defense Fund, and ask if these items were deposited by you or any other person known by you to be a member of the United Klans of America in the account of the U.K.A. Defense Fund?

(Documents handed to witness.)

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Documents marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 3." The checks and money orders included in this exhibit follow; balance of documents retained in committee files.)

No. Linden, Alabama 9 - 15 1965. 61-158 621

# First Bank of Linden

Pay to the order of United Klans of America Defense Fund \$ 300.00

Three hundred dollars 00/100 00 Dollars

For Defense Fund

UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA

W. M. Moore  
Milton Cherry

MOULTON, ALA.

61-327

BANK OF MOULTON 61-327 No. 14498

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

United Klans of America Defense Fund \$ 300.00

MOULTON, ALA. GATEWAY TO BLACK WARRIOR NATIONAL FOREST

Three hundred dollars

DOLLARS

Cashier's Check

W. M. Moore

⑆06⑆⑆0327⑆

RIPLEY, MISS. Sept 23 1965 85-545 842

# THE PEOPLES BANK

A Service Institution

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

Cash \$ 56.00

Fifty Six and 00/100

DOLLARS

PAYABLE AT PAR THROUGH FEDERAL RESERVE BANK

FOR Colin J. J. J. J. J.

J. P. (Ricky) Anderson

Box 731 Ripley, Miss

⑆0842⑆0545⑆

RIPLEY, MISS.

Sept 21 1965

85-545  
842

## THE PEOPLES BANK

A Service Institution

PAY TO THE  
ORDER OF

Clark

\$28.00

Twenty eight and 00/100

DOLLARS

PAYABLE AT PAR THROUGH FEDERAL RESERVE BANK

FOR

Selling my securities

Defense fund

⑆084200545⑆

723

J.P. (Bully) Ambrose



## THE SWEET WATER STATE BANK

61-429

SWEET WATER, ALA. Oct 26

1965 No.

PAY TO THE  
ORDER OF

The Sweet Water State Bank

\$140.95/100

One hundred forty and 95/100

DOLLARS

Mr. D.M. Jones

Defense fund

⑆906100429⑆

Clara De Roach



DEMOPOLIS, ALA.

11-9

1965

No. 12

## ROBERTSON BANKING COMPANY

61134  
621PAY TO THE  
ORDER OF

Melvin Sexton

\$300.00

Three - Hundred and 00/100

DOLLARS

FOR defense fund

⑆062100134⑆

Jimmy K. Farmer  
James Wilson

\*8630  
DOLLARS CENTS

5,925,202,580

**U. S. Postal Money Order**

MAXIMUM VALUE ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS

**PAY THIS AMOUNT**

15-119 000

**WARNING**

**DO NOT CASH IF ALTERED**

NOT VALID FOR MORE THAN **NINETY DOLLARS**

PURCHASER—FILL IN INFORMATION BELOW

**PAY TO** *U. S. A. ... Fund*

**FROM** *Caril E. Haverport*  
PURCHASER'S NAME

IF C.O.D. ENTER NO. HERE *P.O. Box 3093*  
PURCHASER'S STREET ADDRESS

*Huntsville, Ala.*  
PURCHASER'S CITY AND STATE

**ISSUING OFFICE STAMP**  
SENTELL  
1965  
HUNTSVILLE

DO NOT FOLD, STAPLE, SPINDLE OR MUTILATE INITIAL OF ISSUING EMPLOYEE

\*2515  
DOLLARS CENTS

5,926,112,029

**U. S. Postal Money Order**

MAXIMUM VALUE ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS

**PAY THIS AMOUNT**

15-119 000

**WARNING**

**DO NOT CASH IF ALTERED**

NOT VALID FOR MORE THAN **THIRTY DOLLARS**

PURCHASER—FILL IN INFORMATION BELOW

**PAY TO** *Melvin Sexton*

**FROM** *Homer Reed*  
PURCHASER'S NAME

IF C.O.D. ENTER NO. HERE *Ht. 1*  
PURCHASER'S STREET ADDRESS

*Hollywood Ala.*  
PURCHASER'S CITY AND STATE

**ISSUING OFFICE STAMP**  
FACKLER  
DEC 6 1965

DO NOT FOLD, STAPLE, SPINDLE OR MUTILATE INITIAL OF ISSUING EMPLOYEE

Mr. MANUEL. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that these deposits represent donations or contributions from Klaverns of the United Klans of America.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Further, that these deposits were made for the defense of Collie Leroy Wilkins, W. O. Eaton, and Eugene Thomas in their trial recently in Alabama.

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, were proceeds from this account used to pay the bail or to post bond of the defendants in the case, that is, Wilkins, Eaton, and Thomas?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. I should like to show you a copy of a canceled check made payable to James Esdale, in the amount of \$1,000 and checks, numbering five, payable to James Esdale and Art Hanes, in the total amount of—one for \$1,000, one for \$2,000, one for \$500, \$250, and \$500, and the notation on the back of the check indicates that Mr. Esdale has a bail bonding company, and ask you if these checks were written for the bail of Wilkins, Eaton, and Thomas?

(Documents handed to witness.)

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Checks marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MANUEL. I should like to state for the record also, Mr. Chairman, that the name signed on the checks is that of Melvin Sexton.

Mr. Sexton, are you one of two current authorized signatures on an account, another account of the United Klans of America, which is maintained at the Birmingham Trust National Bank in Birmingham, Alabama, the two signatures being that of yourself and that of Robert M. Creel? (See James Whitefield Exhibit No. 3-B, p. 3113.)

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that particular account which is maintained at the Birmingham Trust National Bank the account of the Alabama Realm of the United Klans of America?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Sexton, I would like to show you a series of four checks, made payable to Robert M. or Bob Creel, totaling \$655, and each one signed with the name "Melvin Sexton."

I ask you to examine these checks, and I ask you for what purpose were they drawn and paid to Mr. Creel?

(Documents handed to witness.)

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Checks marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to note that these checks were drawn from the period of the 23d of January 1965 to the 10th day of November 1965.

I show you another check, Mr. Sexton, made payable to "Leroy Collie Wilkins," in the amount of \$158.50, signed by Melvin Sexton, and ask you for what purpose this check to "Leroy Collie Wilkins" was made?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 6" follows:)

WILLIAM SEXTON EXHIBIT NO. 6

518  
620

BIRMINGHAM TRUST NATIONAL BANK NO.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. April 12, 19 65

*Leroy Collie Wilkins*

*One hundred & fifty eight dollars and 50*

*Pay to the order of*

*Legit: for*

UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA

*Melvin Sexton*

10620-00081: 69 153850 0000015850

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

10620-00081: 69 153850 0000015850

*Leroy Collie Wilkins*

*Collie Wilkins*

*Can # 47313*

FOR DEPOSIT ONLY

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

10620-00081: 69 153850 0000015850

Mr. MANUEL. For the record, Mr. Chairman, this check was dated April the 12th, 1965, and is endorsed on the reverse side by the name "Leroy Collie Wilkins," also endorsed by the name "Collie Leroy Wilkins."

Mr. Sexton, on the 8th day of March 1965, you issued a check from this account to Mr. E. L. McDaniel, whom the committee has identified as the Grand Dragon of the State of Mississippi. This check was drawn in the amount of \$125.

Would you please examine the check and advise the committee for what purpose that check was drawn?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Check marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 7" follows:)

WILLIAM SEXTON EXHIBIT NO. 7

*Exhibit No. 7*

**BIRMINGHAM TRUST NATIONAL BANK** No. 61 9  
620

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. *3-8* 19*65*

PAY TO THE ORDER OF *E. L. McDaniel* \$ *125.00*

*Only One hundred twenty five & 00/100* DOLLARS

UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA

*William Sexton*

⑆0620-0008⑆ 69 163858⑆ ⑆0000012500⑆

Mr. MANUEL. Was this check to Mr. McDaniel, Mr. Sexton, in the amount of \$125, a contribution from the Realm of Alabama or any Klansmen in Alabama for the defense of Mississippi Klansmen accused of any violation of law?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Robert M. Creel, whose signature appears with yours on the account of the UKA maintained at the Birmingham Trust National Bank, to be Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama? For the United Klans of America?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you as an individual ever received any payment or remuneration for your services from the United Klans of America?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you sign your name as secretary to the income tax return filed by the United Klans of America for the fiscal year 1964?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, Mr. Sexton, did the income tax return filed by the United Klans for the fiscal year 1964 reflect truly and accurately the amount of money taken in and disbursed by that organization?

Mr. SEXTON. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. POOL. Any questions?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No questions.

Mr. POOL. The witness is excused.

The committee will stand in recess for 3 minutes.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken. Subcommittee members present at the time of recess and when hearings resumed: Representatives Pool and Buchanan.)

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order. Call the next witness.

Mr. APPELL. Ralph Roton.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF RALPH RAY ROTON

Mr. APPELL. Will you state your full name for the record, Mr. Roton?

Mr. ROTON. Ralph Ray Roton.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, are you appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on November 3, 1965, at 1424 Carol Circle, Fairfield, Alabama?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, I note that you are not represented by counsel.

Mr. ROTON. That is correct, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. ROTON. Not at this time, sir, but we may have to stop and get one.

Mr. APPELL. Do you desire to have counsel?

Mr. ROTON. Not at this time, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Have you been advised of your constitutional rights and that under the Constitution you may at any time invoke constitutional privileges, the right against self-incrimination, the fifth amendment?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Have you received a copy of the opening statement of the chairman and are you familiar with the contents of it?

Mr. ROTON. Is this the opening statement, sir, dated March 30, 1965?

Mr. APPELL. No, it was October.

Mr. POOL. No, let me see that.

This is the one he wants to see. Ask him if he has seen that.

Mr. APPELL. This statement here.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; this is the first time I have seen this.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we stand in recess for 5 minutes to permit Mr. Roton an opportunity to review that statement and become familiar with its contents.

Mr. POOL. All right.

The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes to allow the witness to examine the opening statement.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken. Subcommittee members present time of recess and when hearings resumed: Representatives Pool and Buchanan.)

Mr. POOL. The committee will be in order.

Mr. APPELL. Are you now, Mr. Roton, familiar with the chairman's opening statement of October 1965?

Mr. ROTON. I have read it briefly. I haven't studied it, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you care for more time?

Mr. ROTON. Not at this time, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you understand what it says?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. And you don't care for additional time to study it?

Mr. ROTON. Not at this time.

Mr. POOL. I am asking now, do you care for additional time?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; not at this time.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, when and where were you born?

Mr. ROTON. November 10, 1930, Montgomery, Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. Give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background.

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I don't think the educational background has any pertinency, but I will be more than happy to.

Mr. APPELL. Well, it is identifying information and is perfectly proper, so if you will please give it to us, we will appreciate it.

Mr. ROTON. I have a 10th-grade education, sir, and I passed the high school equivalent test, giving me a high school equivalency.

Mr. APPELL. When did you complete your formal education and when did you obtain your high school equivalent?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember the date, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, the year.

Mr. ROTON. In 1958, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. And when did you get your high school equivalent?

Mr. ROTON. That was in the same year, sir. That was the high school equivalent.

Mr. APPELL. When did you stop your formal education? When did you complete your 10th-grade formal education?

Mr. ROTON. In 1946, if I am not mistaken, sir.

Mr. APPELL. 1946?

Mr. ROTON. If I am not mistaken, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you perform service in any of the military establishments of the United States?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And what was your branch of service and what was your period of service?

Mr. ROTON. December 1945, until—I have the discharges here somewhere.

January '47 to November '47, in the United States Navy, April the 8th of '48 to February the 8th of '50.

Mr. APPELL. That latter period of service, also the U.S. Navy?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; that was United States Army. And from April the 8th of '50, I believe, until March the 8th of 1952, the United States Air Force.

Mr. APPELL. Since 1960, would you give the committee a brief résumé of your employment background?

Mr. ROTON. Since 1960?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROTON. I was employed by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in 1960. In early 1961, I went to work with a large corporation, sir. If it is pertinent, I will bring it out, but my association with the United Klans of America may have some bearing on their future——

Mr. APPELL. Well, you are no longer associated with that company; are you?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Well, let's let that pass for the time being as to identifying the company. We might ask it at a later time.

Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Now as an employee of the IBEW, you held a card in that local and you were employed by various contractors?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. So that your employment was not by the IBEW, but by independent contractors, hiring union labor members of the IBEW?

Mr. ROTON. I was referred to different contractors by the IBEW; that is correct, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And you maintained your membership in the IBEW until 1961 and received assignments from them when you work for another, a large corporation?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. How long did you remain employed by this corporation?

Mr. ROTON. Approximately 3 years.

Mr. APPELL. And what was the period of time when your employment with them terminated?

Mr. ROTON. August of 1963.

Mr. APPELL. And what was the purpose for which the employment was terminated, to seek other employment?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; to go to work for someone else.

Mr. APPELL. And who was your next employer?

Mr. ROTON. I might call that self-employed, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Could you explain to the committee what you mean by self-employed?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; I resigned from the corporation to come to the Washington march to take pictures, make tape recordings, and identifying as many known Communists as I could for a committee such

as this in the State of Alabama, known as the Commission To Preserve The Peace.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. APPELL. This was a State legislative committee?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

May I say this and clarify this? The State of Alabama had no recollection or had no knowledge that I was a member of the United Klans of America.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Appell, may I interject at that point? I can confirm from this commission that what he has just said is true. They had no knowledge of any connection of Mr. Roton with the Klan organization at this time, during the entire period of his employment.

Mr. APPELL. With respect to the coverage that you made of the march on Washington, did you do this under instruction, or did you do this on your own?

Mr. ROTON. Under instruction.

Mr. APPELL. Can you tell the committee who specifically instructed you to do this?

Mr. ROTON. Representative John H. Hawkins, Jr., of Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. In an interview with Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Hawkins advised me that he did not know of your coverage of that march until after your return and your submitting the bill for expenses incurred.

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Hawkins did send me to Washington, sir. And it was by his request that I did go to Washington.

Mr. APPELL. How did you become employed by this committee?

Mr. ROTON. By doing investigation of the racial trouble in Birmingham and talking with Mr. Hawkins in the past and, also, presenting him with evidence of what was going on, for prior to this time, the commission had no fund in which to pay anyone with, and which he told me specifically to go ahead and let's gather this information, and we will present it and form a committee such as this committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington.

Also, to curb the Communist activities in the State of Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. Now you say that you were hired by them because of the investigative experience that you had had in making these investigations?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Were these investigations conducted by you as a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir. As an undercover member; yes.

Mr. APPELL. As an undercover member?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And for what organization were you operating as an undercover?

Mr. ROTON. Different—not an organization, sir. I carried a press card.

Mr. APPELL. What do—you said that you joined the United Klans of America and did this as an undercover operative.

Now I ask you for whom you were working as an undercover operative?

Mr. ROTON. Now what do you mean, sir?

Mr. APPELL. Well——

<sup>1</sup> Full name "Alabama Legislative Commission To Preserve The Peace."

Mr. ROTON. Do you think that I was trying to subvert the State of Alabama, or—

Mr. APPELL. No, sir; I am only asking for clarification of a statement that you made.

Mr. ROTON. Well, sir, I was in the United Klans of America prior to my employment with the Commission To Preserve The Peace.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir; I understood that, and you said that the investigation that you had conducted, the investigations that you had conducted which qualified you for employment with the legislative committee, had been investigations which you had conducted as a member of the United Klans of America.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And then you said that you had been conducting these investigations in an operative capacity.

Mr. ROTON. Well, I will say this: I was a member of the United Klans of America.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir. Now what I want to know is—

Mr. ROTON. And under the direct supervision of Mr. Robert M. Shelton, I infiltrated different groups.

Mr. APPELL. So that you were an operative of the United Klans of America within organizations which the United Klans of America had an interest in. You were not operating within the United Klans of America for any individual.

Mr. ROTON. I attended meetings very seldom in the United Klans of America. All of my work was done on the outside, investigating different groups.

Mr. APPELL. Now when did you join the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. Approximately 7 years, 6½, 7 years ago, sir. I don't remember the name—I mean the date.

Mr. APPELL. And to what Klan were you affiliated at the time you joined?

Mr. ROTON. To the best of my knowledge, it was the Alabama Klan, sir.

Mr. APPELL. The Alabama Klan was formed in 1960, was it not? Wasn't it prior thereto—

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I don't remember on the exact date.

Mr. APPELL. But your best recollection is that it was during the period of time of the incorporation of the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan with Mr. Robert M. Shelton as the Imperial Wizard?

Mr. ROTON. I am now a member of the United Klans of America. Mr. Shelton was previous Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama. To the best of my knowledge, whatever Klan it was, I was a member then of the U.S. Klan or of the Alabama Klan, and I feel sure that it was the Alabama Klan at that time.

Mr. APPELL. To what Klavern were you affiliated as a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. Confederate Lodge #11 in Montgomery.

Mr. APPELL. Is that Confederate Lodge # 11 or Confederate Den No. 11?

Mr. ROTON. Confederate Den, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And at the time you became a member of the United Klans of America, did you subscribe to a series of oaths which are

similar to a series of oaths that I hand you reproduced in this document?

Mr. ROTON. I could not swear to it, sir? To the best of my knowledge, it is similar.

(Document previously marked "Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 4.")

Mr. APPELL. Can you explain to the committee that portion of the oath which is under the series on Klanishness, which requires a member of a Klan to swear that he will keep secret to himself a secret of a Klansman, when same is committed to him in the sacred bond of Klansmanship, the only exception being treason against the United States of America, rape, and malicious murder alone excepted?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I couldn't explain it to you. I don't know the answer.

Mr. APPELL. Was an explanation given to you as a member of the Klan as to what this meant?

Mr. ROTON. If that was in the oath, sir, 7 years ago, I don't know. I couldn't give you an honest answer.

Mr. APPELL. Now who were the officers of the Confederate Den No. 11 at the time you joined?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Who recruited you into the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. That, I do not remember, either, sir.

Mr. APPELL. How long did you maintain a membership in the Confederate Den No. 11?

Mr. ROTON. Oh, I guess approximately 6 years, 5 years, something like that.

Mr. APPELL. Approximately when did you cease being a member of Confederate Den No. 11?

Mr. ROTON. To the best of my knowledge, sir, Confederate Den No. 11 is not in operation at this time.

Mr. APPELL. When did you cease being a member of Confederate Den No. 11?

Mr. ROTON. I guess when it closed, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, when did it close?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember, sir. I have been in and out of Montgomery and I do not know.

Mr. APPELL. Well, who were the officers of the Confederate Den No. 11, the most recent date that you can remember as to the operation of the Den?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember, sir.

Mr. APPELL. You don't remember.

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you remember any members of the Den, Confederate Den?

Mr. ROTON. Not to give an honest answer, sir, I could not swear.

Mr. POOL. You don't recall anybody that belonged to this Confederate Den?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge, sir; no, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Can you explain how you held membership in it for so many years and not know the identity of a single member of that Den?

Mr. ROTON. I just don't remember, sir, and to identify a person or to call a name as being a member may not do justice to him. There is no certain way you can identify a member, and my work was done on the outside of the Dens and the Klaverns, and I told this committee that I have, seldom have attended meetings.

Mr. POOL. Well, that may be right, and you may be correct in saying what you did. I just want to caution you, though, that if you say you don't remember and other testimony proves that you do remember or that you do have an acquaintanceship, then you would be in serious trouble.

Mr. ROTON. Well, Mr. Chairman, may I say this, in all respect—

Mr. POOL. I am telling you that for your own benefit. You probably are telling me the truth, or telling the committee the truth, but I am trying to explain to you that just saying you don't remember is not an excuse for somebody that proves that you do have acquaintanceships there, and you should remember.

That's all I am trying to tell you.

Mr. ROTON. Well, sir, I know many different people by name, but to say that they are members of the United Klans of America, it would be an impossibility for me to tell this committee the truth.

Mr. POOL. Well, can you name some members or can you name some people who attended meetings with you, then?

Mr. ROTON. And to identify them as Klansmen?

Mr. POOL. No, I said to identify people who attended meetings with you.

I am not asking you to state that they were Klansmen, because, in fact, you may not know for sure that they are, but can you name the names of people who attended meetings with you of the Klan?

Mr. ROTON. I can name Robert Creel, Robert Shelton, Robert Thomas, and to go beyond that, to be beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, sir, I could not.

Mr. POOL. All right, go ahead, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. May I ask you, Mr. Roton, you said that you had on instructions of Imperial Wizard Shelton infiltrated certain organizations for the purpose of identifying Communists.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROTON. I have been associated with the Communists, many known Communists; yes, sir. But I have never been a member of a Communist Party. Very detrimental (sic) to the Communist Party, because it is atheistic and against this form of government.

Mr. APPELL. How do you identify Communists, not being a member, and not being able to identify Klansmen when you were a member?

Mr. ROTON. That could be answered in many different ways, sir. Communists don't carry cards, neither do Klansmen, that I know of.

Mr. APPELL. How do you identify them?

Mr. ROTON. By their actions, I guess, by their self-admissions of it.

Mr. APPELL. But you attended meetings with Klansmen, in closed meetings of Klansmen, and known Klansmen were present.

Now I want to know the identity of these Klansmen that you attended meetings with, closed meetings, only people that are Klansmen.

Mr. ROTON. Sir, it would be an impossibility for me to tell you the truth as to identify a man as being a Klansman.

Mr. APPELL. For what reason?

Mr. ROTON. For no reason. I do not know beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, and to tell you that a man was a Klansman wouldn't be doing justice to him, myself, or this committee.

Mr. APPELL. Well, we don't want testimony other than what you know, but you attended closed Klavern meetings; did you not?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. At which the only people present were Klansmen.

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Well, now, let's take the organization of a Klavern. Who is eligible for admission into a Klavern under the rules and procedures of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. Being familiar with Klankraft, very vaguely, and what the Klans stand for, I can tell you that. That's what I know about it, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I am asking you about the operation of a Klavern, sir. People coming into a Klavern meeting. I want to know whether or not people who are non-Klansmen are permitted into a Klavern meeting.

Mr. ROTON. There is a possibility that they could be.

Mr. APPELL. Well, will you explain to the committee the possibilities under which this might happen?

Mr. ROTON. Well, it has been stated many times by the press over here that the FBI has the Klan so infiltrated you couldn't—I mean you can go in and out at your own discretion.

Mr. APPELL. Are you talking about ideological Klansmen?

I am talking about people who hold a membership card in the United Klans of America.

Mr. ROTON. Well, to identify a person as being a card-carrying member of the United Klans of America, sir, I couldn't do it. I have associated with people all over the State of Alabama and all over the United States, but I can't tell you beyond a reasonable doubt, unless a Klansman identifies himself to me personally, sir, I can't.

Mr. APPELL. How were you known within Den No. 11 as a member?

Mr. ROTON. By Ralph Roton, I assume.

Mr. APPELL. Was membership within your Klavern kept by name, or was it kept by number?

Mr. ROTON. It was kept by number, to the best of my knowledge, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What was your number within the Klavern?

Mr. ROTON. 1638, I believe.

Mr. APPELL. 1638.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. In the operation of the Klan, was the fact that you were a Klansman and assigned to Confederate Den No. 11, or the fact that any other member was a member of a Klan, reported to a higher authority as far as identification of a member is concerned?

Mr. ROTON. To my knowledge, no, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Could anyone get into a Klavern meeting without passing the security personnel of that Klavern in order to attend the meeting?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I have done it.

Mr. APPELL. You have done what, sir?

Mr. ROTON. I have come into a meeting without passing the security.

Mr. APPELL. How? Will you explain that? You were a member, and are a member.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. How do you violate security?

Mr. ROTON. Just being known, I guess, by other people.

Mr. POOL. Here referring to your Klavern, or just any Klavern? Have you been to other Klaverns and got in without identifying yourself?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. POOL. Your own Klavern is the only one that you have been to without identifying yourself?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. They all knew who you were and you didn't have to identify yourself. Is that right?

Mr. ROTON. Yes; it was a small group.

Mr. APPELL. Now, Mr. Roton, when did you receive a commission or appointment from the Imperial Wizard so that you conducted assignments under his direction?

Mr. ROTON. In early 1961, I talked to Mr. Shelton and I told him in the capacity that I was serving with, in a separate capacity, that I had the opportunity to possibly go in and infiltrate other groups, and it might be interesting to find out what some things are going on in these other groups, and bring back the knowledge to the United Klans of America. I was told by Mr. Shelton to keep him posted. I have been operating in that capacity ever since, since 1961.

Mr. APPELL. Now you mean to tell the committee that your employment with the Jim Walter Corporation was such that you had time to be on their payroll and carry out investigative activities in behalf of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. I didn't work for Jim Walter Corporation 24 hours a day, sir. I did this on my own time, and since that is out, I guess it is all right to refer to them as such.

Mr. APPELL. Where was your employment with the Jim Walter Corporation?

Mr. ROTON. Troy, Alabama; Florence, Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. Well, let's stick in the year 1961.

Mr. ROTON. In Troy, Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. And what was the nature of assignments which you received from Mr. Robert Shelton in 1961 and when did this start in 1961?

Mr. ROTON. It was in the latter part of 1961, sir. Let me correct myself. I transferred twice. When I moved from Montgomery to Troy, and I was transferred by the Jim Walter Corporation to Florence, Alabama, for a period of 3 months, and then I was transferred back into Birmingham office, in the regional office, and it was in the latter part of 1961, I believe, that I had that conversation with Mr. Shelton.

Mr. APPELL. Now will you tell the committee the details of this conversation that you had with Mr. Shelton? You have told us what you have said to him. Now I would like to know what his part of the conversation was.

Mr. ROTON. His answer was, "Go ahead and keep me informed."

Mr. APPELL. Was there a discussion as to the type of organizations that you were going to infiltrate and the type of knowledge you hoped to learn for the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; the Southern Conference on Human Welfare—Southern Christian Leadership Conference, CORE, and a few other organizations I do not remember the names of.

Mr. APPELL. Now which of these organizations did you, in fact, infiltrate?

Mr. ROTON. Both and all.

Mr. APPELL. Well, please name them, A, B, C, D.

Mr. ROTON. Southern Christian Leadership Conference, I have been associated with them, in and out of their meetings, for the past—since 1961.

Mr. APPELL. Will you explain the association with them in and out of their meetings? Were you a member of the organization?

Mr. ROTON. Making tape recordings and taking pictures of individuals and known people that come in and try to cause racial and civil disturbance.

Mr. APPELL. Were you a member of the organization?

Mr. ROTON. I paid dues, donations on different occasions.

Mr. APPELL. Were you a member of the organization?

Mr. ROTON. To say I am a member, I don't know whether I could say or not, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you file an application for membership? Did you pay yearly dues? Did you meet the requirements of a member?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir. I didn't. I filled out an application at one time, in August of 1965, the Birmingham convention of the Southern Conference, Southern Christian Leadership.

Mr. APPELL. This was the convention that they had there, where you entered with press credentials and took photographs?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Whose press credentials did you use?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, do I have to bring this out?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir. You certainly do, sir.

Mr. ROTON. Is it pertinent to this investigation?

Mr. APPELL. It sure is, sir. You were operating for the United Klans of America. It is pertinent.

I am waiting for an answer, sir.

Mr. ROTON. I mean could any legislation be pending on that one particular answer, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. APPELL. It might well be.

Mr. ROTON. Well, sir, it is—there is a lot of people, innocent people, and I will say this: The United Klans of America is not all what it has been portrayed to be. I have been associated with many, many people, and to bring innocent names in front of the press, and being recorded here, and will be in a printed form for people to read, I just don't think it is to the best interest.

Mr. APPELL. We wish to determine whether or not these organizations that you infiltrated or the press media that you obtained press credentials from and whose name was used, not as a member of the press, but as an agent of the United Klans of America, to infiltrate

other organizations—these people who are innocent might well also not possess knowledge that you, at the time, were working for the United Klans of America.

Mr. ROTON. And it could be, sir, but to clarify that statement, to the best of my knowledge *Birmingham Independent*, in Birmingham, had no knowledge that I was a member of the United Klans of America.

Mr. APPELL. How did you obtain——

Mr. ROTON. To the best——

Mr. APPELL. How did you obtain the press credentials?

Mr. ROTON. Through the editor.

Mr. APPELL. Through the editor?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Were you volunteering services for him?

Mr. ROTON. I did, I do some free-lance photography work, sir, and I have sold pictures to many different people.

Mr. APPELL. Now——

Mr. POOL. If he had known that you were working as a member of the United Klans of America, would he have given you this press pass?

Mr. ROTON. I couldn't answer that question, sir. I do not know.

Mr. POOL. But you didn't tell him that you were working for the United Klans or were a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Why did you withhold this information from him?

Mr. ROTON. Well, being associated with the United Klans of America, I have always worked under cover, and to be exposed and sitting in with the groups of Southern Christian Leadership Conference and CORE and the different people like that, it would jeopardize me to a certain extent, and which I have been called and threatened, and by people that I do not know who they are, but they call me and have called me regularly.

Mr. APPELL. Let's return to your employment with the legislative committee.

Mr. POOL. Just a moment. He said the editor, didn't he, of the Birmingham paper?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Give the committee the full details and knowledge of how you became employed by them.

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Chairman, that again is guilt by association, and the members of this press here are sitting here, and I have worked with them; I see a couple I have worked with down there in Selma. They know the situation and what is going on here between the United Klans of America, the names listed in your report, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Black Muslims, in which I have been associated with them and all, and so have they, and guilt by association will injure some people.

I have been associated with some very influential people in this country and I just do not think it is pertinent and I will ask your permission to give me permission not to answer that. Because if I start calling names, there is a lot of people going——

Mr. POOL. Repeat the question.

Mr. APPELL. I asked the witness to give us the details of how he became associated with the commission.

Mr. ROTON. You are speaking about my association with the United Klans of America?

Mr. APPELL. No, sir; I am talking about the legislative committee for which you were an employee.

Mr. ROTON. I worked with the United Klans of America as an undercover investigator, appointed by, directed by Mr. Robert M. Shelton.

Mr. APPELL. Well, were you directed to infiltrate the legislative committee?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir, I was not.

Mr. APPELL. Well, then, explain to the committee how you became affiliated with it.

Mr. ROTON. The times and the experiences that I have used, of using camera and recorder, and——

Mr. APPELL. I want to know the details of how you became employed.

Mr. POOL. Whom did you approach about a job with the legislative committee?

Mr. ROTON. I had talked on several different occasions with Mr. John Hawkins, and——

Mr. POOL. What is his position in the committee?

Mr. ROTON. He is chairman of the committee, sir.

Mr. POOL. Chairman of the committee.

Mr. ROTON. And I have information that I passed on to Mr. Hawkins and which was very pertinent to some of his reports, I understand.

Mr. POOL. Now when and where and why did he have you investigating for the committee?

Mr. ROTON. In early, if I am not mistaken, and to the best of my knowledge, sir, in early August we discussed employment with the committee, as they needed an investigator, according to the terms and conditions of the legislation that was passed by the State of Alabama, allowed them to hire outside investigators.

Mr. APPELL. Who sent you to Mr. Hawkins for employment? Who recommended you to him for employment?

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Chairman, do I have to answer that question?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. POOL. State the question again.

Mr. APPELL. I asked him who recommended him for employment with the commission.

Mr. POOL. I think I will restate it. Did anyone recommend you, recommend to you to go to Mr. Hawkins and ask for a job with the commission? Yes or no.

That is a fair question, isn't it, as restated, to make it easy for you?

Mr. ROTON. But back to the same thing I said, Mr. Chairman, would it be fair to implicate people that might hold a high position? Would it be fair?

Mr. POOL. I think this committee has a right to know the circumstances surrounding your activities, so I——

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I would request that the chairman of this committee, Mr. Hawkins—and may I tighten up my previous statement, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the testimony of the witness is correct in saying that the legislative committee in hiring him had no knowledge of his affiliation, past or present, with any Klan organization. And this is my belief, based upon the testimony of Representative John Hawkins which I have on this question.

Now I would request of the Chair that Mr. Hawkins be permitted to answer it in writing, or some way, since a committee of the State of Alabama Legislature is being questioned. May I say there were two Republicans in that legislature.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer the question as to who recommended him for employment with the committee.

Mr. POOL. I want to tell the witness this, that I don't know whether this is going to hurt anybody or not, but it is pertinent to the inquiry, and there is no other way to do it except for you to go ahead and make answer to his question. It is very pertinent to this inquiry, so I direct you and order you to answer the question.

Mr. ROTON. Sir, could we call a 5-minute recess and let me make a telephone call?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I request that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. POOL. Just a minute. I think that, in view of the fact that he does not have a lawyer here, I am going to grant you the 5-minute recess to make a telephone call. Talk to your lawyer, or whoever you want to. That is the reason we are giving you the 5-minute recess, if you would prefer legal counsel.

Mr. ROTON. All right, sir.

Mr. POOL. There will be a 5-minute recess.

(Whereupon a brief recess was taken. Subcommittee members present at time of recess and when hearings resumed: Representatives Pool and Buchanan.)

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, what position did you hold within the United Klans at the time you were recommended for employment by the legislative committee?

Mr. ROTON. None that I remember, sir. I have held the position as public relations director, and that's an appointed position. That's of the State of Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. What position were you holding at the time you were receiving assignments from Mr. Shelton?

Mr. ROTON. There was no official title to it. The—

Mr. APPELL. Were you part of the KBI?

Mr. ROTON. I guess you might say I was an investigator; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. You were an investigator for the KBI? Were you part of the klokann committee?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I never have been.

Mr. APPELL. Now at the time that you were recommended for appointment to the legislative committee, had you at that time received the appointment of public relations director?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I hadn't.

Mr. APPELL. You hadn't. All right, now, sir, who recommended you to the legislative committee for employment?

Mr. ROTON. Gentlemen, if I go in and keep this in context, I certainly would appreciate it. I talked with Governor Wallace—he had no idea that I was ever associated with the United Klans of America, to my knowledge—and told him that I did investigative work; for whom, I did not say, and I understood that there would be a position open with this committee and I would appreciate anything he could do to help me. Now, whether Governor Wallace did or not, I do not know. I only worked for the committee, as you know, a short time.

Mr. APPELL. How were you thereafter notified that you received an employment by the committee?

Mr. ROTON. Would you restate that question, sir?

Mr. APPELL. I say, How were you notified that you were to be appointed as an employee of the committee?

Mr. ROTON. As under the direction of Mr. Hawkins, I went ahead. The funds were not approved for the committee as yet, and they wouldn't have been until, I think, November 15th of 1963, if I am not mistaken. I went ahead at my own expense and did this work for Mr. Hawkins and the committee and turned the evidence over to him, and I received two checks from the State of Alabama. One in December, if I am not mistaken, and one in January of 1964, I believe.

Mr. APPELL. Who suggested that you make contact with Governor Wallace and seek employment with this commission?

Mr. ROTON. No one, to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. APPELL. No one?

Mr. ROTON. It was my own idea.

Mr. POOL. Did Governor Wallace know that you were working for the committee?

Mr. ROTON. That, I don't know. I didn't talk to Governor Wallace any more.

Mr. POOL. That is the only time you talked to him?

Mr. ROTON. Well, I have talked to my Governor, yes, and there is many people that talk to him.

Mr. POOL. About what?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, that has no legislative purpose.

Mr. POOL. What is that?

Mr. ROTON. About what I talked to Governor Wallace about. On that specific occasion, I talked to him and, as I have stated here before, that he had no knowledge of my being associated with the—

Mr. POOL. Did Governor Wallace talk to you about your investigative work?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; we talked that one time.

Mr. POOL. Would you care to relate the circumstances of the things he told you, or the things you told him, and tell the committee what happened?

Mr. ROTON. It was just a brief conversation, and I stated that earlier, sir, that—

Mr. POOL. After you went to work for the committee, you talked to Governor Wallace?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; I have talked to him.

Mr. POOL. What did you talk about?

Mr. ROTON. To the best of my knowledge, I don't think I saw the Governor for 4 or 5 or 6 months.

Mr. POOL. Did you tell him about the results of your investigation?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir. I had knowledge of that.

Mr. POOL. Did he have any suggestions?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember, sir.

Mr. POOL. Well, what did the Governor say to you?

Mr. ROTON. On what time? At what time, sir?

Mr. POOL. Well, you said that you talked to the Governor several times. What was the conversation about?

Mr. ROTON. Well, sir, I don't think you could—a constituent—

Mr. POOL. Well, I asked you a while ago if he talked to you about the investigation, and you said he did. Now I am asking what did he say in regard to the investigation.

Mr. ROTON. Well, it was just a brief conversation. To the best of my knowledge, I didn't give him any lengthy reports or anything like that.

Mr. POOL. Did he tell you how to go about investigating or what to look into, or anything like that?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; made no suggestions at all.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Perhaps you can tell the committee the kind of investigation you conducted for the State committee as disassociated with whatever you were doing unknown to them for the Klan. Simply what was this investigation you did for them?

Mr. ROTON. For the committee?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Yes.

Mr. ROTON. For the committee was checking on the different civil rights groups in the Birmingham area during the 1963 demonstrations, make tape recordings and photographs of it, and turning them over to the committee.

Mr. APPELL. What year did you say, 1964?

Mr. ROTON. 1963, sir.

Mr. POOL. Did Robert Shelton ever talk to Governor Wallace about you working for this committee?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. POOL. Did any other of the officials of the Ku Klux Klan talk to Governor Wallace in regard to your working for this committee?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. POOL. Did you ask any of the Klan officials to talk to Governor Wallace?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir, not to the best of my recollection, I never have.

Mr. POOL. Did you ask any of the officials of the Ku Klux Klan to talk to any of the committee members about hiring you?

Mr. ROTON. To the best of my knowledge, I don't remember.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Now what specifically did you do in 1963 for the committee?

Mr. ROTON. Made tape recordings and took pictures of the demonstrations.

Mr. APPELL. Well, let's be a little specific. As to pictures that you took: where, what affair was going on, and what did you do? Not just generalities. Tell me specifically.

Mr. ROTON. I attended the demonstrations and made pictures of the marchers, individuals in the marches, and I identified them when we could, and——

Mr. APPELL. What type of identification?

Mr. ROTON. By naming the person and finding out what he is from.

Mr. APPELL. What else did you do for the committee?

Mr. ROTON. What do you mean, sir?

Mr. APPELL. What other investigative work did you do for the committee? What other functions did you perform for them?

Mr. ROTON. That's just about it, sir.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. The committee will stand in recess until two o'clock.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Pool and Buchanan.)

(Whereupon, at 1 p.m., Tuesday, February 8, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1966

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:15 p.m., Hon. Joe R. Pool, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool and Buchanan.)

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order.

The Chair recognizes Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, during the luncheon recess I talked to State Representative John Hawkins from Birmingham, and he is chairman of the Alabama Legislative Commission To Preserve The Peace.

I myself was confused on this point. This is a commission of the legislature and this is the outfit by which this witness was briefly employed when the commission was formed, and it is the only one there is. I thought there was a legislative committee and a commission which was separate, but it is all the Alabama Legislative Commission To Preserve The Peace, which is a legislative commission chaired by Representative John Hawkins of Birmingham.

When the commission was formed, they needed a good photographer. Mr. Roton was recommended to Mr. Hawkins by friends in Montgomery who knew of his work with Jim Walter, and Mr. Hawkins thought this was his only employment or connection, had no knowledge of any Klan affiliation, and had he known it, Mr. Hawkins states, they never would have hired Mr. Roton. He was hired temporarily. He worked on a particular assignment for some 6 months or so for the

Alabama Legislative Commission To Preserve The Peace. At no time did they have any knowledge of his Klan affiliation. Mr. Hawkins has requested, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to request, that he write us to this effect and that that be included in the record of the proceedings.

Mr. POOL. If there is no objection, it will be printed in the record at this point.

(Mr. Hawkins' letter dated February 9, 1966, marked "Ralph Roton Exhibit No. 1." The letter follows:)

RALPH ROTON EXHIBIT NO. 1



ALABAMA LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION TO PRESERVE THE PEACE  
ROOM 332 STATE CAPITOL  
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN H. HAWKINS  
CHAIRMAN

SENATOR JAMES S. CLARK  
VICE-CHAIRMAN

SENATOR E. O. EDDINS

REPRESENTATIVE ALTON TURNER

REPRESENTATIVE HUGH A. LOCKE

February 9, 1966

EDWIN STRICKLAND  
STAFF DIRECTOR  
MRS. MAVIS HICKS  
SECRETARY

Hon. John Buchanan, R-Ala.  
U. S. House of Representatives  
House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Buchanan:

In accordance with our conversation, I want to clarify the matter of testimony of Ralph Roton, who has been a witness before your committee.

Mr. Roton, a free-lance photographer, was employed by the Commission in May, 1963, and his employment was terminated in October, 1963. Final payment for his services and for equipment he had purchased, was made in January, 1964.

During his services, Mr. Roton did not do any investigative work other than making some tape recordings and photographs. He at no time has had any access to confidential files of the Commission. We did not know at any time during his service that he had any connection with the KKK. Had we known of such connection, his services would not have been used.

Sincerely,

John H. Hawkins, Jr.  
Chairman

Mr. POOL. All right, Mr. Appell, proceed.

### TESTIMONY OF RALPH RAY ROTON—Resumed

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, how long, in fact, were you employed by the Commission To Preserve The Peace?

Mr. ROTON. It was approximately 6 months' total. I would say, sir, there was quite a few times that it was 2 or 3 days at a time gathering information.

Mr. APPELL. Well, will you explain to us the conditions of your employment? You say 2 or 3 days at a time gathering information. Were you on a free-lance assignment to gather information as you came upon it and then turn it over to the commission, or were you employed—what were the conditions of your employment?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I guess you could say it was more or less a contractual agreement. There was nothing ever in writing and I did specific work for Mr. Hawkins under his direct supervision. Of course, being in the business yourself, things come up from time to time that you will get an assignment, short coverage, and go perform the assignment and bring the information back.

Mr. APPELL. What was your rate of compensation as an employee of the commission?

Mr. ROTON. That never did come to pass, sir, as to where I was ever paid any salary. I furnished expenses and came to an agreement at the end that I never did quite receive all my expenses that I paid while doing this work from the State of Alabama. You couldn't classify as salary.

Mr. APPELL. Well, did you have a contract that you were going to be reimbursed at a certain rate of pay per day, upon a per diem basis, or under any kind of agreement?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you have any source of income other than what income you received from the commission at that time?

Mr. ROTON. Some of this work was done while I was still employed with this company, sir, and for approximately 2½ months there I didn't have any other, just money from this commission here. However, it was held up until the funds were appropriated.

Mr. APPELL. Can you explain to the committee how you could be employed by Jim Walter Corporation and carry on investigative functions for the legislative commission both at the same time?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, when I went full time with them was in August '63, after I resigned from the corporation which we specified before and, as I told you before, I was only required to work a number of hours a day with this company.

Mr. POOL. Talk a little louder.

Mr. ROTON. And after the normal duty hours, I did perform these extra duties for Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. APPELL. You resigned from Jim Walter Corporation in August of 1963?

Mr. ROTON. Correct, sir?

Mr. APPELL. Did you have any source of income between August of 1963 and January 1, 1964, other than income you received from the commission?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. None whatsoever?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. You testified this morning that you incurred expenses out of your own pocket for which you waited for reimbursement.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would you enumerate to the committee some of the out-of-pocket expense that you incurred and the amount of this out-of-pocket expense that you incurred?

Mr. ROTON. Do you mean the trips?

Mr. APPELL. Well, trips, purchase of equipment, film, cameras, or anything else.

Mr. ROTON. Well, sir, I did buy some equipment for the commission and equipment that would be needed to perform those duties.

Mr. APPELL. Did you make this determination of the equipment needed, or did someone on the commission make the determination?

Mr. ROTON. They furnished a part of the equipment, and I purchased more and it was between——

Mr. APPELL. What did they furnish and what did you purchase?

Mr. ROTON. I think I purchased two or three cameras.

Mr. APPELL. This is what you purchased?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. All right, sir.

Mr. ROTON. Two tape recorders.

Mr. APPELL. Two of them?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; an FM radio. This was of the low frequency band for police and radio calls.

Mr. APPELL. Why did you need that?

Mr. ROTON. To monitor calls, sir.

Mr. APPELL. To monitor police calls?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. How did that assist you in your investigative function in behalf of the commission?

Mr. ROTON. To answer certain calls. It might be a civil disturbance, as well as to take pictures of it and turn them over to the commission.

Mr. APPELL. You were on a 24-hour assignment for the commission? I thought you just worked a couple days here and a couple days there.

Mr. ROTON. Well, this was after I went full time, sir.

Mr. APPELL. When did you go full time?

Mr. ROTON. In August.

Mr. APPELL. And in August of 1963 you went full time with them, but you had no agreement with respect to salary?

Mr. ROTON. That was to be worked out as soon as the first committee meeting was to be held. It was a new committee, sir, and the funds were not appropriated. However, as you remember——

Mr. APPELL. What was eventually worked out?

Mr. ROTON. That I just received the expenses that I had incurred so far.

Mr. APPELL. Were you directed to purchase a low frequency FM transmitter or radio for the purpose of monitoring police calls?

Mr. ROTON. I was not required to, sir, but Mr. Hawkins had one in his car and he told me that it would be good if I had one, and I purchased one to answer the calls.

Mr. APPELL. What else did you purchase?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I don't remember. I would have to refer to the list, and which I do not have it with me.

Mr. APPELL. Did you also purchase a radio transmitter?

Mr. ROTON. What type, sir?

Mr. APPELL. I don't know. It costs \$75.92.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What was that one for?

Mr. ROTON. That was a citizens band radio to monitor calls.

Mr. APPELL. Do you have a license from the Federal Communications Commission to operate a citizens band radio?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I do not because you are not required to have one just to monitor calls.

Mr. APPELL. You are not required?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; and I did not transmit.

Mr. APPELL. What was the other radio equipment that cost you \$209.09?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember offhand, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you report in your 1963 tax returns that your compensation from the Commission To Preserve The Peace was \$2,289.99 and that your expenses were \$2,970.47, making you sustain a loss during the year of 1963 of \$680.48?

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Chairman, we can go on and on into this. This is personal income and expenses received therefor, and I think in my own judgment it is privileged information as this is not—a return was filed with the proper agency of the Federal Government and the return was given back. If they have any discrepancy, I think that I would be called before them to rectify my situation.

Mr. POOL. Restate your question.

Mr. APPELL. I asked him if he reported that his income from the commission in the year 1963 was \$2,289.99. That his expenses were \$2,970.47, or a net loss of \$680.48. I request that the witness be directed to answer.

Mr. POOL. I rule that the question is pertinent and the witness will answer the question.

Mr. ROTON. Are you referring to the 1963 return?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. POOL. You don't have to furnish the whole return. You just answer the question.

Mr. ROTON. To the best of my knowledge it was.

(Income Tax Return for the Year 1963 marked "Ralph Roton Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. And were the expenses listed by you on the schedule: recorder, film, tapes, and supplies \$901.36; away from home expenses \$147; telephone \$19.80; police monitor \$104; film developing \$43.80; cameras \$272; aircraft mileage and tickets \$570; cab fares \$27.50; radio transmitter \$75.92; radio \$209.09; auto expenses 7,000 miles at 10 cents a mile, \$700? Is that factual?

Mr. ROTON. That is to the best of my knowledge and belief, sir.

Mr. APPELL. When did you file a tax return covering your 1963 income?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I had to file that twice and I filed the first return that was apparently lost and I contacted the Internal Revenue Serv-

ice in regard to it, and they stated they could not find it. I filed a duplicate return in, and I don't remember when; at a later date.

Mr. APPELL. Did you file a return prior to the due date, April 15, 1964, for your 1963 income?

Mr. ROTON. Did I file it prior to the due date?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, April 15, 1964. Did you file a personal income tax return covering your income for the year 1963?

Mr. ROTON. I am confused here now. Both returns were filed at the same time as I explained to the Internal Revenue Service. Mr. Waldrop in Birmingham—

Mr. APPELL. I am asking you if you filed a tax return covering the year 1963 prior to the due date of April 15, 1964, I am not asking you about the second one you filed. I am asking you about a first one.

Mr. ROTON. For '63, yes, sir. That return was lost, and I filed a duplicate return.

Mr. POOL. He asked you if you filed it. He didn't ask you whether it was lost or not.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Before the due date?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Mr. APPELL. Can you explain to the committee why, when for the year 1963 you had claimed a refund of \$482.50, that you never filed a claim for that money until some time in 1965, when you were contacted by the Internal Revenue Service?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, we have on record at home where we contacted the Internal Revenue Service and, sir, this doesn't serve—I don't hope you can pass any legislation against me filing my income tax and—

Mr. POOL. What is the question?

Mr. APPELL. The question is can he explain to the committee why, when he had a \$482.50 tax refund due him on his 1963 return, he did not contact the Internal Revenue Service for this refund until they contacted him about his 1963 tax return.

Mr. ROTON. We did, sir, and we have a copy of a letter in my income tax file at home to the Internal Revenue Service, stating such, we asked them.

Mr. APPELL. What was the date of that letter? Do you remember, sir?

Mr. ROTON. I do not remember, sir.

Mr. APPELL. In your 1964 personal income tax return, did you report income from the Commission To Preserve The Peace of \$1,016?

Mr. ROTON. To the best of my knowledge, yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. That your total compensation that you receive from this period of 6 months' employment was the difference between \$1,016, which you reported in 1964 and \$680 which you lost in 1963, or less than \$500 for 6 months' employment? Is that your testimony?

Mr. ROTON. That is to the best of my knowledge and ability and according to the records that we have, sir.

(Income Tax Return for the Year 1964 marked "Ralph Roton Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. You testified that one of the functions that you performed for the commission was to cover some racial demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, in the year 1963.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What other investigative function did you perform for the commission?

Mr. ROTON. Different meetings and demonstrations there in Birmingham?

Mr. APPELL. Can you tell us a few of them?

Mr. ROTON. I can't offhand. I will have to refer back to my personal records at home, sir.

Mr. POOL. The question that occurs to me is this: Was the State of Alabama paying you for investigating for the United Klans?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; definitely not.

Mr. POOL. That is really what the question is. You claim the State of Alabama, but you are a member of the United Klans and you are an undercover agent for them. You had two masters, so to speak. Which one were you really working for? I know who paid you, but whom were you working for?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I am working to preserve the Constitution of the United States of America, and that is my dedicated belief and that is my stand and I will not compromise.

Mr. POOL. That is a very admirable stand, and I appreciate your being that way about the Constitution, but we are trying to find out now just what the situation is. Is the State of Alabama supporting the Ku Klux Klan by helping their investigators investigate?

Mr. ROTON. Very definitely not, sir. The State of Alabama to my knowledge and my belief had no knowledge of my membership in the United Klans of America.

Mr. POOL. You know, I was an investigator in World War II and, boy, they investigated me. They went to all my neighbors up and down the street asking if I got drunk, asking if I beat my wife. They asked them a lot of pertinent questions about me before they let me be an investigator for the United States Army, and I was very proud to have been passed on the security.

I can't understand why they don't have an investigation of the investigators. That is what I am getting at right now.

Mr. ROTON. Maybe, sir, it came to pass—

Mr. POOL. What?

Mr. ROTON. Maybe it came to pass, sir, that I was available at that time.

Mr. POOL. They were in a big hurry and they didn't have time to investigate?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know what position the commission was in, but I had the information—

Mr. POOL. That is what I want you to explain if you can. I think it might be better to lay it out here in the open.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Roton, how many people would say knew you to be an undercover agent of the Ku Klux Klan or in any way affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan at that time?

Mr. ROTON. To my knowledge, not very many.

Mr. POOL. Robert Shelton knew you were, didn't he?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. And all the Grand Dragons did?

Mr. ROTON. Not all of them; no, sir.

Mr. POOL. Several, if not all of them?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Several of them?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. One?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. One Grand Dragon?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Two?

Mr. ROTON. Possibly.

Mr. POOL. Do you care to name any more?

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Creel knew I was.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Was there any reason for any of your employers to possess this information or anybody who may have recommended you for employment to possess this information unless Mr. Shelton happened to recommend you or somebody which we don't have any testimony about.

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Buchanan, to my knowledge not over five or six people in the State of Alabama knew that I was affiliated with the United Klans of America, five or six, and it could be possibly seven or eight, but no more than that, and that is to my knowledge.

Mr. APPELL. Did the United Klans of America share knowledge that you gained as an employee of the commission?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; for certain specific information.

Mr. APPELL. You mean you were gathering information under the cloak of the Commission To Preserve The Peace and you were turning the results of this over to the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. Not the results. After they were published and publicly identified, I was. I had this in my possession and actually it is my personal information. They paid me for copies thereof, not the originals.

Mr. APPELL. Who paid you?

Mr. ROTON. The commission.

Mr. APPELL. When did you supply this information to the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. At periodic times, sir.

Mr. APPELL. During your employment?

Mr. ROTON. Not that I can recall during my employment. It may have been.

Mr. APPELL. Did you discuss with Robert Shelton the results of the work that you were doing for this commission and what you were discovering as its investigator?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, the bounds of that could overlap one another because I was engaged in the investigation prior to my employment with the commission and thereafter.

Mr. APPELL. Weren't you an agent of Mr. Shelton's while you were employed?

Mr. ROTON. Sir?

Mr. APPELL. Weren't you an agent of Mr. Shelton's while you were employed by the commission?

Mr. ROTON. I don't think you could term that as an agent, Mr. Appell. I believe in the preservation of the Constitution of the United States of America. And anything that I could do to preserve that, it is my duty to do it, not as an agent, but as an American.

Mr. POOL. Did you investigate any bombings or threats of violence and other things that were going on down there in Alabama? Did you do any investigating like that for the commission?

Mr. ROTON. I was present the day that the 16th Street Baptist Church was bombed, approximately 30 or 40 minutes thereafter to make pictures of it; yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. What did you find out?

Mr. ROTON. Nothing that day, sir. I have heard statements in the past that could have some bearing on the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church.

Mr. POOL. You have any idea the Ku Klux Klan might have been engaged in that?

Mr. ROTON. Do you want my opinion, sir?

Mr. POOL. Yes. That is what we are up here for.

Mr. ROTON. I don't think they did, in my judgment, because I was down there—

Mr. POOL. Whom do you think did it?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you think the Communists did it?

Mr. ROTON. There is a possibility. I can read you some statements that I have available.

Mr. POOL. What ground do you have for saying that?

Mr. ROTON. Well, I can read you some statements that have been documented and turned over to the commission and the FBI when they asked me what information I had about the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, if you would like to hear them, sir.

Mr. POOL. Surely. Go right ahead.

Mr. ROTON. James Bevel, field secretary for Southern Christian Leadership Council, made a statement at the Unitarian Church in the latter part of 1963 stating, "The bombings in Birmingham will stop when we get what we want."

Mr. APPELL. Let me interrupt you there. Where was this statement made?

Mr. ROTON. In the Unitarian Church in Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. Were you present?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And what knowledge do you have? I mean how do you document this statement?

Mr. ROTON. By myself.

Mr. APPELL. And when was this?

Mr. ROTON. This was in '63. I don't have the date with me, sir, but this information was turned over to the Commission To Preserve The Peace.

Mr. POOL. Did you have a tape recorder?

Mr. ROTON. Not a tape recorder on this one, sir. On the next one I did.

Mr. APPELL. What I want to know is, when was this statement made and where was the meeting held and who were present.

Mr. ROTON. It was held on a Sunday night, the later part of 1963. I don't remember the date. If I recall right it was in July or August in 1963.

Mr. APPELL. Who turned that statement in to the commission?

Mr. ROTON. I did, sir.

Mr. APPELL. You did. Well, now, the 16th Street bombing was September. This was in advance of that. How does this document when the 16th Street Baptist Church was bombed?

Mr. ROTON. Well, there were several bombings in Birmingham, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Let me ask you, as a member of the Klan Bureau of Investigation, as an investigator employed by them, what investigation did you make and as an employee of the commission to determine the people who were involved in the actual bombings?

Mr. ROTON. I wasn't assigned to make an investigation, sir, but I furnished all of the pictures of the people present on the day that the church was bombed, and they are in the hands of the Commission To Preserve The Peace at this time.

Mr. APPELL. But this is after the fact. You took pictures of damage that was caused?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I am asking you what investigation you did do to determine who was responsible.

Mr. ROTON. That wasn't my assignment, sir, but I—

Mr. APPELL. You told us before that you didn't have any assignments; that whenever situations arose, you on your own initiative on behalf of the commission made investigations.

Mr. ROTON. This particular morning, on September 16, 1963, I was called and directed to go there by Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. APPELL. And he just wanted you to take the pictures and then forget about it?

Mr. ROTON. Take the pictures and furnish them with the pictures. The FBI, I am sure, has seen the same pictures. In fact, I have offered those pictures to the FBI if they care to go over them and look at them.

Mr. APPELL. How many members, to your knowledge, of the United Klans of America were interrogated with respect to the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know how many, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, which ones to your knowledge were?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know, sir.

Mr. APPELL. You don't know any?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge. I know there were many people interrogated.

Mr. APPELL. I am asking you about members of the United Klans of America. You are a member of the United Klans of America. You were representing a commission. You were an investigator of the United Klans of America. You mean you had no concern with who was being interrogated in this matter of this bombing?

Mr. ROTON. Well, I certainly did, sir, but I didn't have any information to offer. If I had, I would have given it to the proper authorities.

Mr. APPELL. Then you possess no knowledge as to the identity of the United Klansmen who were interrogated in connection with that bombing?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, the word or the definition of "Klans" has been attached to too many things that it doesn't belong to.

Mr. APPELL. I am only speaking about the United Klans of America, an organization of which you were a member, an organization of which you were an investigator. I am not speaking about any other Klan. I am speaking about that one and members of it whom you knew to be Klansmen because you yourself were a Klansman.

Mr. ROTON. I don't know, sir.

Mr. POOL. Were any of the other investigators hired by this legislative commission?

Mr. ROTON. I understand there was. I do not know that to be a certainty.

Mr. POOL. Who were they?

Mr. ROTON. The staff director now is—I can't think of his name, but he has been employed shortly after I left in——

Mr. BUCHANAN. Ed Strickland.

Mr. ROTON. Ed Strickland; yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Let me ask you this: Were any other Klansmen made investigators for this commission?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir. I was the only outside man.

Mr. POOL. Knowingly or unknowingly, I am talking about.

Mr. ROTON. To my knowledge, no, sir.

Mr. POOL. No other Klansmen?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. At the time of this bombing Mr. Creel was not the Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, Realm of Alabama, was he, sir?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir, he wasn't.

Mr. APPELL. Who was the Grand Dragon at that time?

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Hubert Page.

Mr. APPELL. To your knowledge, was Mr. Hubert Page one of those questioned with respect to the 16th Street bombing?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. APPELL. You have no knowledge of it?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know whether you speak——

Mr. APPELL. You have no knowledge of it, sir?

Mr. ROTON. Are you speaking of whether he was questioned?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir, I am speaking about whether he was questioned and asking you, do you possess knowledge of it.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, I imagine he was.

Mr. APPELL. I am asking you do you have knowledge, not whether he was.

Mr. ROTON. Let me recall just a minute. Your direct question was, Was Mr. Hubert Page questioned in connection with the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church? Is that correct?

Mr. APPELL. No, sir; my question was, Do you have knowledge that he was questioned?

Mr. ROTON. I vaguely recall he was.

Mr. APPELL. As an Imperial Investigator of the United Klans of America and as an employee of the commission, did you attempt to

interrogate Mr. Page as to whether or not he had any responsibility in connection with that?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. APPELL. I thought you were interested in preserving the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. ROTON. I am sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you have any interest as an employee of the commission in any acts of intimidation or harassment or threats carried out by members of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. What was the legislative purpose of this legislative commission?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember the law verbatim, sir, but it was to investigate and to determine the subversive activities within the State of Alabama and to bring such evidence forth to the commission, and they had subpoena power to call hearings at any time, to pass legislation.

Mr. POOL. What kind of subversive activity? Can you spell it out?

Mr. ROTON. Any subversive activity. Subversive means—

Mr. POOL. Whether it was the Ku Klux Klan or CORE or whoever it was?

Mr. ROTON. It would cover all of it.

Mr. POOL. Right.

Mr. APPELL. In 1963 at the time of the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing, who were the other officers of the Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America in addition to Mr. Hubert A. Page?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember, sir. I didn't attend meetings very much. I don't know. Most of my work was outside.

Mr. APPELL. What was your relationship with Robert Thomas?

Mr. ROTON. I know Mr. Thomas.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever carry out a function in the interest of the United Klans of America as a result of direction of Mr. Thomas?

Mr. ROTON. Not at the direction; no, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, will you explain "not at the direction; no, sir"?

Mr. ROTON. I know Mr. Thomas and know him to be a Klansman because he has told me so.

Mr. APPELL. You know him to be titan, Province No. 3, don't you?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; I know that. I also know him to be a fairly reputable gentleman that has never indicated to me that he would break the law.

Mr. POOL. I don't know if you have asked this question or not, but I am going to ask it now for the record: Did you at any time participate in any act of violence, threats, intimidation, while you were a member of the Klan?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Hubert Page was replaced as Grand Dragon by Mr. Robert Creel. You testified earlier that Mr. Creel knew you to be a Klansman. Did you know him to be the Grand Dragon?

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Creel?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And what other officers of the Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America did you know in addition to Mr. Creel?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I couldn't say to be specific. I could not say a man is a Klansman. It would be an impossibility. I know many people and to say that they were Klansmen I could not say beyond a reasonable doubt with all certainty.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever attend a State convention of the Realm of Alabama at which officers were elected?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, now, who were elected at the meeting that you attended?

Mr. ROTON. Now, I remember this last one where Mr. Brassell<sup>1</sup> was elected Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. And this was a meeting held in January?

Mr. ROTON. I believe it was early January; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What other officers were elected at that meeting?

Mr. ROTON. That I don't remember, because I didn't pay any attention and I was in and out.

Mr. APPELL. You don't know the identity of another officer elected in January?

Mr. ROTON. I couldn't say beyond a reasonable doubt with all certainty; no, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I don't understand what you mean that you can't say it without a question of certainty. You were there, weren't you?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. You were there when the elections were held?

Mr. ROTON. In and out; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. All right. You mean the only time that you were in the room was when Mr. Brassell was elected to replace Mr. Creel?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. That's the only time you were present, just that one office?

Mr. ROTON. That was the only office I was interested in at that time.

Mr. APPELL. That wasn't answering my question.

Mr. ROTON. I was only at that meeting just a very short time.

Mr. APPELL. Were you present when any other man was elected to an office in the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. ROTON. I was not in the immediate room; no, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Were you a delegate to that convention?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you have a vote?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. How do you have a vote and not be a delegate?

Mr. ROTON. As I stated before, I was past publications director, an appointed position by the previous Grand Dragon. All officers have a vote.

Mr. APPELL. As an appointed officer, were you a member of the Klonecilium?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know what you are talking about, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, the constitution and bylaws claimed the klonecilium to be a meeting of the imperial officers and others of the Klan. Did you ever attend any meetings of the imperial officers?

<sup>1</sup> William P. Brassell.

Mr. ROTON. I am not an imperial officer, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever attend any meeting of imperial officers?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Is Mr. Melvin Sexton the klabee, or secretary, of the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Or kligrapp—I am sorry—or secretary. You don't know?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Have you ever had a discussion with Melvin Sexton about a position that he might hold?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you acquainted with UKA Confederate Lodge # 11?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Will you tell the committee what the UKA Confederate Lodge # 11 is?

Mr. ROTON. That was a Montgomery lodge.

Mr. APPELL. No, I am talking about Post Office Box 113, Bessemer, Alabama.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. All right, sir.

Mr. ROTON. That it was a Montgomery lodge at that time and a post office box was set up in Bessemer, Alabama, for the State office use in regards to collecting, or having a banquet, rather, in Birmingham.

Mr. APPELL. Having a what, sir?

Mr. ROTON. Having a banquet.

Mr. APPELL. A banquet?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. When was this banquet planned?

Mr. ROTON. If I am not mistaken, in August of last year, sir; August.

Mr. APPELL. And this post office box was set up for that purpose?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Why was it necessary to set up this box for the purpose of holding a banquet?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, there were tickets sold to the banquet, and the money was delivered back through that post office box?

Mr. APPELL. And you are the one that was, in fact, the applicant for the post office box?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

(Application for P.O. box marked "Ralph Roton Exhibit No. 4" appears on p. 3216.)

Mr. APPELL. Did this Confederate Lodge office operate a bank account?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And were you a cosigner to that bank account?

Mr. ROTON. I was a cosigner, sir, but I never signed any checks.

Mr. APPELL. And I show you a copy of a signature card filed with the City National Bank of Birmingham, Birmingham, Alabama, and

## RALPH ROTON EXHIBIT No. 4

FOR POST OFFICE USE ONLY	POSTMASTER <b>Bessemer, Alabama</b>	DATE BOX OPENED <b>7-20-65</b>	DATE BOX CLOSED	BOX NO. <b>113</b>
--------------------------------	--	-----------------------------------	-----------------	-----------------------

APPLICANT PLEASE NOTE: Completion of this application signifies your willingness to comply with all postal rules relative to the renting and use of Post Office boxes.

NAME OF APPLICANT (Print or type) <b>Confederate Lodge No. 11</b>		TYPE OF IDENTIFICATION
NAME OF FIRM OR CORPORATION (If box is rented for use of either) <b>United Klans of America</b>		
KIND OF BUSINESS <b>United Klans of America</b>		
BUSINESS ADDRESS (No., street, and ZIP code) <b>1444 Brighton Rd. Midfield, Alabama 35228</b>		TELEPHONE NO. <b>428-4739</b> <b>788-6729</b>
HOME ADDRESS (No., street, and ZIP code) <b>Same</b>		TELEPHONE NO.
SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT <b>X(Signed) Ralph Roton</b>		DATE OF APPLICATION <b>7-20-65</b>
ADDRESSES VERIFIED BY		TELEPHONE NUMBERS VERIFIED BY

For Post Office Use Only ENTERED IN DIRECTORY	INITIALS OF CLERK <b>JBG</b>	INITIALS OF CARRIER <b>JBG</b>	BOX NO. <b>113</b>
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THE FOLLOWING MUST BE COMPLETED AND SIGNED BEFORE P.O. BOX IS ASSIGNED

SHOW NAME IN WHICH BOX IS RENTED WHEN OTHER THAN NAME OF APPLICANT

DELIVER MAIL IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS CHECKED BELOW

- ☐ ALL EXCEPT SPECIAL DELIVERY IN BOX
 ☒ ALL INCLUDING SPECIAL DELIVERY IN BOX
 ☐ ONLY MAIL ADDRESSED TO BOX IS TO BE PLACED IN IT. ALL OTHER MAIL TO BE DELIVERED AS ADDRESSED.
- ☐ OTHER INSTRUCTIONS (Explain)

SPECIAL DELIVERY MAIL ONLY (Deliver as checked below)

- ☐ DELIVER TO LOCAL RESIDENCE AT \_\_\_\_\_ (No., street, and ZIP code)
 ☐ DELIVER TO LOCAL BUSINESS ADDRESS AT \_\_\_\_\_ (No., street, and ZIP code)

NAMES OF PERSONS ENTITLED TO RECEIVE MAIL THROUGH BOX (If box is rented to a firm, include the full name of each of its members whose mail is to be placed in box.)

<input type="checkbox"/> HAVE READ ITEMS 1 THROUGH 5, ABOVE AND WILL COMPLY WITH THEM.	<b>X (signed) Ralph Roton</b> (Signature of applicant)
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POD FORM 1093  
Oct. 1964

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1964-O-748-254

APPLICATION FOR POST OFFICE BOX

ask you if the name Roton appears there as your signature?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

(Document marked "Ralph Roton Exhibit No. 5" follows:)

## RALPH ROTON EXHIBIT NO. 5

United Klans of America Confederate  
Lodge # 11  
P. O. Box 113  
Bessemer, Alabama

Account Number	203-621-8
Date	8-6-65
First Deposit	277.50
Opened By	MR

Name of Account United Klans of America Confederate (DO NOT WRITE ABOVE THIS LINE)

Signatures	Titles
1 <u>Ralph Roton</u>	<u>Lodge # 11</u>
2 <u>Robert M. Creel</u>	
3 _____	
4 _____	

Any 1 of the above signatures are necessary to sign checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money.

Checks to be signed by No's. \_\_\_\_\_ and countersigned by No's. \_\_\_\_\_  
In consideration of the opening of this Account in and its maintenance by City National Bank of Birmingham, we agree to all terms and conditions on reverse side hereof.

Mailing Address P.O. Box 113 Bessemer, Ala

Business Address Dance

Phones 428-4739

Remarks \_\_\_\_\_

Former Bank Account With \_\_\_\_\_  
FORM SC 5 Corporation or Other Organization Card

Mr. APPELL. And what was the purpose for which that account was opened?

Mr. ROTON. To deposit the money that was derived from the tickets.

Mr. APPELL. And what disbursement was made of the money deposited in that account?

Mr. ROTON. I do not know, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Where was the banquet held?

Mr. ROTON. Tutwiler Hotel.

Mr. APPELL. Can you explain to the committee why there is no payment against this account to the Tutwiler Hotel and that the only two checks that have any relationship to hotels is one of October 7, 1965, to the Hotel Admiral Semmes in the amount of \$25.00 and one of October 9, 1965, to the Hotel Admiral Semmes in the amount of \$45.00, which was bounced for not sufficient funds?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know, sir. The banquet was paid by the Grand Dragon, I understood.

(Checks marked "Ralph Roton Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Here is a check of September 2, 1965, payable to cash and endorsed "Robert M. Creel." The notation on the check states, "for attorney fees."

Mr. ROTON. That could possibly be, sir.

(Check marked "Ralph Roton Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Be for what, sir?

Mr. ROTON. Attorney fees.

Mr. APPELL. Attorney fees for what?

Mr. ROTON. It could be for the attorney that was hired in the Wilkins case.

Mr. APPELL. Did you know Collie Leroy Wilkins and Eugene Thomas and W. O. Eaton to be Klansmen?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I could not say beyond a reasonable doubt and moral certainty whether they are or they are not.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever have a discussion with Robert Shelton with respect to their defense, with respect to the three individuals?

Mr. ROTON. In Mr. Murphy's office, the past counsel for United Klans of America, who is now deceased, I was present the day that the three men were brought back into the office. I heard what they said there and I also heard what the President of the United States said, that he was going to break the back of the United Klans of America.

Mr. APPELL. What did the three men say there?

Mr. ROTON. I testified in court what Mr. Rowe directed his question to me. I looked up and what he told me, I testified in Federal court about that.

Mr. APPELL. I asked you what did the other three men say?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember. It was just general conversation.

Mr. APPELL. How can you remember what Mr. Rowe said and not remember what the others said?

Mr. ROTON. Well, my name was called, as I testified in court, sir, and I looked at Mr. Rowe and Mr. Rowe told me, directed that question at me, looking at me as I am looking at you. He told me that, and I testified to what he told me in court.

Mr. APPELL. We are talking about now at this meeting that you brought up that was held in the office of Matt Murphy when three Klansmen came in. Now, I assume that Mr. Rowe was not present at that meeting.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir, Mr. Rowe was present.

Mr. APPELL. All right. Who else was present at that meeting in Mr. Murphy's office?

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Murphy, myself, Robert Shelton, Robert Creel, Robert Thomas, Thomas Rowe, Mr. Thomas' son, Miss Dorothy Krock.

Mr. APPELL. And what was the subject of the conversation there?

Mr. ROTON. The three men had just been released from jail. They had been accused by the President of the United States of being at the scene when Viola Liuzzo was killed between Selma and Montgomery.

Mr. APPELL. Continue, sir.

Mr. ROTON. You asked why the meeting—

Mr. APPELL. No; I said what transpired at the meeting. I want to know what was said at the meeting.

Mr. ROTON. In generalities I spoke to Mr. Shelton, Mr. Creel, and I wasn't there but a very short time and I left. Mr. Murphy—oh, let's see. I don't remember offhand, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever make an investigation of any individual which resulted in an act of intimidation or violence against the individual that you made an investigation of? I am not asking you if you were involved in it.

Mr. ROTON. Restate your question, please.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever make an investigation of an individual that an act of intimidation or violence was carried out against after you made the investigation?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Talk a little louder.

Mr. ROTON. No, sir. You mean did I ever as the attorney general of the State of Alabama—I think I know what you are referring to—listed me as being head of the KBI, which is definitely incorrect, and implicated me in the civil rights murders, bombings, and other things. It is very, very untrue, a vicious insinuation, and he knows it to be such.

Mr. APPELL. Well, who was head of the Klan Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. ROTON. That is just a name that was derived, I think, from a speech that Mr. Shelton made at a public rally some time back.

Mr. APPELL. In which he gave you that honor?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir. He has never given me any honor about that. I have been associated as an investigator of the United Klans of America.

Mr. APPELL. What have you investigated for the United Klans of America specifically upon the directions of Robert Shelton?

Mr. ROTON. Different things.

Mr. APPELL. Well, let's not say different things; let's enumerate some of the things that you have investigated.

Mr. ROTON. Washington march.

Mr. APPELL. You testified before that you did that upon—

Mr. POOL. Wait just a minute. What were the results of your Washington march investigation? What did you turn in?

Mr. ROTON. Tape recordings, pictures, and identified as many as possible to the Commission To Preserve The Peace.

Mr. POOL. Tape recordings and pictures of whom?

Mr. ROTON. One Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King, John Lewis, Aaron Henry, group shots.

Mr. POOL. Why did you do that? Couldn't you have gotten that from the news reels or newspapers?

Mr. ROTON. The commission had other information that they could cross-reference and determine if any of the individuals in the group shots were identified with any subversive groups.

Mr. POOL. Were they?

Mr. ROTON. I couldn't say, sir. You would have to—I know of a few offhand.

Mr. POOL. Well, earlier you said in your statement that you infiltrated these groups and that you met old Communists, and things like that. I wondered what kind of an investigation you turned in to them down there in Alabama.

Mr. ROTON. Since that time, sir, I have met one Myles Horton at the convention in Birmingham, the SCL convention, between August 9 and August 13, 1965. And he had his students at Highlander Folk School stand up and salute the Russian flag and said, "This is the flag we will live under. We will overcome the American Government and establish a Soviet Government in its place."

Mr. POOL. During your investigations, have you ever run into anybody that had a card and said, "I am a Communist"?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Explain to the committee here what you have done in that regard. What have been the results of your investigations of these groups that you have infiltrated?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, to determine whether a person is a Communist or not, you have to follow him around and take his statements and see if they are radical——

Mr. POOL. Did you do this?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir. And are of the nature of Karl Marx and if he is not satisfied with this government and wants to overthrow and make statements——

Mr. POOL. State whom you furnished this information to. Did you turn it over to the commission down in Alabama?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Did you have any hearings on it?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Did you turn it in to the FBI?

Mr. ROTON. If they want it, they are welcome to it.

Mr. POOL. Did you turn it in to this committee here?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Did you turn it in to the committee?

Mr. ROTON. A member of the staff has copies of all the tapes that I made.

Mr. POOL. This committee here?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. The committee wants to be sure that you did.

Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. You testified this morning that you covered the Washington march upon the specific instructions of the chairman of the commission. I asked you just a little bit ago what you do for Mr. Shelton, under Mr. Shelton's instructions, and you said you covered the march in Washington. Which are the facts? Were you serving two masters?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir, I serve no master. I serve the Constitution as an American citizen, to the best of my ability.

Now, I was directed by Mr. Hawkins to go to Washington and attend the Washington march to take photographs and pictures thereof and return them to him, and which I did. This information, we give it to a lot of people, anybody who——

Mr. APPELL. You testified that you did this at the request of Mr. Shelton.

Mr. ROTON. Well, let me rephrase that. I did not see Mr. Shelton prior to the time that I left for Washington, sir.

Mr. APPELL. I asked you what assignment did you carry out for Mr. Shelton. You testified that you covered the march in Washington.

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Shelton asked me in 1961 after I told him what I could possibly do. He said, "Go ahead, and keep me informed."

Mr. APPELL. So that what you have done from 1961 to the present day in behalf of the United Klans of America, you have done under this broad authority of making your own decisions as to whether you should cover it for them or not, make an investigation.

Mr. ROTON. What I have done in the capacity, making tape recordings and pictures and doing anything I can to bring it to the atten-

tion of the American people, the Communist threat to this country, sir, I have done as an American.

Mr. APPELL. Name one person that you have identified as a Communist, that you have established to be a Communist.

Mr. ROTON. You can take past investigations that I made in cross-reference——

Mr. APPELL. Your investigations?

Mr. ROTON. It is very difficult. I have done mine at my own expense.

Mr. POOL. The witness will be temporarily excused until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. We are going to have to give up this room at 3 o'clock and we are going a little over, so the committee will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, and you will still be on the stand.

Mr. ROTON. All right, sir.

(Whereupon, at 3:10 p.m., Tuesday, February 8, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, February 9, 1966.)



# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 9 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:15 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Joe R. Pool (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas, chairman; Charles L. Weltner, of Georgia; and John H. Buchanan, Jr., of Alabama.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool and Buchanan.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Philip R. Manuel, investigator.

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order.

The Chair wishes to announce: "Pursuant to the provisions of law and the Rules of this Committee," that the chairman, Edwin Willis, has hereby appointed—

a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Honorable Joe R. Pool as Chairman, and Honorable Charles L. Weltner and Honorable John Buchanan as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., on Wednesday, February 9, 1966, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 30th day of March, 1965, authorizing hearings concerning the activities of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 8th day of February, 1966.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis  
EDWIN E. WILLIS,

*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

So that is the subcommittee that will hear the witnesses this morning. I believe we had Mr. Roton on the stand yesterday so, if he will come forward, we will hear his testimony again.

**TESTIMONY OF RALPH RAY ROTON—Resumed**

Mr. POOL. You have been sworn and you are testifying under oath.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, you testified yesterday that one of the duties and positions that you held within the United Klans of America was that of director of public relations or director of publicity?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What was your title within the organization?

Mr. ROTON. Title?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROTON. Sir, that was an appointed position under the Grand Dragon, and I worked with him when he called a press conference.

Mr. APPELL. And you were the director of public relations? Is that what your appointment was?

Mr. ROTON. That was the title that was given to me; yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. By the Grand Dragon or Imperial Wizard?

Mr. ROTON. The Grand Dragon, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And were you the director of public relations for the realm or for the imperial office?

Mr. ROTON. For the Realm of Alabama.

Mr. APPELL. Just for the realm?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Now what were your duties and responsibilities in the position that you held?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, to call press conferences, to be in touch with the news media, and to call them at Mr. Creel's, when he decided to call a press conference, on when he had some information to release.

Mr. APPELL. Then with respect to the press media, you were a publicly known member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. For a period of time; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And what period of time did that encompass?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I don't remember telling the news media that I was a member of the organization, but I may possibly have at one time or another.

I would call the news media and say that "Mr. Creel is going to have a press conference," and they would respond accordingly.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, the subpoena served upon you contained an attachment thereto, which was made a part of the subpoena and directed you to produce books, commanded you to bring with you and to produce before the committee, books, records, and other documents set forth in the subpoena.

Paragraph 1 called for:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as present or former Public Relations Director, Head of the Klan Bureau of Investigation (KBI), and member, Imperial Board of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. ROTON. Sir, could we clarify one thing? It calls for a member of the imperial board. I am not a member, nor have I ever been a member, of the imperial board.

Number two, it calls for records under the Klan Bureau of Investigation and head thereof. To my knowledge, I have never been appointed the head of any such organization. As I stated yesterday, that I did serve in a capacity as investigator for the organization, but never a head of any such group.

As far as the records, sir, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I have no records belonging to the United Klans of America, the United Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

I have records, as I testified to yesterday, of investigations that I did make and which have been turned over to the Commission To Preserve The Peace, and records, copies thereof are available, but they are my personal records to this committee and they have no bearing on the United Klans of America.

Now, there may be in those records statements and things of that nature that were made publicly through a newspaper and consist of a newspaper clipping, but to tie that down, sir, to as records belonging to the United Klans of America, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I have none.

Mr. APPELL. Well, the subpoena is a little broader than that. It relates to records which are in your possession, custody, or control or maintained by you or available to you. Within those three categories, your testimony is that you have no records?

Mr. ROTON. I have no records belonging to the United Klans of America. That is correct, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you have any records that you would like to make available to the committee?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, as I stated before, the records of the investigation that I made, the pictures and photographs, the documents of the prior investigations I made, of course, they are available to this committee and any law enforcement agency that would be of benefit to.

Mr. POOL. Do you have them in your possession now?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; they are back in Alabama.

Mr. POOL. Would you make them available to the committee?

Mr. ROTON. At any time, sir. In fact, this committee does have some of my records now.

Mr. POOL. How about the narrative records of investigations?

Mr. ROTON. I have notes of reports.

Mr. POOL. Do you volunteer those to the committee?

Mr. ROTON. I would be more than happy to, and most of them are on tape recordings.

Mr. POOL. You have tape recordings, also?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. You want to furnish those to the committee, also?

Mr. ROTON. I will be glad to furnish a copy. I don't have the money to pay for it, but if you pay for duplication, you are welcome to it.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, after you left the employment of the Commission To Preserve The Peace, what was your next employment?

Mr. ROTON. I was self-employed in Montgomery, in a small construction business, small home repair.

Mr. APPELL. And how long did you engage in that business?

Mr. ROTON. Oh, approximately 9 months, I think.

Mr. APPELL. And that took you up to the fall of 1964?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And how have you been employed since the fall of 1964?

Mr. ROTON. Since that time, sir, I was employed with an insurance adjusting firm in Birmingham and I was employed with—sir, do we have to go into this? We did go into this yesterday, and to the best of my judgment, it is privileged information. And my testifying and trying to cooperate with this committee, and it will bring people in that have no connection with any organizations whatsoever. Dedicated Americans, trying to do a job.

Mr. APPELL. Well, are these—

Mr. ROTON. I can't see where it would be relevant and germane to any organization, any such legislation.

Mr. APPELL. Well, the thing that makes it germane, Mr. Roton, is the fact that you testified yesterday that you have operated within organizations in an undercover capacity on behalf of the United Klans.

Mr. ROTON. Not continuously, sir. As I also testified to yesterday, that I try to do my part as an American citizen, and we can go into politics and bipartisan politics and people I know, and I just can't see where it would be relevant and germane to drag innocent people through this committee.

Mr. APPELL. Well, let me ask you whether or not any of the employers that you have been employed by since the fall of 1964, you have engaged in investigative activity at their direction?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; I have. When I was associated and working for an insurance adjusting firm in Birmingham, that was part of my work, investigating accidents and claims that would be pertinent to the insurance company, but they had no relation to the United Klans of America.

Mr. APPELL. Well, I think, Mr. Roton, when you state that these employers have no knowledge that you were a concealed member of the United Klans of America, that your employment by them adversely affects them.

And for the sake of the record, I think that you ought to be full and frank with the committee, because this is needed by the record. This is what we ask of witnesses, and I don't think it is a reflection upon your employers.

Mr. ROTON. Certainly not, but it would be, as if you read the *Washington Post* this morning, to my interpretation, it was somewhat misquoted as to what I testified before this committee yesterday and as to my conversation with another individual. And people who are trying to do right, sir, and no matter whether we disagree with them—

Mr. POOL. Let me ask you this, then: What were your duties with these companies since the fall of 1964? What were your duties?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, with Bridewell Brothers Insurance Adjusters in Birmingham, Alabama, I performed the duties of an insurance adjuster.

Mr. POOL. All right, what were the duties of an insurance adjuster, what type cases?

Mr. ROTON. I called upon people who were involved in automobile accidents and tried to settle their claim according to the rules and stipulations.

Mr. POOL. Strictly commercial business. It had nothing to do with the Ku Klux Klan or the investigating commission.

Mr. ROTON. That is correct, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, were any of the by-products of this investigative effort of yours shared with the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you, on behalf of the United Klans of America, make any investigation as to the circumstances relating to the death of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; I did, under the direction of attorney Matt Murphy.

Mr. APPELL. And what did you do, sir?

Mr. ROTON. I don't have that complete file with me, sir. It is—

Mr. POOL. Well, to the best of your recollection, what did you do?

Mr. ROTON. I made some photographs and I also took one statement from a former landlord of a person, and made some photographs and turned those over to Mr. Murphy; made some verbal investigations, in asking around as to what happened and if there was any implication of these people. I talked to State investigators, talked to the FBI, was at the trial, and all information was turned over to the attorney.

Mr. POOL. Did you keep copies of any of this?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; I have a file on the investigation.

Mr. POOL. Will you make the file available to the committee?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, I would be more than happy to.

Mr. APPELL. Did you obtain copies of any documents obtained by law enforcement agencies which had been received from other law enforcement agencies or which had been taken from the automobile of Mrs. Liuzzo?

Mr. ROTON. Would you restate that question, sir?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Did you receive from any law enforcement agencies any evidence, either received from other law enforcement agencies or obtained from the automobile of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I made some photographs and movies of the automobile in question, and some information, when Mr. Murphy, prior to his death, it is also in this complete file, part of the information that—his personal notes and things of that nature, and since two trials are now pending on it, I don't know, you might have to check with the attorney that is now in charge of the case.

Mr. APPELL. That is not an answer to my question, sir.

I asked you, did you receive from any law enforcement authority any of the documents which were in the Liuzzo car at the time she was murdered, or did you receive from any law enforcement authority any documents of evidence which they had received in the case?

Mr. ROTON. I received, I think I still have—I am not sure whether I do or not—

Mr. POOL. Can you talk a little louder?

Mr. ROTON. I am not sure whether I do or not, information relating to that case. I could not say specifically, but I will say this: That the complete file of Mr. Murphy was given, entrusted to me, after the first trial.

Mr. APPELL. Who entrusted it to you?

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Murphy.

Mr. POOL. His question was this, as I understand it: Did you receive any information or official documents, or did you copy any of them from law enforcement agencies?

I suppose Mr. Appell meant as an investigator for the Alabama Legislative Commission. Is that what you are getting at?

Mr. APPELL. No, sir; he was not employed by the Alabama Commission To Preserve The Peace at that time.

Mr. POOL. That was before he was employed by that?

Mr. APPELL. This is afterwards, sir.

There was a document made available to the press by Imperial Wizard Shelton, which consisted of a report which originated with the Detroit Police Department.

Do you possess knowledge of how that document came into Mr. Shelton's possession?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, there were many copies of that made in the State of Alabama. I have seen just numerous copies.

Mr. APPELL. That does not answer my question, Mr. Roton.

I asked you, Do you know how that came into Mr. Shelton's possession?

Mr. ROTON. I couldn't say that to a certainty. I think I have a copy of the same document.

Mr. APPELL. I asked you if you possess knowledge of how that came into Mr. Shelton's possession.

Mr. ROTON. Not that I remember, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, before you said not with certain knowledge, now not as you remember.

Mr. ROTON. Do you mean—you are asking me the question, did I give that to Mr. Shelton?

Mr. APPELL. No, sir; I am asking you whether or not you possess knowledge of how it came into Mr. Shelton's possession.

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I don't think I do. I may have—well, there was plenty of copies of it in the State of Alabama and all over the South and all over the country.

Mr. APPELL. Yes, but at one stage, there was only one, and that was the one sent to Sheriff Clark by a chief of police in a community outside of Detroit. At one stage, there was only one. I will agree with you that, thereafter, there were many.

I am asking you if you know how the one that Mr. Shelton made available to the press came into his possession.

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I couldn't—I don't.

Mr. APPELL. Did you photograph any of, make photographic copies of any of the documents that were in Mrs. Liuzzo's car?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir. I did.

Mr. APPELL. Where? Who made the documents available to you for photographic reproduction?

Mr. ROTON. I was working under the direct supervision of Mr. Murphy, sir, at that time, and the documents in her car were subpoenaed duces tecum to that first trial, and I was asked by Mr. Murphy to reproduce some of those.

Mr. APPELL. These documents were made an official part of the record of the first trial?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember, sir. I would have to check the transcript.

Mr. APPELL. But——

Mr. ROTON. There was some evidence introduced from her car; yes, sir. And there was more that was tried, that the attorney tried to introduce.

Mr. APPELL. But the reproduction that you made of the documents that were in her car, you did upon instruction of Mr. Murphy, and the reason that they were turned over to you was because they had been subpoenaed through a subpoena duces tecum issued by the court on the request of Mr. Murphy?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you receive compensation for this work that you did?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. None whatsoever?

Mr. ROTON. I received some expense money from Mr. Murphy; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Can you recall how much expense money you received.

Mr. ROTON. I received one check for \$40.00, I believe.

Mr. APPELL. Did you also receive one for a hundred dollars?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; but that was not related to that case.

Mr. APPELL. What was that related to?

Mr. ROTON. Some other work that I did for Mr. Murphy.

Mr. APPELL. Now were copies of any of the documents which you reproduced in the Liuzzo case, were prints of that made available by you to any member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ROTON. I can't say to be certain, sir. Mr. Murphy was a member of the United Klans of America, and he was the attorney in the case.

Mr. APPELL. Well, let's say, did you personally—not that someone else might have—did you personally turn over prints to anyone who was a member of the United Klans of America, excluding the attorney, the Imperial Klonsel, the late Matt Murphy?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. POOL. How about negatives?

Mr. ROTON. Sir?

Mr. POOL. How about negatives? Did you turn any negatives over to anybody that was a member?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Roton, I can't understand the repeated response that you make, not to your knowledge.

If you were the man that took the photographs and you were the man that made the prints, if you did it, wouldn't you have knowledge? I mean——

Mr. ROTON. Well, sir, I could say that maybe possibly. There were many photographs made of that.

Mr. APPELL. I am only asking what you personally turned over. I am not saying if you made seven copies and gave them to Mr. Murphy, that they later got into the hands of somebody. I am just saying did you personally turn them over to anyone who was a member of the United Klans of America, other than Mr. Murphy?

Mr. ROTON. I could not answer that question beyond a reasonable doubt and moral certainty. I reported directly to Mr. Murphy on this case, and no one else.

Mr. POOL. You do not remember whether you did or not. Is that it?

Mr. ROTON. Well, not to my knowledge, I did not, because I reported directly to Mr. Murphy on the case.

Mr. POOL. Did you sell any of these prints?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. To anybody, I am talking about.

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, Mr. Shelton has made public statements to the effect that recordings and film and the results of investigations relating to several of the civil rights disturbances and the Liuzzo case and the Selma-Birmingham march are in the possession of the United Klans of America.

Did these come from you?

Mr. ROTON. It is very possible, sir, because there were many copies made of—that those accounts, and I do not think I have the original copies that were made in Selma. This committee has copies. Several law enforcement agencies have copies. Anything that they would be pertinent to an investigation, they were given to them.

Mr. APPELL. Well, did you ever receive any compensation, directly or indirectly, from Mr. Shelton to reimburse you for the cost of prints of photographs, tapes, or recordings that he has in his possession?

Mr. ROTON. I gave Mr. Shelton a complete copy of those tapes, and he was to reimburse me. Well, let me make this point clear: The tapes were made for another person. I loaned this copy to Mr. Shelton and said if he would pay for the reproduction of it, he could keep them. Otherwise, I would have to take it and give it to the person who had already paid for the reproduction.

Mr. Shelton kept them approximately 5 or 6 weeks, I think, and whether he made reproductions of them or not, I do not know, but I have those tapes back in my possession now.

Mr. APPELL. And what tapes are they?

Mr. ROTON. They were the Selma tapes, and there may have been more. I made many tapes. I couldn't say.

Mr. APPELL. And who did you make the tapes for, originally?

Mr. ROTON. You mean the tapes in Selma?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, the ones that you turned over to Mr. Shelton to make copies of.

Mr. ROTON. Well, I have testified to the action of why I did this, and I, as an American, and some of the things going on in some of these meetings need to be exposed.

Mr. APPELL. That does not answer my question, Mr. Roton.

I asked for whom did you do it? You said you did it for someone else.

Mr. ROTON. I was not directed by any one person, sir, to go to Selma and make any tapes or pictures there. I did this on my own.

Mr. APPELL. Well, I am just trying to reconcile what you state in that you did not do it for Mr. Shelton, you did it for someone else, who paid for it, and that you then loaned the tapes to Mr. Shelton to make copies of.

Mr. ROTON. Well, I was speaking of the copies of the tapes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. ROTON. There were many copies of these particular tapes made, and I loaned those to Mr. Shelton, but I now have those back in my possession and I received no compensation from him for these particular tapes.

Mr. APPELL. Well, have you received compensation from him for copies of prints, photographic prints, photographs taken?

Mr. ROTON. Directly from Mr. Shelton; no sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton—

Mr. POOL. Now wait just a minute.

How about from any individual in the United Klans? Did you receive compensation from any official of the United Klans?

Mr. ROTON. I do not remember. I have received some from Mr. Murphy, yes, sir; on different occasions.

Mr. POOL. What was his title? Did he have a title in the United Klans?

Mr. ROTON. Mr. Murphy? Yes, sir; he was Imperial Klonsel.

Mr. POOL. Imperial Klonsel?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, as an investigator for the United Klans of America, to what extent had the United Klans of America infiltrated law enforcement agencies in Alabama, to your knowledge?

Mr. ROTON. That, sir, I couldn't answer. I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. You know of no member of the United Klans of America who was a member of law enforcement?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, are you a member of the United Klans today?

Mr. ROTON. That's a good question.

Mr. APPELL. What is the answer?

Mr. ROTON. That I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. Are you still an investigator for Mr. Shelton today?

Mr. ROTON. I would assume not, sir. And not to get into any hassle with anyone, any particular—

Mr. POOL. I can't quite hear you.

Mr. ROTON. Not to cause a disturbance between any people, sir, my activities for the organization and which you have copies, I think Mr. Weltner had a book up there of what the Klans believes in, and as an individual American, I have done this work and tried to bring it to the attention of the public, and not to get in any conflict with any people.

Mr. POOL. Do you intend to keep up your membership in the United Klans of America?

Mr. APPELL. There is a question pending, Mr. Roton.

Mr. ROTON. I am thinking, Mr. Appell.

Sir, the Klan as it is originally intended, carry on and do work in a—

Mr. POOL. Talk into that microphone there. We can't hear you.

Mr. ROTON. To do work in the best interests of Americanism and to do its part to try to preserve the Constitution of the United States, the way it was originally intended, and to work for better government and for the prosperity of both races, in which it has been written as such, to carry on in this manner, yes. But if this organization should be branded and proven to be branded beyond a reasonable doubt in a moral certainty, anti-American, subversive, I could not be a member of it.

Mr. POOL. Are you in doubt about that, as to what you think about it?

Mr. ROTON. The—what this investigation proves, we are still taking testimony. We don't know it beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty at this time. But to answer your question, to remain in an organization that is branded subversive, anti-American, I could not do it, sir.

I intend to continue my work as an individual, to try to protect and preserve this country, as it was originally intended.

Did you all get that straight, over there?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, the reason I asked you the question as to whether or not you still were, is that yesterday, while you were giving a television interview, you said that you were, and Mr. Melvin Sexton asked Mr. Manuel for us to ask you under oath today whether you still were, and that is why I asked you the question.

You know Mr. Melvin Sexton to be an official of the United Klans of America, do you not?

Mr. ROTON. I can't say that beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, to the best of my knowledge, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, let me say to you that Mr. Melvin Sexton signed the corporate tax return of the United Klans of America covering the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, as the secretary of the organization, so I would assume that would make him then an official.

Would you also make the same assumption?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, if he signed it, it is beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, and that is his signature beyond a reasonable doubt, who am I to question it?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, other than the Viola Liuzzo case, were you ever requested by the Imperial Wizard to investigate acts of violence in Alabama in which there was great rumor and suspicion that the people involved might be Klansmen?

Mr. ROTON. I can't say beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, sir, but I have, as I testified yesterday, made inquiries into different acts of violence and tried to find out the truth behind it.

Mr. APPELL. On instructions from Mr. Sheldon, or on your own?

Mr. ROTON. I do not remember.

Mr. APPELL. On September 29, 1963, Robert E. Chambliss, Charles A. Cagle, and John Wesley Hall were arrested for possessing dynamite.

At the trial they were later dismissed on the grounds that the dynamite in their possession was not within the geographical limits of the city of Birmingham and, therefore, could not be prosecuted under Birmingham jurisdiction.

Did you make an investigation to determine whether or not these three Klansmen had in fact obtained this dynamite and the use for which the dynamite was going to be used?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I didn't. The only time I had anything to do with that particular issue is I attended the trial while it was going on and made some photographs.

Mr. APPELL. Well, did you learn that one of the defendants advised that he was ordered to get this dynamite by Robert Thomas?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I don't—wait, restate that question.

Mr. APPELL. I said did you learn that one of the defendants stated that he was ordered to get the dynamite by Robert Thomas?

Mr. ROTON. I vaguely remember such a statement, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And allegedly that this dynamite was to be used to clear some ground for a new Klavern headquarters?

Mr. ROTON. I think that was in the *Birmingham News* or my local newspaper, one of the two of them.

Mr. APPELL. Now as a member of both at that time, both the Commission To Preserve The Peace and as an Imperial Investigator or an investigator appointed by the Imperial Wizard, shouldn't you have made an investigation to determine whether these were the facts of the procurement of dynamite?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, as an investigator for the Commission To Preserve The Peace, I specified that what civil disturbances in Birmingham was which I was assigned to. And if I had any knowledge of the bombings in Birmingham, as I stated to you before, I would be more than happy to give them to you.

Mr. APPELL. I realize that, sir, but you testified yesterday that you knew as a Klansman Robert Thomas.

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Now did you know Bob Chambliss to be a Klansman?

Mr. ROTON. Not beyond a reasonable doubt and moral certainty.

Mr. POOL. How would you determine whether he was a Klansman or not?

Mr. ROTON. Sir?

Mr. POOL. How would you determine whether he was a Klansman or not? Didn't your curiosity get the best of you sometimes and you would wonder whether a fellow was a Klansman or not?

Mr. ROTON. Well, of course, the news media brands people things that sometimes they are not, and with all due respect to the news media, it is good sometimes and sometimes it is bad.

Mr. POOL. We are not trying the newspaper, we are just trying to find out the facts here before this committee.

Mr. ROTON. You have to ask a person, and there is certain—

Mr. POOL. Did you ever try to find out whether a fellow was a Klansman or not?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever attend a closed Klavern meeting at which Robert E. Chambliss was present?

Mr. ROTON. Not to my knowledge, sir, I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. Well, you must know. Not to your knowledge? You don't know. You did or you did not? Chambliss is not a person who is so usual that you could attend a meeting with him and not know it.

Mr. ROTON. As I stated before, sir, I very seldom attended meetings.

Mr. APPELL. Did you attend any meetings of Eastview Klavern 13?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Where did they hold their meetings?

Mr. ROTON. On First Avenue in Birmingham—maybe it was First Avenue, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. APPELL. At any meetings of Eastview Klavern, was Robert E. Chambliss present?

Mr. ROTON. I couldn't say beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, sir. I do not know.

Mr. APPELL. Was Robert Thomas present?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; I have seen Mr. Thomas present there.

Mr. APPELL. Was Ronald Tidwell present?

Mr. ROTON. I could not say beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Was Gary Rowe present?

Mr. ROTON. I remember Mr. Rowe, not at Eastview, I don't think. I think I have seen him at different places.

Mr. APPELL. At closed Klavern meeting?

Mr. ROTON. Let's see, the last time I remember seeing Mr. Rowe was at the convention at the Tutwiler Hotel, I believe, in 1964.

Mr. POOL. Has anyone threatened you about your testimony here before this committee?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Have you talked to any Klansmen since yesterday?

Mr. ROTON. Talked to Mr. Creel. And I saw Mr. Shelton yesterday, but there was no conversation.

Mr. POOL. Did you talk to Shelton?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; there was no conversation. I have not been threatened; no, sir. I don't think I will be, either.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Roton, did you accompany a group of Alabama Klansmen to a meeting and public rally in Jacksonville, Florida, in November 1964?

Mr. ROTON. I attended that rally, yes, sir, with Mr. Creel and Mr. Murphy.

Mr. APPELL. Was Mr. Eugene Thomas there?

Mr. ROTON. I don't remember, sir, to be honest and certain.

Mr. APPELL. Was Collie Leroy Wilkins there?

Mr. ROTON. I couldn't say to be sure, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Was W. O. Eaton there?

Mr. ROTON. It is all possible. I don't know it beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What was the purpose of the Alabama Klansmen accompanying the Grand Dragon and Imperial Wizard and the Imperial Klonsel to Jacksonville?

Mr. ROTON. Myself? I went down with Mr. Creel. Mr. Murphy was already there, and he met us when we were there.

Mr. APPELL. Was there, to your knowledge, anticipation of any trouble from the members of the United Florida Klan because you were staging a public rally in Jacksonville, Florida?

Mr. ROTON. I never heard of any such, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Were you involved in any conversation which centered around William Rosecrans, the United Florida Klan member who had admitted to dynamiting the residence of Iona Godfrey and had given testimony against other members of the United Florida Klan?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, there was a lot of people present there. I don't remember, and that has been 2 years ago.

Mr. APPELL. Was J. B. Stoner there?

Mr. ROTON. I believe he was.

Mr. APPELL. He at that time, he and Mr. Murphy were cocounsel for the defendants in that case; were they not?

Mr. ROTON. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Murphy did participate in part of that. I wasn't there, sir, and I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. Did you possess any knowledge of J. B. Stoner ever being a member of a Klan organization?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. APPELL. Were you familiar with the existence of the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Never heard of them?

Mr. ROTON. Well, there is so many different Klan organizations that has been brought out during the past, it may have come to my attention, but, sir, I don't remember now.

Mr. APPELL. I mean, prior to what this investigation brought to your attention, did you possess knowledge of the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Before I break off, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Roton, what compensation have you received from the United Klans of America for expenses or salary in carrying out investigative assignments given to you by the Imperial Wizard, Mr. Robert Shelton?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, to clarify that statement, direct assignments from Mr. Shelton were not—were few and far between. I can't place them and I can't pin them down at this time, but I did this, as I have been an admitted member of the United Klans of America, and on my own, and the results of a portion of my investigations were made public and available to the United Klans of America, for release, and things of this nature.

Mr. APPELL. Prior to the time that you received an assignment from Mr. Shelton to act as an investigator for him, had you made any investigation of communism or any other "ism's"?

Mr. ROTON. I have read several of this staff's books and this committee's books.

Mr. APPELL. I asked you, prior to receiving assignment from Mr. Shelton.

Mr. ROTON. Oh; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Had you ever made investigations?

Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir; on my own, just periodic inquiries about certain things that were in my knowledge, could be detrimental to this country if they progressed.

Yes, sir; I made inquiries like that.

(At this point Representative Weltner entered the hearing room.)

Mr. APPELL. Can you tell us one that you made prior to being given an assignment by Mr. Shelton?

Mr. ROTON. I can't remember offhand, sir. That was in late 1961, but I have been very interested in this, the encroachment of the centralized government in communism, for approximately 8 years.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of Mr. Roton.

Mr. POOL. Just a moment.

Mr. ROTON. Am I released?

Mr. POOL. Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Roton, you have been very successful as an agent for the Klan in deceiving a number of people, various organizations which you infiltrated, and various employers, and keeping from them your identity as a Klansman and as an investigator for the Klan.

I appreciate your coming here and testifying before this committee—I think this is highly commendable, I wish we had had more people who were willing to do so.

While I won't challenge either your testimony or your reasons as stated by you for your activities, that is, you spoke of working, out of patriotism, to preserve the Constitution, for better government, against communism, and so forth, but may I respectfully say that if in good conscience, you had been working all this time for the Ku Klux Klan, believing you were working for patriotism, for better government, to preserve the Constitution, for the prosperity of both races, and against communism, in my considered judgment, you have deceived yourself more than all the others put together.

Do you believe, sir, that the Ku Klux Klan has been guilty of no acts of terrorism or violence during this period in which you were working for it?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I can't say beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty. No more than——

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. ROTON. But could I restate what I stated awhile ago, Mr. Buchanan? That the basic belief of the Klan is certainly not bad. It is in God and country. Be patriotic—worship God and be patriotic toward your country.

Now there's—you can take any organization in the world, and take its bad members and crucify it. Just as I say, and I hope this committee, and I hope my testimony has helped this committee, because I would do nothing to destroy the Committee on Un-American Activities. I will help it in any way I can. All I want it to do is more, continued investigations, the Black Muslims, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare,<sup>1</sup> and other cover names of the Communist Party. And if I can ever be of any assistance in my records or anything that I can investigate, I would certainly be willing to do so at my own expense.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Well, I will say again I don't challenge your motivation and I appreciate your willingness to testify here; I wish others had done so.

I will only say that if we could all believe the preachments of the Klan as in "The Principle of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," which has already been entered in this record (Allen Bayne Exhibit No. 1; report pp. —) and which says, "We believe in God and the tenets of the Christian religion," and so forth, if we can accept the picture of the Klan as indicated in this "Seven Sym-

<sup>1</sup> This organization went out of existence in 1949 and was succeeded by the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

bols of The Klan" that has already been introduced into the record (Allen Bayne Exhibit No. 3), in which the robe is described as a robe of righteousness and compared to one to be worn by the Hosts of Heaven, and so forth, if this were an honest, accurate picture of the Klan, we might all do well to join it.

But may I say, sir—I imagine you are a church member, as I am——  
Mr. ROTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. If the church of which I am a part became so widely associated with acts of terrorism and violence that the average citizen would consider it common knowledge that that church was carrying out acts of violence and terrorism, if as much evidence and testimony had been uncovered about the church of which I am a part as has been through these hearings about the Klan—indeed, in which we have had evidence and testimony uncovered about all sorts of activities, bombings, beatings, burnings, and worse—I rather believe that sooner or later I would begin to doubt that this was an organization that was, in fact, serving the purposes of Christianity and morality and, in time, would come to a decision that I must disassociate myself from that organization, if I were myself going to stand for the principles of Christianity, morality, Americanism, or anything else good. So, therefore, sir, I would strongly advise you to take a good hard look at this record and I believe that if you take an honest look at the record uncovered here, together with that which is common—at least believed by many citizens to be common knowledge concerning activities of Klan members, the convictions, the indictments on which there have not been convictions, the constant association with violence and terrorism, that you will be forced, in time, to the conclusion that this is not a proper way to express your desire to serve your country or to work for God and country.

I strongly recommend you take a good, hard look.

Mr. ROTON. I will do just that, Mr. Buchanan, and I hope this committee takes a good, strong look in other things.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Weltner?

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Roton, I appreciate your willingness to testify, but I would like to ask, along the same lines as Mr. Buchanan, with regard to the documents put out by the United Klans of America, what is the reason for the secrecy of membership of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, in many organizations there is secrecy—the Masonic Order and the Knights of Columbus and the Shrine—and to bring such a fine organization as a Masonic Order to Washington to the House Un-American Activities Committee would be one of the worst things that has ever happened in this country.

It is freedom of association and freedom of speech and tearing down the basic fundamentals of the Constitution of this United States.

Now the secrecy, the complete oath, as I understand it, and to the best of my ability, and to the best of my recollection, has been introduced before this committee, as it was introduced, given to me yesterday to read, and in its entirety, it is not un-American.

But as I have said before, certain individuals there have, if it is proved beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, and without the swaying of the public opinion——

Mr. WELTNER. Well, Mr. Roton, I appreciate that, within the Masonic Orders and within the Knights of Columbus, there is some secrecy as to ritual and as to obligations taken by members, and that is certainly true.

But I read every day in the paper where someone has been elected as Imperial Potentate of a Shrine or as a Grand Pilot of the Knights of Columbus or as the Worshipful Master of the Masonic Lodge, and under that is a complete list of all the officers, and these men take pride in their membership. They don't hide their membership. They don't deny that they are members of a secret fraternal brotherhood.

Now the question is not as to the secrecy of ritual, but the secrecy of membership. Why is it necessary for Klansmen to keep their membership in the Klan a secret from the general public and indeed, in some circumstances, a secret from each other?

Why is that necessary? Why does that foster the aims of country and patriotism in the Constitution?

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I can't answer your question, because I do not know. I was not one who was a framer of that oath there.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, you took an oath not to disclose the identity of your fellow Klansmen; did you not?

Mr. ROTON. That has been 7 years ago, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, why did you take it then? Why were you willing to?

Mr. ROTON. If that was in there, I possibly did. I do not remember it. But to testify, and as this organization is under fire now, if I knew, I have told this committee what I know, and to try to tell it to the best of my knowledge and ability, but to ask me to say beyond a reasonable doubt and a moral certainty, when I have not asked whether a man is associated with this organization, I could not say.

I would be perjuring myself before this committee.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, I am not directing myself to any specific identification of any members. I am more interested in what are the ideals of the Klansmen and what are the principles of the Klan. The thing that sets the Klan off from all of these other organizations which maintain certain portions of their functions in secret, is the secrecy of the membership itself.

I know of no other organization in this country where a member is instructed to deceive others as to whether or not he is a member of such an organization, with the possible exception of the John Birch Society, which I understand had some, at one time, secrecy-of-membership policy.

But now I would like to know what it is about the Klan that requires its members to maintain their identities as secrets and all of the activities and functions of the Klan as secrets. And if you can answer that, fine. If you can't answer it, we do not expect you to testify to anything of which you have no knowledge.

Mr. ROTON. I can't honestly say, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, now, let me ask you one other question: Within this document, "The Seven Symbols of The Klan," there is contained this statement: "The secret of our power lies in the secrecy of our membership."

Now, what is your understanding of that statement?

First, do you agree that the secret of the power of the Klan lies in the secrecy of its membership?

Mr. ROTON. I don't know, sir. I would have to study it. It could mean anything. It could mean a political power.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you agree that that is the secret of the power of the Klan? The secrecy of its membership?

Mr. ROTON. I couldn't say whether it is or not. The Klan does some good work.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, I am not asking that. I am asking one question only, about secrecy, and that is a matter that we have had no one to come here and tell us about. No one has been willing to answer these questions, and I am hoping you can help this committee.

You stated it is your desire to help this committee to make a sound and proper evaluation of the subject matter of this investigation. And it seems to me like the central issue is the reason for maintaining secrecy of identity and secrecy of activities and secrecy of functions. So I am asking you whether or not you agree, as a Klansman and as one who has held high office in the Klan, that the secret of the power of the Klan is the secrecy of its membership.

Mr. ROTON. Sir, I could not say.

Mr. WELTNER. All right.

Mr. POOL. I will ask you one further question, then.

Do you think that the membership of the Klan should be made public?

Mr. ROTON. In the capacity that I served, sir, I identified myself as a member.

Mr. POOL. I know you did, and that is why I am asking you that question.

Mr. ROTON. But there has been releases in several different newspaper articles and magazine articles come out, and they are trying to pit one individual against another, by saying that, as soon as a membership or a name is obtained, a certain agency of the Federal Government would call on them, and I quote from last month's *Reader's Digest*, where the outer den of a Klavern was filled with snakes, poisonous snakes, to be put in cars of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. And that was the greatest, undoubtedly the masterpiece of a submarine report of an organization.

I know of no such activities. And to subject the American people to such knowledge as that, or such hypothetical doings and questions, is not true newspaper reporting and article-writing, and it is very difficult to understand why the organization is under fire now. And, as I stated before this committee, should it be put on subversive activities list, I would immediately resign. But the basic principles of God and country, you can't deny that, gentlemen.

Mr. POOL. The point is that the membership and the officials are kept secret, and as Mr. Weltner pointed out to you, the "Symbols" states that the secrecy is their greatest weapon.

Mr. ROTON. That could mean, sir, a political weapon or something of that nature. I have no idea.

Mr. POOL. Why did you come forth and say that you were a member of the Ku Klux Klan? You weren't afraid to say that.

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Why should the other members of the Ku Klux Klan be afraid to say that?

Mr. ROTON. I do not know, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you disagree with the the other members, because you have come forth and said you were a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. ROTON. Well, it is a man's own prerogative on what he wants to do.

Mr. POOL. But you can't see any reason not to say that, can you?

Mr. ROTON. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. You will be temporarily excused.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I just want to say once again, Mr. Chairman, that because this has been so rare, for a member of this organization, admitting himself to be a member, to testify before this committee, I again want to express my appreciation of his having done so.

We obviously rather violently disagree on the nature of this organization, but may I say that I appreciate Mr. Roton's presence and his testimony. I know it was not without courage. He may be in trouble with the Klan, as well as not being too popular in this area, perhaps, but I appreciate your coming, sir.

Mr. ROTON. Thank you, sir.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Roton, you will temporarily step aside and will come back before the committee after the next witness.

In all probability, there will be some other questions to be asked you. You will still be under oath when you come back and you will temporarily step aside and do not leave until you are excused, one way or the other.

Mr. ROTON. All right, sir.

Mr. POOL. Call the next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, at this time, the staff would like to call Mr. Robert Milton Creel.

Mr. POOL. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CREEL. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT MILTON CREEL

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, would you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. CREEL. Robert Milton Creel.

Mr. MANUEL. And are you accompanied by counsel today?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Are you aware of your rights granted to you under the Constitution of the United States to invoke the fifth amendment on any question which you believe might incriminate you?

Mr. CREEL. I don't fully understand all the rights, but I wish to testify before this committee, and if I violate any of my rights, I will be doing it on my own.

Mr. POOL. If any question is asked you that you think might tend to incriminate you in any way, then you have the perfect right to take

the guarantees of the fifth amendment and you can so notify the committee.

Also, if you later on find that you do desire counsel, we will recess long enough for you to obtain counsel.

Mr. CREEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. And you do not care for counsel at this time?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Now have you read the opening statement of the chairman on October the 19th, 1965?

Mr. CREEL. October 19th; yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. You have read the statement. A copy of it was furnished to you?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Are you familiar with the contents and understand them?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, when and where were you born?

Mr. CREEL. The 5th of October, 1930, at Lisman, Alabama.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I attended grammar school at Pratt City, graduated from there, attended briefly at Ensley, then we moved to Hopewell, Virginia, where I finished 2 years of high school there, which would be the 10th, and that is the extent of that, besides self-study.

Mr. MANUEL. What is your current address, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. 1100 South Shiloh, Linden, Alabama.

Mr. MANUEL. And what is your current occupation?

Mr. CREEL. Unemployed at this time.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you give the committee a brief résumé of your occupational background since 1960?

Mr. CREEL. Since 1960, I believe I was working for U.S. Pipe and Foundry Company at the Bessemer plant as a machinist.

Mr. MANUEL. And how long did you continue employment with that company?

Mr. CREEL. Up until, I think, of March of last year.

Mr. MANUEL. And at March of 1965; is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And where were you employed subsequent to your employment with the U.S. Pipe?

Mr. CREEL. I resigned from U.S. Pipe and Foundry Company and went full time as Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you paid a salary by the United Klans of America?

Mr. CREEL. Well, we always talked about it, but we never got around to it.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, did you receive any—

Mr. CREEL. I received expenses and household expenses, things of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Was that a consistent figure, each month or each week?

Mr. CREEL. Well, it varied. It was according to how much traveling I done, but my household expenses was consistent.

Mr. MANUEL. And how much was that, sir?

Mr. CREEL. Oh, to put it right to the dollar, I couldn't say.

Mr. MANUEL. Approximately? How much did you receive each month?

Mr. CREEL. Anywhere from \$400 to \$500, or \$450 or something along that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. And how were you paid?

Mr. CREEL. By check.

Mr. MANUEL. Who issued the check?

Mr. CREEL. I believe Mr. Sexton issued the checks.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, would you further identify Mr. Sexton?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I believe that was identified by the checks, as being on the account as the—let me think of the proper title—treasurer.

Mr. MANUEL. Now of what organization was he the treasurer?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I hope it is under United Klans of America. That's what the bank account was established as.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Where was that bank account maintained, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. Birmingham Trust National Bank in Bessemer.

Mr. MANUEL. And who were allowed to sign checks for that?

Mr. CREEL. Myself and Mr. Sexton.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Creel, when did you first become a member of a Klan organization, and will you please identify the organization by name?

Mr. CREEL. I believe the—it was in 1955. The exact month, I don't remember, but it seems like it was in March. It might have been earlier. 1955, at that time, in Alabama, every one in Alabama operated under the what we called the old U.S. Klans, which was under—I think, the Imperial Wizard at that time was Mr. E. L. Edwards, who has passed. He is deceased.

Mr. MANUEL. And would you please describe for the committee the circumstances surrounding your being affiliated with this organization? How did you become a member?

Mr. CREEL. Well, at that time, practically everyone was a member. It was really something else just to be able to get in the Klan. I don't remember if I joined at a rally, or I did attend a rally. I think they had one in Midfield at that time. I don't remember.

Mr. MANUEL. And did you pay an initiation fee at that time?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; but it was quite small. I don't remember what the initiation fee was.

Mr. MANUEL. Who administered the oath to you in order for you to become a Klansman?

Mr. CREEL. That's a good question because, as you know, we have an antimask law in the State of Alabama, but you can wear a mask down—inside or on private property, and at that time, during naturalization ceremonies, everyone was robed.

I couldn't honestly say who gave me my naturalization.

Mr. MANUEL. And what Klavern were you a member of in the U.S. Klans?

Mr. CREEL. I think it was Bessemer 20.

Mr. MANUEL. How long did you remain a member of the U.S. Klans?

Mr. CREEL. Until it went to Alabama Klans.

Mr. MANUEL. And what year was that?

Mr. CREEL. I don't remember what year it was. I think it remained Alabama Klans for about a year, and then that's when we all got together, over at Indian Springs, and formed what is now the United Klans.

Mr. MANUEL. All right, we will get to that in just a minute.

Could you please first tell the committee why the organization changed from the U.S. Klans to the Alabama Klans?

Mr. CREEL. Well, that's quite simple. At that time, the power structure of the Klan was more or less—I hate to say this—kind of like a dictatorship, and the people of Alabama didn't like to see anyone set themselves up as “I am the Almighty.” It wasn't democratic.

Mr. MANUEL. Who was the Grand Dragon of the U.S. Klans at the time immediately preceding the time that it switched into the Alabama Knights?

Mr. CREEL. I believe prior to that time, under U.S. Klans, I think Mr. Alvin Horn was Grand Dragon at that time.

Mr. MANUEL. And whom did he replace in that job?

Mr. CREEL. Whom did who replace?

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Horn.

Mr. CREEL. He was Grand Dragon when I came in. I don't know who he replaced.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever know Robert Shelton to be the Grand Dragon of the U.S. Klans in the State of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. How long did he hold that position?

Mr. CREEL. I couldn't honestly say. I don't really know. I mean, I didn't keep track of the time. Maybe a year. I don't have any idea.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know whether or not he was replaced as Grand Dragon by Imperial Wizard Eldon Edwards of the U.S. Klan?

Mr. CREEL. I think it was rumored at one time he was going to be replaced. I don't know. I don't have knowledge of that. I mean, I don't testify on rumors, or if I had direct knowledge, then I could honestly say, but I have no direct knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. All right. At the time that Mr. Shelton was the Grand Dragon of the U.S. Klans, did you hold any office?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Manuel, when was Shelton the Grand Dragon of the U.S. Klan?

Mr. MANUEL. He was Grand Dragon two different periods, Mr. Chairman. Both, I believe, in 1959 and the early part of 1960.

Mr. POOL. When did the witness say that he became a member?

Mr. MANUEL. The witness says he became a member in 1955.

Mr. Creel, did you hold a position in the Alabama Knights, an official position in the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. CREEL. Not to my knowledge. I was trying to think when I was first elected to an official position. I don't believe I did.

Mr. MANUEL. When was the first time you held an official position in a Klan organization?

Mr. CREEL. I think the first time I ever held an elective position, I believe it was as EC of the Bessemer Unit.

Mr. MANUEL. And what was the approximate date of that?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I held about—I am trying to remember if it was two or three terms of office. I believe it was two terms of office and maybe part of another one. I don't remember.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, can you give an approximate date as to when you were first elected?

Mr. CREEL. Oh, let's see. I would say maybe in '62. I am guessing now. I could be wrong.

Mr. MANUEL. Now you stated just a little while ago that in 1961 there was a meeting at Indian Springs, where the United Klans of America was formed.

Would you please tell the committee the circumstances surrounding that meeting and what was accomplished at that meeting?

Mr. CREEL. Well, at that time, I think probably this committee already knows that were numerous Klan groups that was operating throughout the South. And it seems like that every time anyone would come along, they wanted to form a Klan organization of their own, and we seen that we were getting a lot of bad publicity, acts that were of violence that was contributed, maybe, to the Klan, and there was no coordination, and to have a further control, to be able to positively say that maybe this act of violence was not committed by this group, so most of the leadership, I don't remember at that time, of the various Klan groups, that got together at Indian Springs, Virginia, indicated their offices came up with a new constitution and formed what is now United Klans, to do away with the splinter groups—that's what we used to refer to them—and to build a good, solid South.

I mean, of where that would, if there was any act of violence, and it seemed like every time anything was ever done, they say the Klan done it, and that's why I am testifying before this committee, is because I know there is good people in the State of Alabama, and they have been accused of acts that I know they didn't commit, and that was one reason, that was some of the things that was taken into consideration.

Mr. MANUEL. Now other than the position of exalted cyclops of Bessemer Unit No. 20, have you held any other office in the United Klans of America?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir. I held the office as great titan, which is over a province, and a province consists now of a congressional district.

Mr. MANUEL. And during what period of time did you hold that office, Mr. Creel, to the best of your memory?

Mr. CREEL. I would say from maybe 1961, 1962. It might have been longer, it might have been less.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you held any other office?

Mr. CREEL. Well, that office is Grand Dragon. I think you know about that.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, how did you obtain that office?

Mr. CREEL. By an election.

Mr. MANUEL. And where was the election held?

Mr. CREEL. If I am not mistaken, I believe it was held at the Tutwiler Hotel.

Mr. MANUEL. And what was the date of that election, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. I am afraid you will have to give me that. I don't remember.

Mr. MANUEL. Can you give me an approximate date?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I can't. It seems like it was in—I would just rather not answer, because I would give you maybe the wrong date, but I am not too much on dates and things of that nature. If you will refresh my memory, then maybe I can answer as to that was the date or not.

Mr. MANUEL. All right, we will get to that a bit later. First, tell the committee how long you served as Grand Dragon for the United Klans of America, Realm of Alabama.

Mr. CREEL. I just resigned.

Mr. MANUEL. You say you just resigned?

Mr. CREEL. Well, when I say I resigned, I didn't run for reelection. I will put it that way.

Mr. MANUEL. When was the last election held in Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. I believe it was held the first Sunday in January. I believe.

Mr. MANUEL. And who is the current Grand Dragon of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. I think he has identified himself as Mr. Brassell, from Montgomery.

Mr. MANUEL. What is his first name, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know his first name. I suppose it is William. They call him Bill. I think that's the—

Mr. MANUEL. Were you a Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama at the time you were served a subpoena by this committee?

Mr. CREEL. On the first one; yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. You say you did not run for reelection. Did you also resign from the Klan?

Mr. CREEL. Well, the committee hearings had nothing to do, Mr. Chairman, by me resigning from the Klan.

Mr. POOL. Well, I understand that, but—

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir. I had always made it a policy—I don't mind telling this committee—it was broadcasted from California to Maine, of the incident in Pascagoula, Mississippi, and I had always made it a policy of the organization that if anyone got into any trouble, as far as I was concerned, they was on their own, and I am no better than any of the rest of them. And so, therefore, I resigned until I can either prove my innocence or they find me guilty.

Mr. POOL. You did resign from the Klan.

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. You are not a member of the Klan.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And Mr. Creel, are you appearing here this morning in response to the subpoena which I just referred to?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And was that subpoena served upon you on November 12,<sup>1</sup> 1965?

Mr. CREEL. I would say somewhere around that time.

<sup>1</sup> Actual date of service November 11, 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. At your residence, 1100 Shiloh, Linden, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; by a U.S. marshal.

Mr. MANUEL. At that time, you were the Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama. Is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, an attachment made part of this subpoena orders and directs you to produce, and I shall read paragraph 1 of that subpoena:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, Whiteman's Defense Fund, Heritage Enterprises, Inc., in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as Grand Dragon, Realm of Alabama of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity listed in the first paragraph of that subpoena, I now ask you, sir, to produce the documents called for.

Mr. CREEL. Well, if you will just tell me what you want, and then I will tell you what I have, and what I have is mostly me. I can bring you my robe up here. I think that's all I have, and it wasn't my job, I would like to explain to the investigator, Mr. Chairman, to maintain records, which there is no doubt in my mind there is records kept.

I would be glad to cooperate with this committee. If I had any records, I would be glad to produce the records. I am just about like Mr. Roton. About all I have is a newspaper clippings and things of that nature, and if you would like to have them, I will be more than glad to present them to the committee.

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, your testimony, as I understand it, is that a Grand Dragon of a State does not keep records.

Mr. CREEL. I believe if you will—which I have seen Mr. Appell referring to the constitution, he was reading out the duties of the various officers, that's their jobs, to keep the records.

Mr. MANUEL. Does anyone in the realm, any realm officer, keep records?

Mr. CREEL. I believe that they would abide by the constitution.

Mr. MANUEL. And in that regard, would you tell the committee what the constitution says?

Mr. CREEL. Well, if you will give me a copy of it. I can't tell you what it says, but I think it reads out the duties of the officers. I haven't got that good of a memory.

Incidentally, it doesn't even relate as to the Grand Dragon's duties in here, I don't think I have ever read it, but usually, he acts as the—along with the EC:

The Kligrapp is the secretary and recording officer of the Klan. He shall keep an accurate and complete record of all the proceedings of his Klan assembled, and a correct and systematic record of its membership, and of the date each member was naturalized, etc., as required by the record book for that purpose. He shall make a report through the proper channels [sic] to the proper officers not later than the 10th of the month for the calendar month \* \* \*.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, as Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama, were you not, as I understand the constitution, the proper officer to whom these Klavern officials would report?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. I don't see any need of them sending them to me. I wasn't the proper officer.

Mr. POOL. What were your duties as Grand Dragon?

Mr. CREEL. I mostly organized, had rallies, attended rallies, and things of that nature. Naturally, during a State meeting, we would call for reports of things from the various sections of the State, but this is mostly oral.

Mr. POOL. Did you hire investigators?

Mr. CREEL. Sir?

Mr. POOL. Did you hire investigators?

Mr. CREEL. I don't think we had to hire any investigators, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Did you assign anybody to investigate?

Mr. CREEL. I think under the constitution, I believe the klookann committee acts as an investigator of a unit.

Mr. POOL. What are some of your duties as Grand Dragon? What did you do?

Mr. CREEL. Well, we held State meetings. I more or less was acting as a presiding chairman of the meetings, such as you are acting today, and called for reports and things of that nature.

Mr. POOL. Did you keep a record of anything?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I didn't keep records. The recording secretary, or the kligrapp.

Mr. POOL. Did you sign checks?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Did you keep an account of your checks you signed?

Mr. CREEL. That came along with the treasurer.

Mr. POOL. The treasurer kept all the canceled checks?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; and he takes care of reading out the financial statements and things of that nature.

Mr. POOL. Did you check to see if he kept all those records?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. That was part of your duties?

Mr. CREEL. Well, it wasn't part of my duties. I think it is a duty of every Klansman to not only check to see if he is doing his job, but to see if I am doing my job.

Mr. POOL. If he was not keeping accurate records, what would you have done?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I think it is provided for charges to be made, in the constitution, against any individual if things of that nature should occur.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, as Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama, were you a member of the Imperial Klonvokation at any time?

Mr. CREEL. I think I had a vote, but as being a member of the Imperial, what you might refer to as the Imperial Board, I really don't even know if I was a member of the board or not. I know I had a vote as such, as being an officer of the realm.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you as Grand Dragon ever receive any reports of the Imperial Klonvokation?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; we always—I didn't receive them, I don't remember if I have ever received any on paper. It seems like we did one time, but I don't remember when it was, but we always set up a

committee, and they go over the books and give a report to the klonvocation.

Mr. POOL. Who kept the charter?

Mr. CREEL. Beg your pardon, sir?

Mr. POOL. Did you have a charter?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Who kept that?

Mr. CREEL. I ordered charters out of the imperial offices as they were needed.

Mr. POOL. Was that your duty to keep that?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; it is not my duty to keep the charters. It is my duty to order the charters as I charter new units.

Mr. POOL. Did you keep a copy of the letter where you ordered charters?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I didn't make copies of the letters, just write and say, "Send me five charters," and tell them what county it is going in, or something of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, to your direct and certain knowledge, who keeps the Klan records on the imperial level?

Mr. CREEL. I suppose Mr. Shelton has a staff at the imperial office that takes care of the records.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, how do you know that?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know it. I said, I suppose.

Mr. MANUEL. Any other officer keep any records?

Mr. CREEL. I certainly hope they do.

Mr. POOL. Your testimony is that you had no correspondence at all, as far as copies were concerned.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I didn't make copies.

Mr. POOL. But you did write letters.

Mr. CREEL. I didn't have a—excuse me, Mr. Chairman. I didn't have a secretary, and what typing I do, it is a hunt-and-peck system, and I can't hardly—

Mr. POOL. You kept no memorandum of what went out. You kept no memorandum of what went on as far as your duties and usual activities are concerned.

Mr. CREEL. Oh, naturally, I think I kept most of it in my head. I mean, we had State meetings, in which I reported the activities of the things that had happened during the month.

Mr. POOL. What type of business are you in?

Mr. CREEL. I am not in a business now, sir.

Mr. POOL. You do not have a business?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. I hope when I get through with these hearings, I will have a business, doing something. It might be digging a ditch, but—

Mr. MANUEL. Then it is further testimony, Mr. Creel, as I understand it, that the Constitution and Laws, as you interpret them, did not require you to maintain any records as Grand Dragon or chief officer of the realm.

Mr. CREEL. I think it was—it is designated in the constitution as to the duties of each officer. I mean, if they are not going to have any duties, why have an officer?

Mr. MANUEL. Well, did you ever have any correspondence with the Imperial Wizard?

Mr. CREEL. I mostly talked to the Imperial Wizard either by phone or I would make a trip to the office in Tuscaloosa. Of course, I didn't have too many needs to be with Mr. Shelton, as far as that went.

Mr. MANUEL. How did the realm report to the imperial level?

Mr. CREEL. Imperial office? They sent reports.

Mr. MANUEL. Who sent them?

Mr. CREEL. The kligrapps.

Mr. MANUEL. And in order to send them, he must have kept some records.

Mr. CREEL. I suppose Mr. Shelton has records.

Mr. MANUEL. No, I am talking about you.

Mr. POOL. Do you sign the reports?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I didn't sign—I didn't send Mr. Shelton? Were you referring to me as if they send the reports to me, and I send them to Mr. Shelton?

Mr. MANUEL. No, all I am trying to determine is, to your certain knowledge, who on the realm level is responsible for making reports?

Mr. CREEL. Each exalted cyclops.

Mr. MANUEL. Do they report directly to the imperial office?

Mr. CREEL. To the imperial office; that's right.

Mr. MANUEL. And what do they report?

Mr. CREEL. Membership, how many dropped out, how many new members, just a general report, like any fraternal organization would carry.

Mr. MANUEL. Do they list the identity of members on those records?

Mr. CREEL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. And how are membership records kept?

Mr. CREEL. That is up to the individual Klavern.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, it seems that if—

Mr. CREEL. I mean, some puts the name down in dues books and some puts numbers down.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, then, your testimony is that each individual Klavern reports directly to the imperial office, as I understand it.

Mr. CREEL. That is correct.

Mr. POOL. Is that merely for Alabama, or is that the system all over?

Mr. CREEL. That's for Alabama. I don't know how it is all over, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Is that because Shelton was formerly the Grand Dragon of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Sir?

Mr. POOL. Is that because Shelton was formerly the Grand Dragon of Alabama at one time?

Mr. CREEL. I really can't answer that question. I don't know by him being Grand Dragon had anything to do with this or not.

Mr. POOL. Well, I am just asking the question. You don't know, is that right?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right, just answer the question.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, Mr. Creel, in light of your statement that the Klaverns report all records, as I understand your testimony, directly

to the imperial level, how do you, or how did you, as Grand Dragon of your realm, know what was going on in the Klaverns?

Mr. CREEL. From State meetings.

Mr. MANUEL. And were records kept of those State meetings?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; they were kept of State meetings.

Mr. MANUEL. Didn't any State officer retain a copy of those minutes?

Mr. CREEL. Certainly, that's his responsibilities to read the minutes. You always read the minutes of the preceding klonvokation.

Mr. MANUEL. All right. Now, who, as a realm officer, kept those records?

Mr. CREEL. Well, we have had three or four. I am trying to think who was what. I am trying to think who the man's name——

Mr. POOL. Who sent out notices of the State meetings?

Mr. CREEL. I sent out the notices.

Mr. POOL. You did not keep copies of the notices you sent out?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I just made out enough copies for each one. Make out——

Mr. POOL. You make a memorandum of who attended the State meetings?

Mr. CREEL. I can tell you who is supposed to attend. Anyone can attend, any individual member, but we usually required the exalted cyclops and the secretary and treasurer to attend.

Mr. POOL. Did you keep a memorandum of who attended the State meetings, when you had one?

Mr. CREEL. Not to any names.

Mr. POOL. Didn't have a rolcall, or anything like that.

Mr. CREEL. Oh, we would have a rolcall of officers.

Mr. POOL. All right. Who kept the record on that?

Mr. CREEL. The recording secretary.

Mr. POOL. Who was that?

Mr. CREEL. I am trying to think of his name, Mr. Chairman. I don't want to name the wrong man, and then this man say, "I am not the recording secretary."

Mr. POOL. While you are trying to think of his name, we will come back to that.

Mr. MANUEL. We will come back to it.

Mr. CREEL. All right, sir.

Mr. POOL. Now I want to ask you this: When you resigned as Grand Dragon and resigned from the Ku Klux Klan, did you turn any records over to the next man, or to anybody?

Mr. CREEL. What I turned over to the Grand Dragon, the present Grand Dragon, was mostly what you have a copy of, paraphernalia and literature, P.A. system, things of that nature.

Mr. POOL. The charter?

Mr. CREEL. What charters?

Mr. POOL. The charter?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. You were directly responsible for having the charter?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I wasn't directly responsible. I had a couple of blank charters——

Mr. POOL. But you turned over the charter to the next Grand Dragon.

Mr. CREEL. Yes.

Mr. POOL. All right. You have in your possession, now, you have no records or memoranda as called for in this subpena.

Is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I think I have a memorandum on——

Mr. POOL. Well, let us see the subpena.

Mr. CREEL. All right, sir, I have a memorandum on some finances, in which I had a copy of.

Mr. POOL. Do you want to turn that in to the committee now?

Mr. CREEL. I don't have it with me. I will be glad to get it for you.

Mr. POOL. Will you turn it in to the committee?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you have any books?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I have no books.

Mr. POOL. Any records?

Mr. CREEL. No records.

Mr. POOL. Documents?

Mr. CREEL. No documents.

Mr. POOL. No copies of correspondence?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. I might have some old letters at home, maybe some people that wrote me. I will be glad to turn them over.

Mr. POOL. All right. Memoranda related to the organization and the conduct of the business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America.

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. That is your statement then. All right. Go ahead.

When you turned this charter over to the Grand Dragon, you had already been served a subpena. Is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; but I believe Mr. Appell probably could furnish you a copy of a charter. It is just like any other charter.

Mr. POOL. What were the two things you turned over to the Grand Dragon?

Mr. CREEL. That was just a blank charter. Oh, it was just regular Klan literature, envelopes, things of that nature.

Mr. POOL. You did not feel like they would come under this subpena?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; it wouldn't have helped the committee. I mean——

Mr. POOL. All right.

(At this point Mr. Weltner left the hearing room.)

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Creel, for the record, I want to read paragraph 2 of your subpena, which states:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as Grand Dragon, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

I would ask you at this time, in the representative capacity named in paragraph 2, to turn over those documents to the committee.

Mr. CREEL. I wish I could clarify that, please, because I don't understand everything involved there. I hope I made it clear to this committee as that it actually wasn't my job to maintain these things

and so, therefore, I didn't have knowledge—I mean, they are not in my possession, and I can't go to a man and say, "Give me those records. I am going to take them and give them to the committee."

Mr. POOL. You didn't get rid of the records to keep this committee from getting them?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. As Grand Dragon of the Realm of Alabama, you did not have control over the realm records. Is that your testimony?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; that officer was elected for that responsibility, just as I was elected for a responsibility. That's why I am here testifying before this committee. I feel like that the majority of the Klansmen in the State of Alabama wanted someone to testify before this committee.

Mr. MANUEL. All right.

At the time that you received this subpoena calling for the production of books, records, documents, and correspondence, and so forth, did you talk to the proper official in the Realm of Alabama for the purpose of turning over such records?

Mr. CREEL. I think it was discussed, in which, as a matter of fact, that's why I made up my mind that I was going to testify, that—

Mr. MANUEL. All right. Now with whom was this—

Mr. CREEL. I will let you ask your question.

Mr. MANUEL. Now with whom was this discussed?

Mr. CREEL. It was discussed in a State meeting, as to the action. And as a matter of fact, I asked the—which I called the controlling factor of the organization is the membership, and I will always feel like that maybe as Mr. Chairman feels up there, he is just serving his constituents, and I felt like that's what I was doing, and I asked the State at that time what would be the proper action, and in which they could have been the only one that could have authorized me to seize any records from any officer. I didn't have the power to seize records. I don't even have the power to banish anyone as far as that goes.

Mr. POOL. How long were you Grand Dragon?

Mr. CREEL. Actively?

Mr. POOL. Yes.

Mr. CREEL. I would say from March up until this year.

Mr. POOL. During that time, is it your testimony that you never had any of these records?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; not in my possession.

Mr. POOL. You never had any in your possession.

Mr. CREEL. I think you are speaking of like—

Mr. POOL. The things called for in the subpoena.

Mr. CREEL. Like records of the meetings and things of that nature? No, sir.

Mr. POOL. The very things that are called for in the subpoena.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. You never had them in your possession?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. Could you have had them in your possession?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I never thought about having them in my possession because, as I just stated, that was his specific duty, as it might

be in any organization. If that individual is elected for that position, then he serves that position.

Mr. POOL. You never did ask to look at them?

Mr. CREEL. Oh, naturally, I have heard the records read over. I mean, from klonvokation to klonvokation. What I am speaking, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. POOL. It is your testimony, then, that you never did have them in your possession at all.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Now Mr. Creel, you stated that you took this question up with the general membership at a State meeting. Is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. That is right.

Mr. MANUEL. What was the decision of the membership?

Mr. CREEL. Well, at that time, I think that was when the hearings was first getting underway, I think the membership voted that people would take the fifth amendment, but I think after the hearings has continued, I think there has been a change of heart in the membership.

Mr. MANUEL. You say the people voted to take the fifth amendment?

Mr. CREEL. In other words, I asked the body what would they like for me to do, and they said, well, and this is a time prior to me being here—they voted that maybe I should take the fifth amendment. Of course, maybe they didn't know all the facts at that time, but I think since then, I think after talking to most of the people, I think they really wanted someone to come up here and defend them, because, basically, the people in the Klan—and I listened to Mr. Buchanan's statement—they are good people, and I just can't—it is hard for me to believe. I think I talked to Mr. Appell out in the hall yesterday. It is hard for me to believe of the accusations that has been cast against the people of the great State of Alabama, and they are good people.

Mr. POOL. Why didn't you bring the records up here today, then, to substantiate what you have just said?

Mr. CREEL. If I had some records, Mr. Chairman, I would have brought them.

Mr. POOL. Why didn't you you have them vote to give you the records to bring them up here?

Now if you really want to make a statement and bring the records up here and lay it out on the table, that is what you should have done.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I said I didn't—

Mr. POOL. You said you never had any records and you said you turned over the charter to the next Grand Dragon.

Mr. CREEL. That's not a record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. That is a document, and it is in the subpoena right here. We asked you to bring it up here. Now if you want to cooperate with the committee, we are giving you a chance to cooperate.

Mr. CREEL. If I violated any part of that subpoena, then I done it through ignorance.

Mr. POOL. You told us what you did with the documents. You got the subpoena, and then you turned it over to the Grand Dragon that succeeded you.

Mr. CREEL. I have told you I have turned over the paraphernalia and things of that nature. You asked me was a charter involved. I believe it was one blank charter.

Mr. POOL. We appreciate your cooperation, but the way of thinking here, you have got to cooperate a hundred percent. You are not cooperating a hundred percent, because you are not bringing these records up here. That is what we asked you up here for, that is why we gave you that subpoena.

Go ahead.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, with further regard to the State meeting that you just mentioned, would you please advise the committee when and where this meeting was held?

Mr. CREEL. I believe it was held in Linden. It was on a Sunday, I believe. I don't remember exactly the date.

Mr. MANUEL. Was it shortly after you had received this subpoena?

Mr. CREEL. I am trying to remember if I had received the subpoena. I believe we had the meeting before I received, the Sunday—did you say I got that on the 12th?

Mr. MANUEL. The date on this subpoena is November the 12th.

Mr. CREEL. I believe we had that meeting prior to me receiving the subpoena, because I hadn't received it yet. I believe it was still in Birmingham.

Mr. MANUEL. And how many people were present at this meeting?

Mr. CREEL. That's a good question. It was a houseful.

Mr. MANUEL. Was it held at a private house?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. It was held at a Klavern.

Mr. MANUEL. And what is the location of the Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I think it is right there in Linden. They have a big sign up, says "Klavern, United Klans of America." It is right out of town.

Mr. MANUEL. And were there other people there, Mr. Creel, who had either received subpoenas from the committee or who would, as the facts turn out, have received a subpoena?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know if they had actually received any or not. I know there was a discussion about subpoenas and things of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. And were all the State officers of the Realm of Alabama present at that meeting?

Mr. CREEL. I don't believe they were; they usually aren't. You usually wind up appointing someone to sit in the chair.

Mr. MANUEL. All right. In addition to yourself as Grand Dragon, what other officers were present?

Mr. CREEL. I was there, Mr. Shelton was there, I know Mr. Thomas was there—

Mr. MANUEL. Is that Robert Thomas?

Mr. CREEL. I believe he was there. I am—now I hope he was there.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, testify to exactly what you know.

Mr. CREEL. Did I name Mr. Shelton?

Mr. MANUEL. So far, you have named yourself, Mr. Shelton, and Robert Thomas.

Mr. CREEL. I think Mr. Mandiville was there. He is from Dothan.

Mr. MANUEL. What is his first name?

Mr. CREEL. George, I believe. It was quite a number of people there. I couldn't commence to name all of them. It was—the reason I remember it so well is it was a new lodge and it was dedicated to Mr. Murphy, who—as a matter of fact, was dedicated in his honor.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, while we are on this subject, Mr. Creel, would you please identify for the committee, for the period when you were the Grand Dragon, specifically, at the date that this meeting was held, who were the other officers of the Realm of Alabama? In other words, who was the Grand Klaliff who served as your deputy, so to speak?

Mr. CREEL. I think Mr. Perkins was, at one time.

Mr. MANUEL. Now which Mr. Perkins are you talking about? Is that Lewis, William, which one?

Mr. CREEL. Lewis, I believe.

Mr. MANUEL. Was he Grand Klaliff at the time of this meeting?

Mr. CREEL. I don't remember if he was there or not. I might have appointed someone.

Mr. MANUEL. That is not my question.

My question was, Was he the Grand Klaliff at the time of this meeting for the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I was trying to think. If you miss so many meetings, you appoint someone. I have appointed so many officers, I couldn't about to name them, because it is one thing we stressed, was attending State meetings.

I wouldn't want to say for the record if he was Klaliff at that time, because——

Mr. MANUEL. All right. But he did hold that position at one time during your tenure——

Mr. CREEL. At one time.

Mr. MANUEL. —as Grand Dragon.

Now, who was the grand kligrapp, or secretary?

Mr. CREEL. I have had about three or four.

Mr. MANUEL. Who is the last one that you can remember?

Mr. CREEL. I believe it is Mr. Davenport.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that Cecil Davenport?

Mr. CREEL. I think so; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, did Mr. William Holt ever serve in that capacity?

Mr. CREEL. I don't believe he did, not while I was Grand Dragon.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. James Whitefield serve in that capacity?

Mr. CREEL. It seems like at one time. I won't say for sure. There is a possibility. I believe he did.

Mr. MANUEL. Now to the best of your recollection, who was the grand klabee or treasurer of the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Mr. Sexton.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Davenport, the kligrapp, and Mr. Sexton, the treasurer, to the best of your knowledge, maintain records of the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. To the best of my recollection, they did.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Eugene Thomas ever serve as the Grand Klaliff of the State of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. I believe that he did, but he was supposed to be suspended.

Mr. MANUEL. Now during what period of time did he serve?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know if it was when I first taken office, or—I think that's when it was.

Mr. MANUEL. Now you mentioned that he was supposed to be suspended. Would you explain to the committee what you mean by that?

Mr. CREEL. Well, as I stated before, my policy was that if anyone, that is including myself, should become, in other words, violate the law or be accused of violating the law, that they are automatically suspended.

Mr. MANUEL. And to your knowledge, was Eugene Thomas the one who was accused of the murder, or implicated in the murder of Mrs. Liuzzo from Detroit?

Mr. CREEL. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MANUEL. I say, was Eugene Thomas, of whom we are speaking now, was he the one who was accused or implicated in the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, outside of Selma, Alabama, in March of 1965?

Mr. CREEL. Was he suspended?

Mr. MANUEL. I say, is he the same one we are talking about now?

Mr. CREEL. I think we are talking about the same one.

Mr. MANUEL. All right. Now, is that the reason that he was suspended?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I don't know that he was actually suspended. I mean, with the accusations in the paper being as they were, I mean, it wasn't up to me to make the decision of him being suspended or not suspended.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, under the constitution of the Klan as you understood them at that time, as Grand Dragon, was he supposed to have been suspended from the Klan?

Mr. CREEL. Well, that was more or less, I don't believe you can find it in the constitution. That was more or less something that was adopted.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, did you hold that as a policy in Alabama, as Grand Dragon?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir. I suspended myself, three people.

Mr. MANUEL. And who were those three people?

Mr. CREEL. I don't even know their names. As a matter of fact, I wouldn't even let the man tell me.

Mr. MANUEL. For what reason were they suspended?

Mr. CREEL. He told me that the police had arrested them for being involved in, it seemed like it was shooting a house trailer, and I said, "Well, I don't even want to know their names. Just suspend them." But after that, I have found out that they were not guilty of the accusations. I mean, it was——

Mr. MANUEL. And what investigation did you make as Grand Dragon to determine whether a person was guilty or innocent?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I didn't determine if they was guilty or innocent. I think it is a matter of record that we spoke out against violence.

Mr. MANUEL. Let me ask you this question, then: As Grand Dragon of the Realm of Alabama, did you attempt to suspend Eugene Thomas after the murder of Mrs. Liuzzo?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I didn't. It would look pretty funny, me suspending them, and then attending rallies and things of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, likewise, did you make an attempt to suspend Collie Leroy Wilkins or W. O. Eaton?

Mr. CREEL. I didn't make any attempt to suspend any three of them. I am still debating that issue in my own mind.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you as Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama make any investigation into the circumstances surrounding the murder of Mrs. Liuzzo to determine whether or not persons who were members of your realm, Wilkins, Eaton, and Thomas, were guilty or not guilty?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I don't mind putting it in the record that I actually approached the three defendants and I asked them. I said, "I am not going to ask you if you done it, but for the sake of the organization, if you did, at least do it on your own. You know what I mean? Defend your own case." And they assured me that they were not guilty. I was very much concerned about anything of that nature.

Mr. POOL. At a later date, do you intend to go back into the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. CREEL. Sir?

Mr. POOL. Do you intend to rejoin the Ku Klux Klan at a later date?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know if they will have me or not.

Mr. POOL. You did not answer my question.

Do you wish to go back into the Ku Klux Klan if they will take you? Let us put it that way.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I really haven't thought too much about it, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. You might. Is that it?

Mr. CREEL. That's—you are asking me to make a pretty quick decision.

Mr. POOL. Well—

Mr. CREEL. I will put it this way: As long as it is not considered un-American or being a Communist-front organization, then I would serve in the Klan, because, basically, I really believe that the membership, the down-to-earth membership, I know they are good people.

Mr. POOL. You think the Ku Klux Klan is a good organization, then.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I never did refer to the Klan as the Ku Klux Klan, because that was on the subversive list, and—

Mr. POOL. Well, all right, the United Klans of America.

Mr. CREEL. I believe that any organization with the proper leadership can be a good organization.

Mr. POOL. So you resigned from the Ku Klux Klan and came up here to testify. And you reserve the right to go back into the Ku Klux Klan at a later date.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I don't reserve that right.

Mr. POOL. Well, you have a reservation about it being a bad organization. You think they are a pretty good organization.

Mr. CREEL. I don't think it is a bad organization. I am speaking, Mr. Chairman, of the people in the organization. Now maybe there are some people that will come in the organization that's got things on their minds that I can't answer that question.

Mr. POOL. Well, do you believe in an organization taking the law into its own hands?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I don't believe in any organization——

Mr. POOL. You did not think the Ku Klux Klan ever took the law into its own hands?

Mr. CREEL. I hope they haven't. I sincerely hope they haven't. I don't believe any organization has the right to take the law into its own hands.

Mr. POOL. Well, have you paid any attention to these hearings?

Mr. CREEL. I have been reading them; yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. You do not believe what you read?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; I believe what I read, and what I see. Mr. Appell was telling me in the hall, he says, things of that nature. I says, "Well, Mr. Appell, it is pretty hard for me to believe that," and he says, "Well, you ought to see the record."

Well, I haven't seen the records, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. That is the whole purpose of the hearing, is to make a record on the things and to see what the Ku Klux Klan has been doing. And if I were a member of the Ku Klux Klan, I would certainly want to know what the organization was doing and that is what this hearing has been about.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I don't mind——

Mr. POOL. And you say you resigned. I thought maybe you had become disillusioned with them, but now you say it is a good organization and you won't say that you won't go back in it. You might.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I am not—naturally, I guess——

Mr. POOL. I just want to find out what your position is, that is all.

Mr. CREEL. I suppose there is a certain amount of disillusionment. From the fact, from the hearings and from the news media, that you might read, of where that you read constantly that where questions would be asked, I am just using this, for instance, because this came out in the paper, and I suppose they were asked—I wasn't here, but I think they asked one—I don't even know if he belonged to this organization or not, but one so-called Klansman said isn't it a fact that you taken two Negroes and tied them to a motor and threwed them in the Mississippi River or some river, and the man took the fifth amendment.

To me, that created, and to others, doubts in the minds of the people, if they really stop and think. Maybe some people thought, "Well, maybe that man did do that."

Mr. POOL. Well, if he did do it, he ought to take the fifth amendment, I would say. [Laughter.]

Mr. CREEL. And then again, I think, if that man did that, he should be in jail.

Mr. POOL. That is right.

Mr. CREEL. It is pretty confusing, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Well, what you could do, you could perform a great service to America if you would come before this committee and cooperate with us in getting to the basic facts and giving us the names, the figures, anything else that the investigators are asking you, to try to get to the bottom of the whole thing.

Mr. CREEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, I don't mind. I don't know what I have at home, but I do have the filing cabinet. And if it is anything in there that would be of a service to this committee to propose

good legislation, I am more than happy to turn it over to this committee. I wasn't trying to make a monkey out of this committee, or to——

Mr. POOL. Well, we will certainly be glad to look at it, and if it is helpful to the committee, I will be one of the first ones to compliment you and tell the American people that you have cooperated, so we will see what you present us.

Mr. CREEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, one more question on the subject which we touched on briefly.

Were you under any orders from any imperial officer of the United Klans of America not to suspend Collie Leroy Wilkins or W. O. Eaton or Eugene Thomas?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I was not under any orders not to, and I can't say that I was under any orders to suspend. In other words, I felt like that the Imperial Wizard was there when the men were got out on bond, and if he had wanted to suspend them, he could have taken that in his own judgment. I didn't question him one way or the other if they should be suspended or not suspended.

Mr. MANUEL. Did the United Klans of America pay the bond for Wilkins, Thomas, and Eaton?

Mr. CREEL. I think it is a matter of record that we paid the attorney's fees and bonding fees.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, to get back to the State meeting in which you testified that Mr. Shelton, Robert Thomas, yourself, were present, among others, what was Mr. Shelton's own position on his appearance before this committee?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I had always understood that Mr. Shelton would cooperate with this committee, and but for some reason, I think after he had talked to the attorney, I just don't know his reason for not testifying before this committee.

Mr. POOL. Did you discuss your appearance before this committee with Mr. Shelton?

Mr. CREEL. You mean since I have been here?

Mr. POOL. Well, after you got your subpoena?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I have told Mr. Shelton, I believe, one time in his office. Of course, I hadn't been subpoenaed. Naturally, we discussed it, and I assumed that Mr. Shelton would cooperate with this committee. I know that he thinks highly of this committee; at least, he has spoken in the past highly of this committee, in saying it is a good committee, and that we can't——

Mr. POOL. That is not lately, though.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I am speaking of the conversation, Mr. Chairman, that he spoke quite highly of this committee, and he even made a statement saying that we can't attack this committee, because we would be falling into the hands of the other people that would like to see this committee done away with, and of course, it's one thing about this Nation, this is a free country, and no one has to do—take the fifth.

Mr. POOL. Did Mr. Shelton ask you if you were going to take the fifth amendment?

Mr. CREEL. I don't remember him asking me.

Mr. POOL. Did he ask you to take the fifth amendment?

Mr. CREEL. I didn't hear him. He didn't tell me I had to and he didn't tell me I couldn't.

Mr. POOL. You all did not discuss it?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I haven't discussed it with Mr. Shelton.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Creel, I would like to inform you at this point that it has come to my attention in the first place, Mr. Shelton allegedly stated a number of places that he would freely testify before this committee. For example, I have been informed that, in a very sparsely attended meeting that was held in Tarrant City in my district, Mr. Shelton said that anyone who took the fifth before this committee was a Communist or acting like a Communist.

I do not agree with that, necessarily. A man has a right to take the fifth amendment if he feels anything would tend to incriminate him. He has a constitutional right to do so, but, nevertheless, he made this statement and then took the fifth numerous times himself.

As to his attitude toward this committee, Mr. Chairman, I think you know and I expect the world knows Mr. Shelton's attitude toward this committee, which has been, his attacks have been more vitriolic and vehement than any we have received even from the Communists, and they did a pretty good job of attacking this committee. For example, he has in a radio interview, Mr. Chairman, described my conduct as unchristian, unethical, and, I quote, "unresponsible."

He said most of our decisions are made in the bars and saloons of Washington, and so forth.

I think that you ought to be apprised of that attitude on the part of the Imperial Wizard, and any pious words he may have said about this committee or his attitude toward this committee have not proven out in his conduct and in his language, for many weeks now.

Mr. CREEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, if I might be permitted, I would like to say that, basically, the people of Alabama that is in the Klan, they approve of this committee and they approve of the job of this committee. So——

Mr. POOL. Of the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Well, I am glad to hear that.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, getting back to this State meeting which you previously testified to, was Robert Shelton the presiding officer at that meeting?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Who was?

Mr. CREEL. I was.

Mr. MANUEL. And Robert Shelton was just in attendance?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And you state that the membership of the Realm of Alabama decided then by vote, as I understand your testimony, that anyone subpoenaed before the committee would take the fifth amendment. Is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. At that time; yes, sir. As I have said, there has been a change of heart.

Mr. MANUEL. And how was that change manifested?

Mr. CREEL. Well, all I can go by is people I talk to, and——

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, was——

Mr. CREEL. In other words, I was encouraged to cooperate with this committee.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, was there, in like fashion, a meeting of the membership of the Realm of Alabama and did they vote and then vote that you were not to take the fifth amendment?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I don't know. I don't have any knowledge of any meeting after that, if I should take the fifth or not take the fifth.

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, then, officially, the vote of the membership of the realm stands that you, even before you got a subpoena, you should take the fifth amendment before the committee.

Mr. CREEL. That's something to that effect. I can—I don't mind telling this committee it was a hard decision to make and I made that decision. Of course, I didn't make it simply because I said I think this is what's right; I made the decision after I talked to the people.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Creel, I wonder if you could tell the committee if there was any discussion at that State meeting as to what basis Klansmen would use in taking the fifth amendment?

Mr. CREEL. I don't remember the outcome of the conversation. It was quite lengthy, and when you have got 50 or 60 people—it might have been more, it might have been less—and everybody discussing this pro and con, it would be impossible to remember everything that was said.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, okay——

Mr. CREEL. But I think the basic issue was that this committee would more or less try to railroad everyone. I think that was the general feeling and I think it was statements made to the effect, "Well, once you testify, that then you are going to have to take"—you can't take the fifth and you can take the fifth and you can't.

I mean, things of that nature were discussed back and forth and, actually, I think a lot of people was just plain scared. Being coming way up here to Washington, and basically, I think they wanted to do what was right, and they was just plain scared, just to be honest with you. I know myself I was quite nervous yesterday myself, going in the hearings, and the committee itself has a tendency to maybe scare an individual.

Mr. POOL. Well, could I ask you this question, then: Can you tell us anything wrong with the Ku Klux Klan? There is bound to be something wrong with it.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I suppose I could find a lot of things wrong with a lot of organizations. I can honestly say this; that the majority of the people in the Klan, they are just everyday citizens.

Mr. POOL. All right. How about your leadership?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I guess you could—I think the leadership, naturally can always look for better leadership. There is a hundred thousand people in Alabama could have done a better job than I done, probably.

Mr. POOL. All right, how about Robert Shelton?

Mr. CREEL. Well, he has been voted a voice of confidence, so I suppose the people are happy with it. In other words, he has been elected at every klonvokation. I think, basically, Mr. Shelton, I haven't kept up with him here lately, but I think he has touched some issues that

everyone should be concerned about. Of course, I can find fault in everyone. I find fault in myself, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Did anybody find fault with him not trying to cooperate with the committee?

Mr. CREEL. I haven't talked to that many people. I definitely feel like that it has hurt the organization by them not cooperating with the committee. I mean, that's a personal opinion.

Mr. POOL. How bad has it hurt that organization?

Mr. CREEL. It is not that bad, but people don't like to be accused of things, Mr. Chairman, if they aren't true. It put doubt in their mind. I don't know how effectively or how bad or anything of that nature, but, naturally, I am not thinking so much of the present membership, I am thinking of the future membership, the people would say, "Well, I don't want to join that thing. I will have to go out here and kill somebody."

And I never tried to project an image of that nature. I think, as I have said, my opinions of this committee might not be much, but as my own personal opinion, I am not fooling myself. Naturally, it has hurt, in some areas, the membership.

Mr. POOL. Did the membership get upset a little bit about the fact that the financial manipulations were not too straight?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know so much about that, but I suppose that the next national klonvokation there will be some good going-over the books.

Mr. POOL. Do you suppose they will pass a rule against driving Cadillacs?

Mr. CREEL. I can't answer that, Mr. Chairman. That is his personal affairs.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman.

Did you have any personal knowledge of the fact that Miss Carol Long was signing, countersigning some of the checks, and Mrs. Shelton, under the names "T. M. Montgomery" and "James J. Hendrix"?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I did not. I have never served on a committee to audit the books. I didn't know how that was carried on.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Was this generally known in the organization, so far as your knowledge?

Mr. CREEL. I couldn't honestly answer that, because if I should tell you, "Well, say, it was," then I would be telling this committee a fib, and—

Mr. BUCHANAN. This information was not imparted at any meetings which you attended or discussed in any way that would be known by you. Is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I just hadn't ever inquired about, Mr. Buchanan, to be honest with you.

Mr. POOL. Well, are you telling this committee, then, that the United Klans is a very highly ethical, God-fearing, peace-loving type organization?

Mr. CREEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, that's all I have ever projected. You can take any organization, any fraternal organization, and there is no doubt in my mind that a lot of churches and a lot of other organization members do things, of course, that is not blasted out to the news media that this man was a member. I am a member of

the Baptist Church. They won't say this man was a member of the Baptist Church, or a member of the Masonic Order. They will say, "He was a Klansman."

As long as there is any acts of violence committed and contributed to the Klan then I am afraid the Klan will kill itself, as long as there is acts of violence.

Mr. POOL. Do you think the secrecy of the Klan—don't you think that will hurt it in the long run?

Mr. CREEL. Secrecy?

Mr. POOL. Yes.

Mr. CREEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, I have heard a lot of talk, listening, about the secrecy. No one has told that they didn't identify themselves. They can identify themselves if they so desire.

Mr. POOL. But they do not do it, they do not have membership lists.

Mr. CREEL. Well, a lot of people I know has. They say, "Well, I belong to the Klan. I don't mind telling you." Now I think one reason that the members have a tendency to keep it a secret is that, on some occasions, they have been fired from their job, things like that. I guess it has happened to maybe members of the NAACP in Alabama. A lot of people, a lot of those didn't want to let their membership be known, because they would be fired. Things of that nature. I think that had a lot to do with it.

Mr. POOL. Don't you suppose there is a reason for that?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I have never actually said that I was ashamed that I belonged. I didn't hold my identity secret. Of course, now this is a personal opinion. I would like to see every man, if he is ashamed to belong, then he shouldn't be in there. Let him make himself known.

Mr. POOL. That is exactly the point.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I have the same feeling.

Mr. POOL. You think that the Klan should have a secret membership list? They should go ahead and let people see their membership list or see who the officers are?

Mr. CREEL. I think in the past year, I think the Klan has operated more in the open than it ever has.

Mr. POOL. Have you abolished the system of numbers?

Mr. CREEL. Sir?

Mr. POOL. Have they abolished the system of numbers in their Klaverns?

Mr. CREEL. As I have stated before in testimony, that's up to the individual unit, how, if they want to use a number, I don't see any use to using numbers myself. Again, of course, that's a personal opinion.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, were you exalted cyclops of Bessemer Klavern No. 20 during the month of September 1963?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know if I was exalted cyclops or if I was great titan. I don't remember.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, you were one of the officers that had jurisdiction over that Klavern. Is that correct? Whether it was titan or exalted cyclops?

Mr. CREEL. Well, the titan would have—what you don't basically understand, each unit operates more or less independently.

I mean, a man is elected as chairman or president or exalted cyclops or anything that you want to call him. He carries out just the duties as Mr. Pool is carrying out there, acting out as chairman. You have a set of rules to go by. A business meeting is no more of a business meeting being conducted than it would be if he was in the Kiwanis or Lions or anything else.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, were you an active member, then, of the Bessemer Klavern No. 20 in September 1963?

Mr. CREEL. I suppose I was.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have any knowledge of any other member of that Klavern who was suspected or questioned about the bombings of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham?

Mr. CREEL. Did we have any members that were suspected?

Mr. MANUEL. And questioned. To your knowledge.

Mr. CREEL. I think those 16th Street bombings, I believe everybody in Alabama was questioned, to give you an honest answer. I know I was. I guess everybody that ever belonged to the Klan or even thought about joining was questioned as to those bombings.

I think Mr. Buchanan can vouch for that, that they had a pretty thorough investigation.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, now, do you possess any knowledge concerning that bombing?

Mr. CREEL. I have no knowledge whatsoever and, if I am not mistaken, I believe we put up a thousand dollars reward with that. If I am not mistaken. I don't know if that was the bombing, or—it was so many there, I don't know. I have no knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever been present as a member of the United Klans of America at a meeting or at a gathering where there was dynamite present?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you registered at the Capri Motel in Jacksonville, Florida, in November of 1964?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee in your own words what went on on that occasion?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I can tell you what went on where I was at. As a matter of fact, that was on a Saturday; was it not? I flew from Birmingham to Jacksonville, myself and Mr. Roton, and Mr. Matt Murphy met us at the airport, and we went back to the motel, we had a rally that night which was a public rally, which people attended, we stayed in the room mostly.

I know, at the rally, Mr. Shelton was there. I was there, and Mr.—well, the other Grand Dragons. I forget who they were at that time. It seemed like it was—I believe it was Mr. Bob Jones, Mr. Bob Scoggins. As a matter of fact, they was from everywhere.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Collie Leroy Wilkins also present?

Mr. CREEL. I believe he was.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Eugene Thomas also present?

Mr. CREEL. I think so.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, did any—

Mr. CREEL. And if I might add, I believe Mr. Rowe was there.

Mr. MANUEL. You are speaking of Gary Rowe?

Mr. CREEL. That is right.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, did any person whom we have just discussed have a meeting with Mr. J. B. Stoner?

Mr. CREEL. Now, I saw Mr. Stoner briefly. Now, what the conversation was carried out, I have no knowledge, because I believe he came there to confer with Mr. Murphy, and what the conversation was about, I have no knowledge of that, but I do know that they did have conversation. I will put it this way: I don't know Mr. Stoner personally, but there was a man that was said, "Well, that's J. B. Stoner."

Mr. MANUEL. Did you have any knowledge of any conversation whatsoever concerning William Rosecrans on that occasion?

Mr. CREEL. I don't even know him.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you, as a participant in any meeting, observe any arms or dynamite in the area of the Capri Motel?

Mr. CREEL. If there was any there, I didn't see it.

Mr. POOL. The committee will stand in recess until a quarter of two. (Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Pool and Buchanan.)

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., Wednesday, February 9, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:45 p.m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1966

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:15 p.m., Hon. Charles L. Weltner, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.)

Mr. WELTNER. The subcommittee will be in order.

Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, before we continue with the testimony of Mr. Creel, I would like to call to the witness stand Mr. Ralph Pryor.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Pryor, please come forward.

Mr. Creel will remain for further testimony.

Mr. Pryor, do you solemnly swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PRYOR. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF RALPH EARL PRYOR, JR.

Mr. WELTNER. Would you state your name?

Mr. PRYOR. My name is Ralph Earl Pryor, Jr.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Pryor, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir, I am not.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you desire to have counsel represent you?

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Pryor, as acting chairman of this subcommittee, I advise you that, under the Constitution of the United States, you have the right to refuse to answer any question propounded to you which may, in your judgment, possibly incriminate you under any Federal or State statute, that being your right under the fifth amendment.

Do you understand your constitutional rights?

Mr. PRYOR. I do, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And it is your desire to proceed without counsel at this point?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, it is.

Mr. WELTNER. I further advise you that if at any time during the course of this proceeding you desire counsel, if you will make that fact known, this hearing will be suspended, and you will be afforded an opportunity to obtain counsel.

All right, proceed, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the reason we have called Mr. Pryor is that, during the recess, Mr. Pryor advised me that in accordance with the subpoena served upon him, which calls for him to bring with him and to produce certain books and records called for in the subpoena, he has such documents. We are calling him only for the purpose, at this time, that the staff might have an opportunity to review these documents in the course of further interrogation of Mr. Creel.

Mr. Pryor, you are appearing here today in accordance with a subpoena served upon you on the 25th day of October 1965?

Mr. PRYOR. I am, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, under the terms of that subpoena in an attachment thereto, which was made a part of the subpoena, you were asked to bring:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, or Delaware Rescue Service, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as Grand Dragon, Realm (State) of Delaware of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Now, Mr. Pryor, I ask you, in the representative capacity set forth in paragraph 1 of the subpoena, if you will produce the records and other documents called for?

Mr. PRYOR. May I be excused for a few seconds?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Are the documents contained in that briefcase, sir?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would you present the documents, please?

Mr. PRYOR. I would like to add, sir, that everything in here pertains to the United Klans of America, nothing about—I know nothing about the Alabama Rescue Service, or whatever it is. I have two other articles in my wallet.

(Documents handed to staff.)

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, the committee thanks you, and we ask you to stand aside, and you will be recalled at the conclusion of the testimony of Mr. Creel.

Mr. WELTNER. Just one moment, please.

Mr. Pryor, you are testifying now that these are all of the documents that are within the description contained within your subpoena that are in your possession, or were in your possession at the time of the service of the subpoena?

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir; not all of them. Not all of them.

Mr. WELTNER. Are there any other documents?

Mr. PRYOR. I did everything in my power to get everything else. I think that the committee will find that I have brought things sufficient. There were some things impossible for me to bring.

Mr. WELTNER. Very well. You are not expected to produce anything that is not subject to your physical possession, sir. If you will stand aside, we will proceed with another witness, and then call you in order, sir.

Thank you.

Mr. MANUEL. Will Mr. Robert Creel please resume the stand?

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT MILTON CREEL—Resumed

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Creel, I remind you of your right to have counsel represent you and of your rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution and that you are still under oath.

Mr. CREEL. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, at this time I would like to continue with the reading of the documents called for under Mr. Creel's subpoena. In his previous testimony, we only got through the first two paragraphs and didn't finish because of questions propounded to Mr. Creel during the course of his answers, so I would like to continue with the reading of paragraph 3 of Mr. Creel's subpoena.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Which calls for him to produce:

Copies of U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Form 1120, "U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return," for the years 1961 through June 30, 1965, filed by you as Grand Dragon, Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

I ask you at this time, Mr. Creel, to produce those documents.

Mr. CREEL. I have never filed, since I only actually was what you might say full-time, actually, it hasn't come time to file taxes for this year. I think prior to that, I am quite sure, or I am not quite sure Mr. Shelton should have signed those, because he was acting Grand Dragon, prior to my position. And—

Mr. MANUEL. Who was the Grand Dragon who immediately preceded you in Alabama, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. You mean the one before me? I think Mr. Shelton was acting Grand Dragon until I was elected. In other words, I believe that when Mr. Page resigned, Mr. Shelton taken over the duties as Grand Dragon and Imperial Wizard.

Mr. MANUEL. When did Mr. Page leave the position of Grand Dragon for Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. I am trying to think. I think it was about 6 months prior of me taking over as Grand Dragon. I am not sure on that, now. I am merely guessing.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, our records indicate that you were nominated for the position of Grand Dragon of the Realm of Alabama at a meeting held on February 23, 1964. Is that correct, to your knowledge?

Mr. CREEL. I don't believe it is. It could have been, the nominations, in '64.

Mr. MANUEL. And that you assumed the title of Grand Dragon after being elected to that position in March of 1964. Is that correct, sir?

Mr. CREEL. Well, no, sir. I think it was in January. Now I went full-time in March. In other words, it was a full-time job. It was in March of '65.

Mr. MANUEL. March of '65?

Mr. CREEL. I believe. If I am not wrong. Let's see.

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, you did not hold the position of Grand Dragon at any time during the year 1964?

Mr. CREEL. I am not sure. I would have to check back. I don't want to say yes or no. I don't know if I was nominated in November of '63 or November of '65.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, our records indicate that you served as Grand Dragon for the Realm of Alabama, Knights—United Klans of America, since March of 1964.

Mr. CREEL. I don't believe so. I think during that period—I am not sure, but I believe Mr. Shelton was acting as Grand Dragon. I won't make a positive statement. I am trying to be honest with the committee.

Mr. WELTNER. Are you saying that there was no person officially in the office of Grand Dragon of Alabama, but that the Imperial Wizard conducted the functions of the Office of Grand Dragon of the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir, for a period of time, and what I was trying to straighten out in my mind, exactly what that period of time was.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, about how long, altogether, did you serve as Grand Dragon? About a year?

Mr. CREEL. I would say 6 months or longer.

Mr. WELTNER. And you resigned as Grand Dragon when?

Mr. CREEL. This January.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, I would like to show you a copy of a signature card filed with the Birmingham Trust National Bank for the account of the United Klans of America, and the names on this signature card are Robert M. Creel, Eugene Thomas, Melvin Sexton, and James R. Whitfield.

Mr. WELTNER. Is that Whitfield?

Mr. MANUEL. Whitefield. I am sorry. Whitefield.

Mr. CREEL. And what is the date on that?

Mr. MANUEL. And the date on this document—actually, there are two signature cards filed here, one dated January 4, 1966, which superseded the old signature card, which I read, which indicates that you were president or Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, Realm of Alabama, prior to the date of January 4, 1966.

I hand you this document, and ask you to make any explanation of that, that you can remember to the committee.

Mr. CREEL. Well, what I was trying to do was to fill in the gap. There is a gap there that Mr. Shelton acted as Grand Dragon, and then a short time I served—I don't know. I don't even remember how many months it was, and then we held an election, and I was elected. That is certainly my signature.

(Signature card previously marked "James Whitefield Exhibit No. 3-B. See p. 3113.)"

Mr. WELTNER. Well, take your time and examine that document and see if that refreshes your recollection, Mr. Creel. There is no need to rush you. We are just trying to tie these dates down as accurately as possible.

Mr. CREEL. I believe this says date opened was October 28, 1964. So I served, I am trying to remember if it was from August or some time thereafter till the end of the year, which elections are held usually at the end of the year, and for a term of office, which would run out this past election.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, did you serve as Grand Dragon for any part of the year 1964?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And to the best of your recollection, how long did you serve as Grand Dragon in that year?

Mr. CREEL. I am just guessing. I will say from August till the end of the year. It could have been later. I don't believe it was any earlier.

Mr. MANUEL. All right.

Now to your knowledge, did the Realm of Alabama, United Klans of America, file an income tax return, listing income and expenses to the Federal Government—to the Internal Revenue Service?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I didn't. I presume Mr. Shelton filed those papers.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he file it for the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I presume he did. I have no knowledge that he did.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, did you report as Grand Dragon the statement of income and expense to Mr. Shelton so that he could report to the Internal Revenue Service?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I believe, if I remember correctly, when I taken, when I taken on the job as Grand Dragon, there was no funds at that time, when I taken over—when I took over from Mr. Shelton. If there was, I never received any, so—

Mr. MANUEL. Well, what was the total income of the Realm of Alabama for the year 1964?

Mr. CREEL. I don't remember, but it wasn't much, because there wasn't any there, as I stated, there was none there when I taken over. It seems like it was about \$90. Now I could be wrong, but that figure sticks in my mind, some place, so I will use that figure.

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, the entire Realm of Alabama of the United Klans of America, to the best of your knowledge, had an income of only \$90 for the year 1964?

Mr. WELTNER. Now that is not what he said.

Mr. CREEL. No.

Mr. WELTNER. He said when he took over, there was only \$90 in the treasury.

We want to know how much money was received by the realm during the year.

Mr. CREEL. From the time I taken over till the end of the year, I really don't know. It wasn't very much though. I do know that it wasn't no big figure. Because at that time, there really wasn't too many active units in the State. So I really don't know and anyway I didn't keep the financial part.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, from what sources did the Klan derive its income, whatever it was?

Mr. CREEL. Well, from dues.

Mr. MANUEL. Any other sources?

Mr. CREEL. Not that I know of.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you receive any portion of any initiation fee of a new member?

Mr. CREEL. Well, that was voted in, after I went full time, but I actually never received personally that portion, because I think I stated before that most of the money, I think—you have the checks there—went into attorneys' fees and things of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Did the Realm of Alabama derive any income from collections taken up at rallies?

Mr. CREEL. That was left up to the discretion of each unit. Now some of the units, they donated to the realm, some of them kept it. That was up to the discretion of ever who was sponsoring a rally.

Mr. WELTNER. Did any portion of the klectokon or initiation fee go to the realm office?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. How much?

Mr. CREEL. \$5.

Mr. WELTNER. Out of \$10?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir, out of \$15.

Mr. WELTNER. The klectokon was \$15?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And \$5 of that went to the realm and stayed in the realm?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And was any portion of the klectokon then forwarded to the imperial office?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. So the other \$10 stayed with the Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. With the unit; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Now you said when you took over that there were not very many active units in Alabama. How many active units were there at the time you took over?

Mr. CREEL. I would say not over seven or eight.

Mr. WELTNER. Just a moment, please.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, what portion of the dues paid by members of the Alabama Realm were paid to the State office in the year 1964?

Mr. CREEL. 25 cents per man per month. In 1964?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes.

Mr. CREEL. 25 cents per man per month, and at that time the initiation fee was only \$10.

Mr. MANUEL. And when did it change from \$10 to \$15?

Mr. CREEL. I believe right after I went into office as Grand Dragon.

Mr. MANUEL. And what other dues payable by each member in the year 1965?

Mr. CREEL. To the State?

Mr. MANUEL. To the State.

Mr. CREEL. 25 cents a man per month, plus \$5 of the klectokon fee would go to the State office.

Mr. MANUEL. And how much goes to the imperial office?

Mr. CREEL. Out of the klectokon fee?

Mr. MANUEL. Out of the klectokon and out of the dues, also.

Mr. CREEL. Nothing out of the klectokon.

Mr. MANUEL. And dues?

Mr. CREEL. 50 cents per man per month.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Creel, at the time that you——

Mr. WELTNER. Hold it just a moment. Fifty cents per man per month goes to the imperial office?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. 25 cents goes to the realm office?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. What is the total monthly dues?

Mr. CREEL. That is left up to the discretion of each Klavern. We didn't dictate to the people of what their dues should be. In other words, maybe some Klaverns could operate on less expense, where——

Mr. WELTNER. But it had to be at least 75 cents a month to cover these assessments?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; it had to be at least 75. Some places, they could get by for a dollar a month dues. Some places could get by, we will say, for a dollar and a half. It is according to the size of the city and the rent and the lights and water, and things of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Now did each Klavern report periodically its income to the State office?

Mr. CREEL. They didn't report to me. What do you mean of their income? Did they make reports of how many members they had?

Mr. MANUEL. Of how much money they took in, each month.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; they made no report to me.

Mr. MANUEL. Did they make a report as to the amount of dues collected each month?

Mr. CREEL. Well, the way you run your report is how many members that you have in good standing, just like any other fraternal organization. If you have got 20 men in good standing, you sent your klectokon for 20 men in good standing.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, please tell the committee exactly what a Klavern would report each month to the State office.

Mr. CREEL. Exactly the membership of what they was paying the klectokon for.

Mr. MANUEL. Was there included in the report any financial statement?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. As the balance of what they had in the treasury?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And who kept the records that were so reported by the Klaverns in the State office?

Mr. CREEL. Ever who was elected. The kligrapp and the klabee.

Mr. MANUEL. And how were these reports made by the Klaverns to the State office? In what form? Were they mailed?

Mr. CREEL. They were mailed.

Mr. MANUEL. And to whom were they addressed?

Mr. CREEL. To the treasurer.

Mr. MANUEL. Was the name of the person on the correspondence?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I think it was 17 Lake Sherwood.

Naturally, you had to have an address.

Mr. MANUEL. And what address is 17 Lake Sherwood?

Mr. CREEL. I presume that is Mr. Sexton's home.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that Mr. Sexton's home address?

Mr. CREEL. I couldn't swear to it, but I would say that is where he lives.

Mr. MANUEL. Were any reports of Klaverns made directly to you while you were Grand Dragon of the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Some were, but I sent them to Mr. Sexton.

Mr. MANUEL. And were any checks made payable directly to you by Klaverns or by members of Klaverns of the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And what became of the records of those checks?

Mr. CREEL. Some I endorsed to give to Mr. Sexton, some I endorsed and used for expense, and to get receipts for.

Mr. MANUEL. And who kept the records of the bank account which was established by the realm office?

Mr. CREEL. Mr. Sexton.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, at the time that you were Grand Dragon—and from your testimony, you have been Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama until the last election in January of this year—so that you were the Grand Dragon for the entire year of 1965; is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee what the income of the Realm of Alabama was for the year 1965?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I would have to—I couldn't give you the exact figures, because I would have to find out what it was myself.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, Mr. Creel, you understand if you don't have documents in front of you, we are not expecting you to give us a figure exact to the penny.

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. But we would expect you in the ordinary course of affairs to give us a pretty solid estimate of how much those figures were.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I can give you an estimate of my expense and I don't know the total amount of attorneys' fees that we have paid out and bonding fees and things of that nature. And when you get all that and add them up, you have got a pretty good estimate of the income.

Mr. WELTNER. Give us your best estimate, and break it down in the way that you can best do, based upon your recollection.

Mr. CREEL. Well, I would say that my expense, which the household expense, would run anywhere for a month—would be anywhere from—that is counting rent, groceries, lights, water, gas, telephone, and then obligations which had been incurred before I went on full time, was running about anywhere from \$450 to \$500 a month. I would say it would average out about \$600 a month, overall, and that is counting traveling expense and things of that nature. That's a rough estimate.

Mr. WELTNER. What was the amount of attorneys' fees that would have been handled through your office?

Mr. CREEL. Well, let's see. Attorney Art Hanes, I couldn't give

you an up-to-date estimate on how much he has received. But I know he has received somewhere in the neighborhood, I know of at least \$3,500 or more, and then I think, Mr. Jim Esdale has received—I know he has received I believe it was \$3,000, that I know of, and maybe more.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, it is the committee's information that the money that was used to pay attorneys' fees came out of special funds created by the United Klans of America which did not affect the realm account.

Mr. CREEL. Well, that is true.

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, it is our information that in the management of the cases, these funds were set up with special contributions of the Klaverns.

Mr. CREEL. That's true. Now——

Mr. MANUEL. Would you explain this to the committee?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir. I think we raised about a thousand dollars at the banquet, over and beyond, it seemed like, it would maybe have been a thousand, maybe 69 or 70, I don't remember the exact amount, but I know that we have used \$750 of realm funds, and I don't know exactly how much thereafter, but I know we have used that much.

Mr. MANUEL. And how many special accounts were created for legal defense, to your knowledge?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I know Mr. Murphy created one and——

Mr. MANUEL. What was the name of that account, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. I believe he had that in the White Mans Defense Fund.

Mr. WELTNER. That is the late Matt Murphy?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir, but let me say to this hearing with no reflection on Mr. Murphy that the entire membership had agreed that any part in which I could even tell you exactly to the figure how much money Mr. Murphy received, that it would be used in his expense, and I actually couldn't even give you the rundown on it, and Mr. Shelton, I think he established a defense fund. Of course, I don't know. I think he can produce records what was paid out of that, things of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know where he maintained this account?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir, I don't know where he maintained it.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you say you believed Mr. Shelton can produce records to substantiate the payment of funds?

Mr. CREEL. Well, when I said that, Mr. Weltner, I was referring to certainly he is going to have to show them to the income tax man.

Mr. WELTNER. He hasn't shown them to this committee, Mr. Creel.

Mr. CREEL. To show them where the money went.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, as of December 31, 1965, how many Klaverns of the United Klans of America existed in the Realm of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. I would say between 35 or 40. I would have to count them on my fingers.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a record of those Klaverns?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I have a record here [indicating]. I can just about——

Mr. WELTNER. Show the witness the listing that was prepared by the staff on the initial day of these hearings and possibly we can expedite the matter that way.

(A listing of Alabama Klans marked "Robert Creel Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

## ROBERT CREEL EXHIBIT No. 1

## KLAVERNS AND KLAVERN OFFICERS

Henry County 49 Club, Abbeville, Alabama: Herschel Pelham.  
 The Blanca Club, Akron, Alabama: Julian C. McCray, Ernest Cockran.  
 Eastview Klavern No. 13, Birmingham, Alabama: Eugene Reeves.  
 White Patriots, Brantley, Alabama: James P. Catrett, C. D. McLeod.  
 The 51 Club, Columbia, Alabama: Charles Ellison, EC; James O. Morey.  
 Club 50, Cuba, Alabama: D. S. Brock, C. C. Pearson, Sr.  
 Cullman, Alabama: John W. Rowe.  
 United Klans of America No. 46, Demopolis, Alabama: William E. Randall.  
 United Klans of America No. 47, Eutaw, Alabama: Jimmy K. Farmer, Pres.; G. C. Mattison, Jr., Treas.; James G. Wilson, Secy.  
 Fayette S. A. Club, Fayette, Alabama: M. P. Mitchell.  
 Fort Payne, Alabama: George D. Killian, Guton H. Tutor, Cecil King.  
 Confederate Lodge, Gadsden, Alabama: Hubert E. White, Harold Morgan, Max Cannon.  
 Hanceville, Alabama: Marshall Kugler.  
 Bessemer Klavern No. 20, Young Men's Social Club, Hueytown, Alabama: James R. Whitefield, Cecil B. Davenport, Oscar T. Syx.  
 Clarke-Washington Hunting & Fishing Club, Jackson, Alabama: Cecil M. Hoven, John P. Williamson.  
 Jasper, Alabama, No. 52: Ray Fields, EC; Joe Sanders, Klaliff.  
 Linden, Alabama:  
     (May 11, 1965) George S. Braswell.  
     (May 11, 1965) John Duncan.  
     (May 11, 1965) Jimmie G. Cannon.  
     (September 13, 1965) Jimmie G. Cannon.  
     (September 13, 1965) Milton Cherry.  
     (September 13, 1965) J. K. Marlowe.  
 Montgomery, Alabama, White Patriots: Gene Vann, Gene Mims, Raymond C. Howard.  
 Bassett Creek Hunting Club, Wagarville, Alabama: John W. Harris, Joe Sullivan.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, at the start of the hearings, we had a certain number of Klaverns listed in the State of Alabama. As of today, as of this time, the staff has identified 19 separate Klaverns in the State of Alabama. Mr. Creel just says that he has, to his knowledge—between 35 and 40, I believe you said?

Mr. CREEL. I was just giving you a rough estimate.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will run down the list of the Klaverns that we have and have Mr. Creel identify same. And any others that come to his mind at this time, he can put into the record.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, read him the name of the Klavern and ask him whether or not there was a Klavern of UKA in existence during the time of his office as Grand Dragon.

Mr. MANUEL. Was there a Klavern in Abbeville, Alabama, known as Henry County No. 49 Club?

Mr. CREEL. There was a Klavern there in Abbeville. I don't know what it is known as.

Mr. MANUEL. Was the exalted cyclops of that Klavern Herschel Pelham, P-e-l-h-a-m?

Mr. CREEL. I couldn't answer it. There is a unit in there at Abbeville, though.

Mr. MANUEL. Is there one in Akron, Alabama, known as the Blanca Club, B-l-a-n-c-a?

Mr. CREEL. Akron? I don't recognize that.

Mr. MANUEL. Is there one in Birmingham, Alabama, known as Eastview Klavern No. 13?

Mr. CREEL. That's one of the old originals.

Mr. MANUEL. Is Eugene Reeves the exalted cyclops of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. Maybe at one time, but I wouldn't think so now; I wouldn't think so now.

Mr. MANUEL. Has there been an election at Eastview Klavern No. 13, to your knowledge?

Mr. CREEL. There are supposed to have been elections at the end of the year. This past year, everyone has had a new election.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, who is the current exalted cyclops of the Eastview Klavern No. 13?

Mr. CREEL. I wouldn't have any idea.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a Klavern in Brantley, Alabama, known as the White Patriots?

Mr. CREEL. I know there is one in Brantley. I don't know about the White Patriots. They could be listed as that.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know James P. Catrett, C-a-t-r-e-t-t, to be exalted cyclops of that?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know him to be the exalted cyclops.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a Klavern in Columbiana,<sup>1</sup> Alabama, known as The 51 Club?

Mr. CREEL. I know there is a Klavern there; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Is Charles Ellison the exalted cyclops of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I have no knowledge of that. He could be. It is a possibility. I am not saying that he is and I am not saying that he is not.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a Klavern at Cuba, Alabama, known as Club 50?

Mr. CREEL. There is a Klavern there.

Mr. MANUEL. Is D. S. Brock and C. C. Pearson, Jr.<sup>2</sup>—are those two individuals officers of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I couldn't say if they were officers or not.

Mr. WELTNER. Are they members of it?

Mr. CREEL. Sir?

Mr. WELTNER. Are they members of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I couldn't—I don't know, Mr. Weltner. The names are not familiar to me. It is a possibility they could be, it is a possibility they are not; but there is a unit there.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a unit at Cullen,<sup>3</sup> Alabama, C-u-l-l-e-n?

Mr. CREEL. Where?

Mr. MANUEL. Cullen, Alabama. C-u-l-l-e-n.

Mr. CREEL. That doesn't ring a bell.

Mr. MANUEL. The EC of that Klavern was listed as John W. Rowe, R-o-w-e. Do you know John W. Rowe?

Mr. CREEL. I know a Rowe, but—Cullen. If I had a map—where is that close to?

<sup>1</sup> This should be "Columbia."

<sup>2</sup> The reference to "C. C. Pearson, Jr." is incorrect. It should read "C. C. Pearson, Sr."

<sup>3</sup> Correct name "Cullman."

Mr. MANUEL. It must be close to——

Mr. CREEL. Oh, I know. You are referring to Cullman. I was wondering where that might be. There is a unit in Cullman, but I don't know about Mr. Rowe being the exalted cyclops.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a Klavern in Demopolis, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Known as United Klans of Alabama No. 46?

Mr. CREEL. I think the charter number was that on 46. I suppose that they put their money in the bank as such.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know W. E. Randall to be an officer of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. The name is not familiar, and I live in Linden.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a Klavern in Eutaw, E-u-t-a-w?

Mr. CREEL. There is a unit there.

Mr. MANUEL. Known as United Klans of America No. 47?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know what it is known as, but it is a unit there.

Mr. MANUEL. Is Jimmy K. Farmer the exalted cyclops of that unit?

Mr. CREEL. I really don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a Klavern in Fayette, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Is M. P. Mitchell an officer of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. The name is not familiar to me.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you have a cover name for that Klavern?

Mr. MANUEL. The bank account reflects, Mr. Chairman, it is known as the Fayette S. A. Club.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you know what S. A. means, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. I have no knowledge. I surely don't.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a Klavern at Fort Payne, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Who is the exalted cyclops of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I have no knowledge who might be exalted cyclops.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever know a George D. Killian, K-i-l-l-i-a-n, as the exalted cyclops of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. He might have been at one time, but I don't know if he is now.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you know him?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; I know him. I know a lot of people, but that don't make——

Mr. WELTNER. We are just asking you at one time, Mr. Creel.

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; I know him.

Mr. WELTNER. You know that at one time he was associated with this Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; at one time, he was.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a Klavern at Gadsden, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Known as the Confederate Lodge?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know what it is known as, but there is a unit there.

Mr. MANUEL. Who is the EC of that unit, Mr. Creel, to your knowledge?

Mr. CREEL. I really don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever know Hubert E. White to be an officer of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. The name don't ring a bell to me.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have Klavern at Hanceville, Alabama, H-a-n-c-e-v-i-l-l-e?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Who is the exalted cyclops of that unit?

Mr. CREEL. I don't have any knowledge, because that is—most of these are new units.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Marshall Kugler, K-u-g-l-e-r, to be an officer of that unit?

Mr. CREEL. I wouldn't know him if I was to meet him on the street.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a unit in Hueytown, Alabama, known as Bessemer Klavern No. 20?

Mr. CREEL. No, I know a Bessemer No. 20 that is located in Bessemer.

Mr. MANUEL. Who is the current exalted cyclops of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I really don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know James R. Whitefield?

Mr. WELTNER. Whitefield.

Mr. MANUEL. Whitefield, Cecil Davenport, and Oscar Syx, to be officers of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know if they are officers or not, but it is a possibility they could be. I have known Mr. Syx for years.

Mr. MANUEL. As a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. CREEL. I suppose he is. He used to be a member. I don't know if he is currently a member, but I couldn't say if any of them is a member at this time or not.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have a unit at Jackson—

Mr. WELTNER. Wait a minute. Back to that Bessemer one. Is that the one that Collie Leroy Wilkins is a member of?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, ask the witness if he knows Collie Leroy Wilkins to be a member of that.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Collie Leroy Wilkins to be a member of Bessemer No. 20?

Mr. CREEL. I know at one time probably he was a member of it. I couldn't tell you when he joined or when he come in or—

Mr. MANUEL. Was he a member of Bessemer No. 20 as of December 31, 1965?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know. I wasn't there at that time.

Mr. WELTNER. How about as of March 17, 1965?

Mr. CREEL. Well, Mr. Weltner, what I consider a member is a member in good standing. I don't know if he was in good standing.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, you knew he was associated with this Bessemer Klavern No. 20, didn't you, and you assumed him to be a Klansman?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I guess you could assume it, but I like to be positive when I make a positive statement before a committee.

Mr. WELTNER. We are not trying to get you to say something you don't know, but simply because you may not have been present at the time an individual subscribed to the oath of a Klansman would not preclude you from stating what your knowledge and understanding as to membership is, particularly inasmuch as you have served as a chief executive officer for the whole Realm of Alabama. Now, is

it your understanding that Collie Leroy Wilkins was a member of the Bessemer Klavern No. 20?

Mr. CREEL. I think since they have a book coming out, they are saying they are Klansmen, I think I can safely say that they called themselves Klansmen.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, let's get one thing clear. I appreciate your testimony and I am grateful for your willingness to come here to testify, but your willingness to do that can't be diminished by your understanding of the Klansman oath of secrecy. You do not have the privilege of refusing to answer questions on the basis of the Klan oath.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. I wasn't thinking. I take every oath seriously. I raised my hand here to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help me God, and I respect the oath that I have taken here today. And for me to honestly say, to sit here and say, "Well, I know that he was definitely a card-carrying Klansman of Bessemer No. 20," I just couldn't honestly make that positive a statement.

Mr. WELTNER. The committee will have to stand in recess in order to permit the members to respond to a rollcall. We will suspend until 3:30.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Weltner and Buchanan.)

(Whereupon, at 3 p.m., the subcommittee recessed until 3:30 p.m. the same day.)

(The subcommittee reconvened at 3:25 p.m., Hon. Joe R. Pool, chairman, presiding. Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool and Buchanan.)

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, would you come back to the stand.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Creel, you are still under oath and we will continue with the interrogation.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, at the start of this last recess, we were going through Klavern by Klavern with Mr. Creel of the Klaverns in the Realm of Alabama which the committee investigation has shown to have existed at the time he was Grand Dragon the last part of 1965.

We have a total of 19 and we had gone through 14 of those Klaverns, so I will proceed with the remainder.

Mr. Creel, does the Realm of Alabama have a Klavern at Jackson, Alabama, known as the Clarke-Washington Hunting & Fishing Club?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir. I don't know what it is known as.

Mr. MANUEL. It is the Clarke-Washington Hunting & Fishing Club.

Mr. CREEL. It is in Clarke County.

Mr. MANUEL. Who are the officers of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Cecil M. Hoven and John P. Williamson to be officers of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I could not possibly say that they were officers of that Klavern.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know them to be members of the Jackson, Alabama, Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. It is possible they could be, but I don't know them to be members.

Mr. MANUEL. Does the Realm of Alabama have a Klavern in Jasper, Alabama, known as Jasper No. 52?

Mr. CREEL. There is a unit in Jasper; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Who is the exalted cyclops of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I really don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Ray Fields to be the exalted cyclops of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I know Mr. Fields, but I don't know him to be the exalted cyclops.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know him to be a member of the Jasper, Alabama, Klavern No. 52?

Mr. CREEL. I presume he is a member. He spoke at the same rally I did.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever seen an application of his? Do you know that he pays dues to the Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir, I don't know that he pays dues. I presume that he does.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Fields ever attend a State meeting as an exalted cyclops of a Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I think he attended a State meeting, but I don't know in what capacity.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Joe Sanders to be an official of the Jasper, Alabama, No. 52 Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know him to be an official; there is a possibility that he is an official.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know him, to your certain knowledge, to be a member of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I think Mr. Sanders was present when we had our first rally in Jasper. I feel quite sure that in all probability he is.

Mr. MANUEL. That he is a member?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir. I said, in my own opinion.

Mr. MANUEL. I am asking you, as the Grand Dragon of Alabama, to testify that a man is a member, or is not a member, of the United Klans of America.

Mr. CREEL. I do not give him his obligation. I assume he has had his obligation or he would not be organizing in that area. I think it is pretty well known that he has organized in that area.

Mr. MANUEL. He has organized for the United Klans of America.

Mr. CREEL. I mean set up a rally in that area.

Mr. MANUEL. Was he appointed as an organizer?

Mr. CREEL. Not to my knowledge. I don't know that he was appointed to one. I don't ever remember ever giving him any kleagle credentials, but he was more or less responsible for the first rally then.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you, as Grand Dragon, ever appoint a kleagle in the State of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. At one time I did, but I think I suspended all of my kleagle credentials.

Mr. MANUEL. I am sorry, I didn't get that.

Mr. CREEL. I said, at one time we had kleagles, but they were made null and void.

Mr. MANUEL. Who are some of the persons that you appointed as kleagles or organizers for the United Klans in Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Mr. Robert Thomas is one that I can remember. He has helped organize. Mr. Falkner has helped organize.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that Ernest Falkner?

Mr. CREEL. I think that is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. Is there anyone else?

Mr. CREEL. There are possibilities that there are others, but those are the ones that come to me at this time.

Actually, anybody can be an organizer. You don't have to be appointed a kleagle or anything of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. But it is the practice of the United Klans of America to appoint them?

Mr. CREEL. It is just a title just like any other title, such as Grand Dragon.

Mr. MANUEL. Along with that title does not a kleagle share or reap financial benefits for the amount of members he gets into the Klan?

Mr. CREEL. According to the constitution, he is entitled to it, but I don't know of any that has more or less accepted it. They have more or less done it on their own. They might get a tank of gas, or something, out of it.

Mr. MANUEL. According to the constitution, how much does a kleagle get for each member that he brings into the Klan?

Mr. CREEL. I believe it is \$3. I am pretty sure that is right.

Mr. MANUEL. To continue with the Klaverns, does the United Klans Realm of Alabama have a Klan at Linden, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Who are the officers of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. At this time I don't know. They have had elections like I stated before. They have had elections. I don't know who is the exalted cyclops at Linden.

Mr. MANUEL. Prior to the period of elections and while you were Grand Dragon, did George Braswell serve as an officer of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. Who?

Mr. MANUEL. George S. Braswell.

Mr. CREEL. I can't place him. If I could see him and then see the name, then I might recognize him.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Bill Brassell serve as an officer of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. Bill Brassell? The only one I know is in Montgomery.

Mr. MANUEL. Did John Duncan serve as an officer of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I suppose probably Mr. Duncan was an officer in that Klavern.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Jimmie G. Cannon serve as an officer in that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. I suppose.

Mr. MANUEL. You say, "I suppose." On what basis do you make that supposition?

Mr. CREEL. On the basis that I know in the past he has been an officer. I don't know that he is an officer now. That is the reason I said, "I suppose."

Mr. MANUEL. Does the Klan have a Klavern in Montgomery, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that Klavern known as the White Patriots?

Mr. CREEL. I believe it is No. 610 and No. 11 in Montgomery.

Mr. MANUEL. Two Klaverns in Montgomery?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you know Gene Vann while you were Grand Dragon of the Realm of Alabama to be the exalted cyclops of a Klan in Montgomery, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. There is a possibility that he was.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever attend meetings at the Montgomery Klavern of which Mr. Vann was a member?

Mr. CREEL. I think I attended one meeting there, but I don't remember who was exalted cyclops. I don't remember whether Mr. Vann was exalted cyclops or not. It has been some time ago. As a matter of fact, I don't believe I was Grand Dragon the last time I attended a meeting.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Gene Mims?

Mr. CREEL. I don't even know Mr. Mims.

Mr. MANUEL. Does the United Klans have a Klan known as the Bassett Creek Hunting Club?

Mr. CREEL. There is a Klan there.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know who the officers of that Klavern are?

Mr. CREEL. I have no idea.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know John W. Harris and Joe Sullivan to be officers of that Klavern?

Mr. CREEL. The names are not familiar.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, I have just named 19 Klaverns in the State of Alabama. Are there any Klaverns to your knowledge, in addition to the 19 that we have just gone over, that exist in Alabama?

(At this point Mr. Weltner entered the hearing room)

Mr. CREEL. There was a unit in Greensboro. I don't know who the officers are. There is a unit in Tuscaloosa. I don't know who the officers are. There is a unit—I don't believe you named those, did you? I am trying to remember the ones you named.

Mr. MANUEL. We had knowledge of the one in Tuscaloosa. We didn't mention it in these 19.

Mr. CREEL. Alabama is a big state.

Mr. MANUEL. Does the United Klans have a Klavern in Anniston, Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. Decatur, Moulton, Scottsboro, Needham.

Mr. WELTNER. What was that?

Mr. CREEL. Needham.

Mr. WELTNER. N-e-e-d-h-a-m?

Mr. CREEL. That is right.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you remember any others?

Mr. CREEL. I am thinking. You mentioned Columbiana.

There is Columbia; Dothan. I would have to have a map.

Mr. MANUEL. We will skip that for now.

Mr. Creel, as former Grand Dragon of the Realm of Alabama, could you tell the committee whether the State had a klokann committee?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; the State has no klokann committee. You are speaking as State officers?

Mr. MANUEL. Did the State of Alabama have a State klokann committee?

Mr. CREEL. Not to my knowledge, because there is nothing in there.

Mr. MANUEL. Does the imperial office of the Klans of Alabama maintain a klokann committee?

Mr. CREEL. If they do, I know nothing of it. Yes, I believe they do—no, I am not sure. I would have to look in the constitution.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge tell the committee, please, what a klokann committee is.

Mr. CREEL. I am speaking on a local level now. They are nothing but auditors and investigators; in other words, investigate the applications and audit the books and things of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. What do they audit?

Mr. CREEL. The books.

Mr. MANUEL. Which books?

Mr. CREEL. The local units.

Mr. MANUEL. And each local unit keeps books?

Mr. CREEL. They have to have some sort of record.

Mr. MANUEL. I imagine if they had auditors to audit the books, I would imagine the Klaverns do keep books to audit.

Mr. CREEL. I would presume that.

Mr. MANUEL. It is your testimony that the State of Alabama did not have auditors on the State level?

Mr. CREEL. I don't believe—I believe that you draw the committee's—I am speaking from the imperial level that you set up a committee to audit the books and things of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, do you have any knowledge of any members of a klokann committee, either on the local, State, or national level, engaging in acts of violence?

Mr. CREEL. Not to my knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know the identity of the persons who served on the Imperial Klokann Committee?

Mr. CREEL. I was trying to think. I don't know of any such Imperial Klokann Committee, unless it was one in an appointive position. I am speaking of an elective position.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, do you know of any member of the United Klans of America who is on any police force or holds any State official position in the State of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know of anyone that is holding any, such as State trooper or deputy sheriff—no, sir, I don't know of anyone that might be member.

Mr. POOL. How about sheriff?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. POOL. How about the chief of police?

Mr. CREEL. We might have had some in the past that might have belonged, but I don't know of any now.

Mr. POOL. Do you recall who they are?

Mr. CREEL. I said that they might have belonged. Like I made a statement before—when I went in there, there were quite a few people belonged then, but I don't know of any at this time.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, at this time I would like to read to you a short paragraph out of the oath of allegiance that every Klansman

takes and that oath (Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 4) is as follows:

I swear that I will keep secure to myself a secret of a [Klan]\*sman when same is committed to me in the sacred bond of [Klan]\* smanship, the crime of violating THIS solemn oath—treason against the United States of America—rape—and malicious murder—alone excepted.

Would you please explain to the committee what that particular paragraph means?

Mr. CREEL. I have read that many times myself. I don't even know myself what that particular paragraph means. Read it again; maybe we can come out with something.

Mr. MANUEL. I will show you a copy of it and then you can have it in front of you.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. CREEL. It looks like to me they ran two things into one paragraph. That is the only thing I would say about it. I don't get the part "rape and malicious murder alone expected." I don't understand that myself.

Mr. MANUEL. Let me put the question to you this way; maybe we can get at the point I am trying to make:

Were you in attendance at the trial of the Liuzzo murder in which the defendants, Wilkins, Eaton, and Thomas, were tried; and in that case were you present when Gary Thomas Rowe testified?

Mr. CREEL. I didn't hear his testimony on that trial. I think I heard part of it in Montgomery.

Mr. MANUEL. As a matter of fact, do you know the gist or the main composition of Mr. Rowe's testimony in that case?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I remember his testimony in the paper and I heard part of his testimony before in the trial in Montgomery on the civil rights violation charge that was placed against him.

Mr. MANUEL. My question to you is this: In your opinion as a Klansman, did Mr. Rowe violate his Klan oath by so testifying?

Mr. CREEL. Well, I think it was brought out during the trial that the lower on down in the obligation it says I will "help, aid and assist" duly constituted officers of the law in the proper performance of their duty.

If Mr. Rowe was telling the truth, then he didn't break his obligation. I will put it that way. If he was telling the truth, then, I don't think he broke his obligation, but if he was lying—I don't know what Mr. Rowe was offered or what he received or anything of that nature.

But if he was telling the truth then he didn't violate his oath. If he was lying, then he did violate his oath. That is a personal opinion.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, I would like to show you a check which is made payable to E. L. McDaniel, who is the Grand Dragon of the Realm of Mississippi. The check is dated March 8, 1965, and it is signed by Melvin Sexton. It is in the amount of \$125. The check also bears the signature on the front end lengthwise of Mr. Robert M. Creel. I want you to examine this check, Mr. Creel, and advise the committee as to the purpose that this check was written.

(Document handed to witness)

Mr. CREEL. I presume that was written for the defense fund. I don't know if it was for exactly who it was for and what type of defense they were going to use it for.

(Document previously marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 7." See p. 3186.)

Mr. MANUEL. What correspondence between yourself and Mr. McDaniel existed in order to let you know that money was needed by the State of Mississippi, whether for defense or other purposes?

Mr. CREEL. I was trying to remember if it went for the defense of those in McComb or whether it was for those in Philadelphia. I don't remember.

We all take an oath that we will help each other. In other words, I didn't question Mr. McDaniel. I might be mistaken. It seems like a letter went out to all the realms asking for assistance. I don't remember the details on it.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Creel, didn't you say earlier today that if a man gets in trouble he is on his own, or words to that effect?

Mr. CREEL. Those are the words I stated.

Mr. WELTNER. You applied that to your personal situation. Do you apply the same rule to Klansmen in Mississippi who become implicated or involved in criminal proceedings over there?

Mr. CREEL. I didn't know the circumstances over there. This is a belief. I believe in the future. I believe if anyone gets into trouble—I think there has been talk before. I know I have talked to other people before. Any time you aid anyone then, in one sense, you are condoning in one sense that type. And I don't think in the future that there will be any such aid.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you mean to say that you do not think that a part of Klan activity will be raising money for the defense funds to defend Klansmen who are charged with violations of criminal statutes?

Mr. CREEL. Naturally, we would not want to see anyone who was really persecuted, yet you still can't come to the aid and defense every time somebody gets in trouble and say they are going to get me out.

In that sense—in other words, I feel like that the organization would be more or less condoning it and yet I know they don't condone it.

Mr. POOL. Who authorized you to draw this check?

Mr. CREEL. I feel quite sure that the membership did.

Mr. POOL. Don't you remember? You wrote the check, didn't you?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I just countersigned it.

Mr. POOL. You just countersigned it?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. You don't recall the circumstances that caused you to countersign it?

Mr. CREEL. We had to countersign most all of the checks.

Mr. POOL. Aren't you supposed to know what they are for when you countersign them?

Mr. CREEL. I knew it was going to Mr. McDaniel. As I said, I don't remember the exact details. It might have been a letter from Mr. McDaniel. It might have been a letter out of the imperial office.

Mr. POOL. How would you prove everything you did was all right if you didn't keep records?

Mr. CREEL. We have the canceled check.

Mr. POOL. You don't have any records of who told you to do it?

Mr. CREEL. I am sure it was authorized.

Mr. POOL. Do you have a memorandum right now?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I don't have one, but it had to be discussed and approved.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Creel, this was for the defense fund for Mississippi, wasn't it, this check?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir, I think so.

Mr. WELTNER. Does a Klansman understand that if he gets into trouble with the law that the Klan will come to his assistance?

Mr. CREEL. I don't think they think that now.

Mr. WELTNER. Have they ever thought that?

Mr. CREEL. They might have in some individual cases.

Mr. WELTNER. Was that a general understanding of Klansmen during the time that you were Grand Dragon?

Mr. CREEL. During the time I was Grand Dragon, it was thoroughly understood that we wasn't going to be helping and aiding the other movement.

In other words, that brought in funds.

Mr. WELTNER. I don't think anyone would suggest that, but was it understood that if a Klansman was involved in some kind of a legal prosecution that he could turn to the Klan for assistance?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; there was no understanding from my part because I think they know my feeling. In other words, if you get in, you are in.

Mr. POOL. I thought you said a while ago one Klansman was supposed to help another Klansman.

Mr. CREEL. We are, but not in any acts of violence.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you mean the Klan policy prohibits the organization coming to the assistance of any Klansman who is involved in an act of violence?

Mr. CREEL. Rephrase that, please.

Mr. WELTNER. Does the policy of the Klan prohibit the Klan, as an organization, coming to the assistance of any member who is charged with the commission of an act of violence?

Mr. CREEL. I just stated previously that maybe some individuals feel like the Klan was going to come to his aid and assistance if he got into any trouble, but I tried to make it plain that if anyone committed any acts of violence against anyone of any nation that this organization, that they would be doing it as an individual and not with this organization coming to their aid and rescue.

Mr. WELTNER. Let me ask you a few more questions along that same line.

There were upward of 15 individuals in Neshoba County, Mississippi, charged with the slaying of three civil rights workers. Now, the Klan came to the defense of those individuals, did it not, and this check for \$160 or something was part of that assistance.

Mr. CREEL. I said I did not know for sure that it was for Neshoba or the other one. I believe I stated that there was either a letter put out by Mr. McDaniel stating that he needed some assistance, and I suppose that he investigated the part—if they belonged to his organization or if they were guilty or if he believed them to be innocent, and things of that nature.

Mr. WELTNER. The question is this: Did not the Klan come to the assistance of those individuals by sending money for their legal de-

fense? I don't mean to imply that it is wrong for a person to have legal defense. I don't mean that. I am just trying to discern what the policy of the Klan is with regard to defending Klansmen charged with acts of violence.

My question again is: Did not the Alabama Realm raise money and send some money over to Mississippi to assist in the defense of Klansmen charged with acts of violence?

Mr. CREEL. That was sent to their defense fund, and I can say it was probably used in the defense of those people, but what I was trying to straighten out, Mr. Weltner, was that I was not for sure whether it was for Neshoba or what part it was. That is what I was trying to clarify.

Mr. WELTNER. Were any funds raised for the defense of the members or the alleged members of the Bessemer Klavern No. 20—Thomas, Wilkins, Eaton?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; I think I testified before that money had been raised before for those three.

Mr. WELTNER. So it was the policy of the Klan to come to the defense of members who were charged?

Mr. CREEL. I think I made in my statement also, Mr. Weltner, that the decision was not entirely up to me at that time.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, I notice on this check that your signature is not below that of Melvin Sexton but rather apart from that and you signed lengthwise across the check.

My question to you is this: Have you ever signed checks in blank?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And Melvin Sexton would then put in the payee and the amount of money?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; that was to be if he needed stamps or anything of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you sign this particular check in blank?

(Document handed to witness)

Mr. CREEL. I really couldn't say. I don't remember. There is a possibility.

Mr. MANUEL. I show you another check made payable to "Leroy Collie Wilkins," dated April 12, 1965, in the amount of \$158.50, signed by Melvin Sexton at the proper place and by Robert Creel at the place that I indicated before, and this check is endorsed on the reverse side "Leroy Collie Wilkins" and "Collie Leroy Wilkins," and I ask you if you remember signing this particular check in blank.

(Document handed to witness)

Mr. CREEL. Yes, I remember this check. No, this was not signed in blank.

(Document previously marked "William Sexton Exhibit No. 6," See p. 3185.)

Mr. MANUEL. What was the purpose of that check being drawn, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. I was trying to think. That was a personal loan because I made this check out myself.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you remember the purpose for which Mr. Wilkins borrowed this money? Did you say it was for a loan?

Mr. CREEL. I believe that was after the March incident. I am not sure. I can't recall just the exact nature. I believe he was about to put him in jail for something and it had already been publicized that the Klan was going to defend him and so, therefore, to keep the boy from going to jail I believe he paid a fine with it. I am not sure but I believe that is what it was for, legal fees or something of that nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he request personally to you the loan of this money?

Mr. CREEL. It had been discussed should we let him have the money or should we let him go to jail or something of that nature, and I believe we decided to let him have the money.

Mr. MANUEL. Who is the "we" that you referred to when you said "we decided"?

Mr. CREEL. I am pretty sure I informed Mr. Sexton. I know I did. Also Mr. Thomas.

Mr. MANUEL. Robert Thomas?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir. It seems like Mr. Eugene Thomas there I was talking to and it met with approval.

Mr. MANUEL. Did in fact Mr. Wilkins repay that money to your knowledge, Mr. Creel?

Mr. CREEL. To my knowledge, it has not been repaid yet.

Mr. MANUEL. I would like to show you another check which was made out to cash on the account of Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Creel, dated October 7, 1964, in the amount of \$20. On the reverse thereof, the endorsers names are Joseph Howard Sims and Cecil William Myers. And I would suggest to you, Mr. Creel, in case your memory does not serve you, that Mr. Sims and Mr. Myers were the defendants in the murder case of Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn and I ask you for what purpose that check was drawn.

Mr. CREEL. I don't even know these people on the back. That is a good one there. You can believe that.

(Check marked "Robert Creel Exhibit No. 2" appears on p. 3288.)

Mr. POOL. To whom did you give the check?

Mr. CREEL. This is my wife's signature on here. It is not my signature. That is what I am trying to figure out.

I don't remember giving a check to anyone. This is out of mine and my wife's account on October 7, 1964.

Mr. POOL. You don't know what the purpose was either?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir. I don't even know how they got their signatures on there.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions at this time.

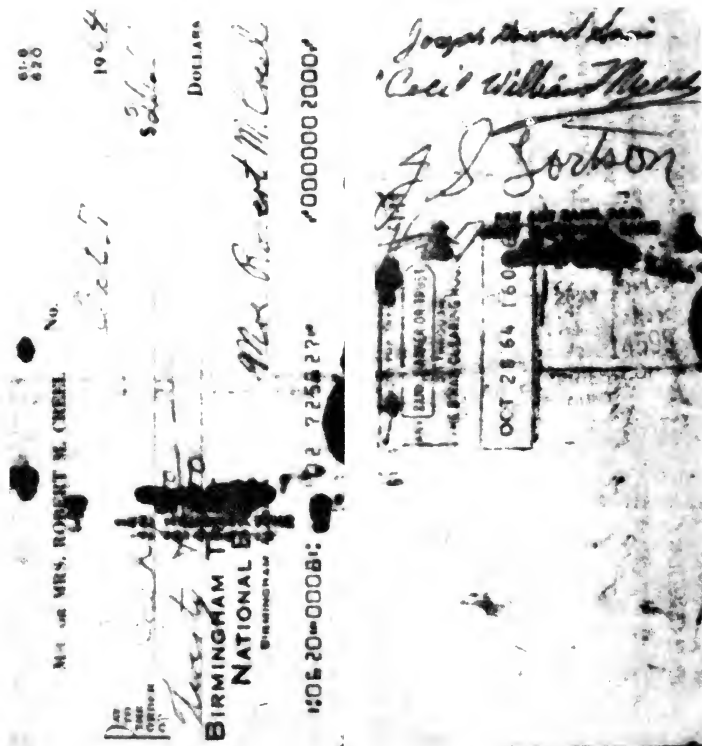
Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Creel, this morning I was endeavoring to discuss with Mr. Roton the question of secrecy in the Klan. I would like to know is it considered necessary that membership in Klans be maintained secret?

Mr. CREEL. Naturally, Mr. Weltner, when I am speaking I am giving a personal opinion. I personally do not see why they should be secret as to the membership. I personally feel if a man is ashamed to be a Klansman then certainly he should not join.

Mr. WELTNER. That is your personal opinion?

Mr. CREEL. That is my personal opinion.

## ROBERT CREEL EXHIBIT No. 2



Mr. WELTNER. But that is not the policy of the Klan?

Mr. CREEL. I don't know of anyone who has been told he can't reveal his identity.

Mr. WELTNER. Isn't there a strong prohibition against revealing the identity of other Klansmen?

Mr. CREEL. Against other Klansmen. It is in the oath that you won't reveal the identity.

Mr. WELTNER. What is the purpose of that?

Mr. CREEL. I feel that more or less came probably from some of the old ritual stuff.

Mr. WELTNER. I am sure that that was in the old ritual. But I am sure you are familiar with that document, speaking of "The Seven Symbols of The Klan" published by the United Klans of America, which states that "The secret of our power lies in the secrecy of our membership." I am trying to find out just what is the meaning of that secrecy.

Why is the secrecy of the membership equivalent to the power of the Klan. What is the purpose of the secrecy? Why is it necessary to have secrecy?

Mr. CREEL. I think that is just some of it, as I said before, something which has bled off from the old rituals about something being mystic. I can't foresee that you are going to get so much power because there is secrecy.

Mr. WELTNER. Have you ever seen any little handbills which say, "The KKK is watching you"?

Mr. CREEL. I have seen some of those little stickers.

Mr. WELTNER. What is the purpose of those stickers?

Mr. CREEL. I see no purpose of them.

Mr. WELTNER. Have you ever seen a sticker that says, "Your neighbor is a Klansman"?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Have you ever heard of the use of such stickers or pamphlets?

Mr. CREEL. There is a possibility.

Mr. WELTNER. What would be the purpose of a statement like that?

Mr. CREEL. That your neighbor is a Klansman?

Mr. WELTNER. Yes.

Mr. CREEL. I don't know. If someone should put it on my door, maybe it is a way of getting back at their neighbor. I don't know; I am not acquainted with it.

Mr. WELTNER. Is that used for the purpose of intimidating individuals?

Mr. CREEL. I wouldn't have any knowledge of that, Mr. Weltner. I have never seen one. I hope it is an advertising gimmick maybe to get you to join or something. I don't know what it is.

Mr. WELTNER. I don't believe the membership committee would pass my application at this point.

Mr. CREEL. I was not referring to you directly, Mr. Weltner.

Mr. WELTNER. What is the purpose of burning crosses?

Mr. CREEL. Are you speaking at public rallies?

Mr. WELTNER. Anywhere.

Mr. CREEL. The only place where it is supposed to be used is at public rallies, and I think you have read the article about the cross on there. I don't think it should be used in any—that is getting into your ritualistic work.

Mr. WELTNER. What is the purpose of burning a cross on private property?

Mr. CREEL. I see no purpose whatsoever. I don't know who would be so much scared of a cross burning. As a matter of fact, I had one burned in my yard as a prank.

I don't think—I have a good friend in Alabama. I would not want to mention his name, but he had a cross burned in his yard and the man actually thought that I did it, and it wasn't true.

Mr. WELTNER. Isn't the purpose of burning crosses on private property to intimidate people?

Mr. CREEL. I suppose it could be accepted as that, but I would never burn one on anybody's yard to try to intimidate them.

Mr. WELTNER. Are you testifying that you never directed that any crosses be burned?

Mr. CREEL. In people's yards, no, sir; I never directed that.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you approve of burning crosses on property?

Mr. CREEL. I don't approve of burning crosses in any individual's yard, for the simple reason that other people would do it and it would be just like one mad thing. Nothing can be accomplished out of cross-burnings in people's yards.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you approve of acts of intimidation or coercion?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you approve of anonymous telephone calls?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; I receive those myself. I know what they can do.

Mr. WELTNER. I speak with some experience on that. You disapprove of that?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir. I feel if an individual does not meet your approval, in things of his nature, I think you should be man enough to walk up to him and tell him you don't like it. And if he tells you he doesn't like you, that's it and that is the way it should be.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you approve of acts of violence against other citizens of the United States?

Mr. CREEL. I disapprove of acts of violence against anyone.

Mr. WELTNER. You would not think that the difference in a social or political viewpoint would warrant the use of violence against any other citizen of the United States?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Did it ever come to your attention during the time that you were Grand Dragon that there had been charges made against the Klan attributing to the Klan acts of intimidation, acts of violence, cross-burnings, and things like that?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; there have been many things attributed to it, but it is hard for me to believe it.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you take any steps as chief executive officer of the State of Alabama to inquire into whether or not these charges were true, or did you instruct members of the Klaverns to refrain from engaging in acts of violence? Did you make any effort to control acts of violence?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; I feel that I have taken efforts. I spoke out against it and I will still speak out against it. In this country, I believe I stated before, the Klan does not have the right to take the law in their own hands, as well as any other organization. They don't have the right to take the law into their own hands.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you believe that a secret organization whose members are sworn to secrecy can be controlled so as to prohibit or eliminate the use of violence, threats, and intimidations?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir; I think they can be controlled.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you think the Ku Klux Klan organization is controlled in such a manner as to preclude it from participating in acts of violence?

Mr. CREEL. I can only speak for myself. If there have been any acts of violence committed by the members, they have done it solely on their own and they should be treated as such. I said if there have been acts of violence. The reaction was on their own, then they should be treated as such.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you feel the secrecy of the Klan and its ritual and its whole history contributed to acts of violence?

Mr. CREEL. Sir?

Mr. WELTNER. Do you feel that the secrecy of the Klan and the oath of Klansmen to maintain secrecy creates a situation in which acts of violence are generated or encouraged?

Mr. CREEL. I don't see where the oath of secrecy would cause him to commit any acts of violence. If he lives up to his oath, he would be a good Klansman.

Mr. WELTNER. It says you cannot tell on a Klansman except for rape, malicious murder, and treason. Does that not give him an opportunity to commit heinous crimes?

Mr. CREEL. It also says, in part of the oath, that they will assist duly authorized officers of the law in carrying out their constituted duty. Just the fact of being a so-called secret organization I don't see where that would give anyone the right to go out and commit any crimes whatsoever.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you consider a Klansman is a citizen of the United States and bound by the laws of the United States and the States themselves, even if those laws are contrary to the personal preference of Klansmen?

Mr. CREEL. If it is a law, there is nothing you can say. You are going to have to live with it or live by it until future legislation either changes it or it is there forever.

Yes, sir; I think everyone, that is including Klansmen and everybody else, if it is the law they just have to live by it.

Mr. WELTNER. I want to thank you, Mr. Creel, for coming here and testifying today. I guess you have noticed, and I am sure the members of the committee have, that you are the first person who has held a substantial office in the Klan who has been willing to come and take an oath and respond to our questions, and I thank you for coming.

Mr. CREEL. I thank you, Mr. Weltner. I can assure that, probably like a lot of others, I was probably a little nervous.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I think the record ought to reflect that Mr. Creel wrote me in February, I believe, of this year. Is that correct?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. This was when we were first discussing the possibility of this investigation, and it was to the effect that as the then Grand Dragon of Alabama in which I believe he identified himself to me in the letter, he welcomed this investigation and indicated his willingness to testify. I want to join in thanking you for so testifying, Mr. Creel.

I do know it is a decision to stand by and I am glad you have done so.

May I ask you, while you were Grand Dragon of Alabama, how many members did the United Klans have in that State? I am not asking for names, just approximate membership.

Mr. CREEL. When I took the oath?

Mr. BUCHANAN. During your administration or say at the beginning of 1965.

Mr. CREEL. It would be hard to say, because when they send in reports that is what they judge by and collect token on.

As a matter of fact, it is an honor system. I didn't go down and collect every Klavern's books and say you are supposed to have 100 members or 25 members, and there are a lot of members if you are over 65 you don't have to pay dues and things of that nature.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Would you say a Klavern might average 100 members?

Mr. CREEL. There are some that would go as high as maybe—of course, I think I should explain to you that people will come in and let's say they join. Well, they might attend 2 months and maybe they came in with an attitude like Mr. Weltner was speaking of that they get the wrong opinion, that they are going to come in and rip, ride, and snort. Well, they find out it is not and they drop out. It is always an in-and-out proposition.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Would you estimate the average membership at a given point, say in 1965, about 35 per Klavern would be a good average?

Mr. CREEL. There have to be 35 before you can issue a charter. There could be 100 or 200. What I am speaking of, you must have 35 before you can issue a charter.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You would not have any average as to what it might be for the State or for a particular Klavern within that State?

Mr. CREEL. I would say there is a possibility of 2,000 or 3,000. It might be more. I am just giving you a figure.

Mr. BUCHANAN. If there were 35 Klaverns and 100 in each that would be 3,500, so it would be one-tenth of one percent of the people of Alabama, figuring it in with the population.

I think this reflects something about the outlook of the people. You said in your earlier testimony that Alabama is filled with fine people, and I have repeatedly said that in this hearing, and your organization would comprise only a very tiny percentage of the people of Alabama even with a most generous figure.

However, within your organization, I think your testimony is valuable here because if you have been honest in your answers, and I certainly won't challenge your honesty in answering, I gather you feel the Klan has not, to your knowledge, been guilty of violence and terrorism?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You don't approve of such actions?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You don't think anybody has the right to commit them or take the law into his own hands?

Mr. CREEL. That is correct.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I am sure you are representative of some members of the Klan who neither approve nor have been involved in such actions.

However, many of us growing up in the deep South, Mr. Creel, have taken as common knowledge the fact that the Klan was guilty of such acts and has always been associated with such acts in our minds, in the minds of many people in the South, as well as all over the country.

When I was a student in college in the 1940's for example, there was a Klan uprising in Alabama and the rest of the South. I made some very caustic comments against the Ku Klux Klan in a class. I was challenged by fellow students. The professor defended to some slight extent the Klan. The next day a membership application was on his desk, so I have some reason to believe that some of the people in the class were members of that organization or close to it.

Now, in this particular group, they were boasting of acts of violence and terrorism and defense of such acts and many of us just always associated this with the Ku Klux Klan.

We have had a great deal of evidence and testimony in these hearings in that direction, so much that it would be beyond my imagination to believe that the Klan was not guilty of such acts.

Let me ask you this from your youth up. Is it not true that you have been taught and believe that the Ku Klux Klan was a good organization rather than an evil one?

Is this not the case?

Mr. CREEL. To tell you the truth, I never heard too much about the Klan until I joined.

Mr. BUCHANAN. May I say to you, sir, as Grand Dragon of Alabama you said you talked to W. O. Eaton, Collie Wilkins, Eugene Thomas, and they told you they were not guilty, and you believed them. Is that it?

Mr. CREEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You said as a member of Bessemer Klavern in 1963 you had no knowledge of the bombing and, so far as your knowledge, the members of your Klavern were not involved in that bombing.

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; and I also testified that, as far as I know, the FBI interrogated every known member and believed-to-be-member and everything else and I have talked on numerous occasions with them about the bombings.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I think I would advise you, sir—you have been a high-ranking official of this organization. I must say that from the evidence and the testimony developed in these hearings, together with other things that have come to the attention of many of us who have lived in the deep South, I would advise you to take a good hard open look at the record before coming to any final conclusions about the Klan not being involved in acts of violence and terrorism.

I would say that one interpretation of this witness, Mr. Chairman, would be that this is a man who may well have been used by persons in the Ku Klux Klan and given a high station, but not perhaps always informed as to all activity and ventures of that organization.

Let me give you a chance to clear up one thing and with this I will close, Mr. Chairman. I would like to have entered in the record, Mr. Chairman, the article from the *Reader's Digest* entitled "The FBI's Secret War Against the Ku Klux Klan" from the January 1966 issue to which Mr. Roton earlier referred.

Mr. POOL. It is so ordered.

(At this point Mr. Weltner left the hearing room.)

Mr. BUCHANAN. In that article there is a statement concerning the case of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo:

On the night of last March 25, four Alabama Klansmen overtook Mrs. Liuzzo, mother of five, as she was driving from Selma to Montgomery with a 19-year-old Negro boy to pick up civil-rights demonstrators. Guns flashed, and Mrs. Liuzzo fell dead against the steering wheel.

"Let's go by the Dragon's house and tell him what a good job we did," said one of the Klansmen. But another occupant of the car, Gary Thomas Rowe, was thinking only of how to get to a phone. Rowe, an FBI informant since 1960, had been powerless to prevent the murder \* \* \*.

You were the Grand Dragon and this implies they were going to report to you what a good job they did. Did you have any knowledge or have any part whatever in sending these four men to that area on this night?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir, I did not. As a matter of fact, the reason I remember the date so good is that is my boy's birthday.

(Document marked "Robert Creel Exhibit No. 3." See pp. 3297-3302.)

Mr. BUCHANAN. You had no contact with this group before or after that night?

Mr. CREEL. No, sir; as a matter of fact, I was working the next day in the plant when it came out on the news that I believe they had been picked up—news flashes.

Mr. BUCHANAN. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, Alabama being the realm in which is located the imperial offices of the United Klans of America, it is entirely possible that the Imperial Wizard to a great extent, having served for a time as acting Grand Dragon, that he himself perhaps to a great extent directed activities in the State of Alabama and it may have had some unique relationship to the imperial realm because of the imperial offices being located there.

We have heard testimony to the effect that people working directly in Alabama work directly under the imperial office.

One final message, Mr. Creel, and Mr. Roton, who I notice is still in the hearing room. It has come to my attention in a recent radio interview, Mr. Robert Shelton, the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, stated that he would be working in the field this fall and would be in my district and would guarantee my personal defeat in the next election.

Now, many threats have been made against members of this committee from many sources, and we receive a good many of these things from members of the Klan organization, but I would like to say for the record in the presence of these two gentlemen, I have waited for Mr. Shelton to return to this hearing room and I would welcome his opposition in November, but I would challenge him and dare him to move to my district and to run for my seat or for any of his lieutenants to do the same and I would appreciate it if you would convey that message to him.

I have no further questions.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, would you restate the date of the last election at which Bill Brassell was elected the Grand Dragon of the State of Alabama?

Mr. CREEL. I believe it was the first Sunday in January. I am not positive on that.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Creel, I would like to show you a check dated January 20, 1966, signed by Melvin Sexton, countersigned by Robert M. Creel, pay to the order of the U.K.A. Defense Fund, in the amount

of \$761.87, and I ask you to explain to the committee how you signed that document after the election of Mr. Brassell.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. CREEL. I think I testified before that Mr. Sexton had some blank checks in which I had signed and that is probably one of them.

(Check marked "Robert Creel Exhibit No. 4" follows:)

ROBERT CREEL EXHIBIT No. 4

*Robert Creel*

BIRMINGHAM TRUST NATIONAL BANK

No. \_\_\_\_\_

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. \_\_\_\_\_ 19 \_\_\_\_\_

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

*Robert Creel*

\$ 761.87

*Seven hundred and sixty one and 87/100*

DOLLARS

UNITED KLAN OF AMERICA

*Melvin Sexton*

⑆0620⑈0008⑆

59 163658⑈

61-8  
620

Mr. MANUEL. Did you sign that particular check in blank?

Mr. CREEL. I signed three or four checks blank. In other words, if he made out a check and he had a receipt for it, then he would show it and show what the money had gone for.

Mr. MANUEL. Show it to whom?

Mr. CREEL. At the State meeting. In other words, he would explain what that was for. In other words, we live miles apart. He might need to pay something, and I might be in another part of the State. I may—in other words, as long as you had receipts and things of that nature, it was quite all right.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you explain the purpose of the \$761.87 for U.K.A. Defense Fund?

Do you have any knowledge of that?

Mr. CREEL. I don't have any knowledge about that—no, sir; I don't have any knowledge about that. That refers to the 20.

Mr. MANUEL. Were the majority of checks drawn on the Birmingham Trust out of the account of UKA made by Melvin Sexton with your name being in blank?

Mr. CREEL. I really don't know. I just don't know how many checks have been drawn on that.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, before dismissing Mr. Creel, Mr. Creel has promised to present to the committee documents which he has in his file case, and therefore I would request that he be continued under subpoena until March 1 so that we will be assured that Mr. Creel will forward to us the documents which he claimed he had in his possession.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Creel, your subpoena will be continued to March 1. In listening to your testimony and in listening to Mr. Buchanan question you a while ago, it reminded me when I was young. My father and I were coming through Dallas in a car, and it was about 7 o'clock

at night, and we saw a tremendous crowd around the jail. In fact, we got boxed in there and couldn't get out for a little while. We found out what was going on, and it was a mob that was trying to storm the Dallas County jail to take a Negro out and hang him or lynch him.

I never was so frightened in my life being there and seeing the faces of those men. They turned into beasts. I was just 12 years old and I will never forget it. I am sorry you could not have been there with me. It might have changed your opinion somewhat of the Ku Klux Klan.

All my life I will remember it. We got out of there—the sheriff stopped it. He had to kill the first man coming up the steps. That is how he stopped it, and the crowd fell back then. We had a very, very brave sheriff. If you had been there, I don't think you would not have been mixed up there.

Mr. CREEL. I feel sure that would be the case.

Mr. POOL. Your subpoena is continued to March 1 and you are now excused to that date, with the instructions——

Mr. CREEL. I will mail it in care of Mr. Appell.

Mr. POOL. That is right.

(Robert Creel Exhibit No. 3, introduced on p. 3294, follows:)

ROBERT CREEL EXHIBIT No. 3

[Reader's Digest, January 1966]

Behind the scenes of racial tumult, FBI agents are fighting a desperate and thankless battle against Klansmen, communists and killers

THE FBI is "following the path of appeasement" of segregationists, said Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"For Negroes, the FBI has become part of the oppression of the South," said the Student Non-

Violent Coördinating Committee.

"Little or nothing is done to hunt down and prosecute the bombers, the burners and the killers," said Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action.

Such has been the litany of abuse heaped upon the Federal Bureau of

BY JOHN BARRON

## The FBI's Secret War Against the Ku Klux Klan



Investigation. The truth is, however, that nearly 2000 FBI agents are today risking their lives to defend the legitimate cause of civil rights against terror, subversion and anarchy. At this very moment they are desperately engaged in a deadly, secret war that rages from dark thickets in Mississippi to fiery streets in Los Angeles to packed slums in northern cities. Their mission is the most difficult and thankless in FBI history.

- At midnight, two Ku Klux Klansmen steal across the campus of a Negro college in Little Rock. Against a dormitory wall they lay a black box containing 40 sticks of dynamite and a fuse attached to a candle. Suddenly flashlight beams strike from the darkness. "FBI! You're under arrest."

Dumbfounded, the Klansmen find themselves surrounded by agents. The Klansmen know that they have been betrayed. What they will never know is how the FBI succeeded in putting an informant into their midst.

- A group of furtive men crowd into a New York City hotel suite, lock the door and draw the blinds. For three chilling days they plot a campaign to exploit racial hatred and to undermine the American defense of South Vietnam, in the name of civil rights. Each conspirator is a Communist Party boss. One, though, is also an undercover agent of the FBI. Less than two hours after the communists abandon the suite, he dictates a detailed re-

port which is flown by courier to Washington.

- Two agents lie listening in a Georgia field as Klansmen discuss plans to shoot down the first Negroes who attempt to enter a theater in the town of Covington. Next night, when carloads of heavily armed Klansmen pour into Covington, alerted Georgia state troopers and local police fill the main street. The would-be killers can only look on sullenly as 18 Negroes enter the theater, sit through the show and leave without incident.

These cases from recent FBI experience are typical, but they only hint at what the FBI men must contend with.

In Mississippi, search for a Klan hideout led two agents to a darkened cellar. "Watch out, Bob!" one yelled. "This place is full of snakes." Slowly and fearfully, the agents backed away from a writhing sea of rattlesnakes and moccasins that Klansmen had collected to slip into the FBI men's cars and homes.

In Alabama, an agent was photographing hoodlums who were threatening the participants in a civil-rights demonstration. Suddenly a rubber hose whipped across the back of his neck. Lying on the sidewalk, he groggily reached out for his camera. A foot stomped down. Then there was only blackness.

In a Mississippi town, a cross was burned on the lawn of an agent one week after he had been transferred there with his family. The phone rang with obscene, threatening calls.

## 1966 THE FBI'S SECRET WAR AGAINST THE KU KLUX KLAN 89

to his wife. "Sure is a pretty little girl you've got, honey. Be a shame if something happened to her. If you want to keep them kids, honey, you'd better get out of here." Once, while the agent was away on assignment, a call awakened his wife late at night. "This is the State Highway Patrol," a voice said. "Your husband was killed a while ago in a car accident. Where shall we deliver the body?" The wife was still in tears when FBI headquarters assured her that she had just been the victim of a macabre Klan hoax—her husband was all right.

These barbarous tactics remind one of the Ku Klux Klan in its heyday. Actually, the organization is a far cry from what it was then. During the 1920's, membership topped four million and extended into such states as Indiana, Kansas and Colorado. Many southern officeholders owed their success at the polls to the bloc votes of the Klan. But over the years corruption and senseless violence proved to be the organization's undoing, and it was reduced to little more than a nuisance—until 1954, when a concerted revival effort began pushing Klan membership toward 10,000, with many other active sympathizers. Today the membership—most strongly concentrated in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—is well past 10,000, and is growing.

These hardcore fanatics can and do cause a lot of misery to the fighters for civil rights. And aggravating

the FBI's problems are communists and riffraff who are determined to stir up disorder and racial hatred through infiltration of civil-rights organizations.

In defense of civil rights, the FBI has developed four basic tactics:

*Massive Investigation.* In emergencies, as many as 250 agents are assigned to investigate a civil-rights crime. Minutes after Washington headquarters decides that more men are needed, agents around the country are likely to receive the order that FBI wives dread: "You will report immediately to the Special Agent in Charge (name of the city) for a special assignment of undetermined duration."

Such immediate action often detects vital clues before they vanish. A country church in Georgia was set afire with kerosene shortly after midnight. By 2 a.m., a dozen agents were blanketing the vicinity. Shortly after sunrise, at a house less than a mile from the church, one of the investigators smelled spilled kerosene. Had the agents delayed, the telltale odor would have disappeared, and the guilt of the occupants might never have been established.

*Recruitment of Allies.* Agents strive by personal example to enlist local authorities as allies in upholding federal civil-rights laws. In September 1964, two agents, local policemen, a sheriff and his deputies gathered in front of a grocery store in the Negro section of Canton, Miss. A bomb composed of eight sticks of dynamite had just

been discovered against the store's foundation.

The agents did not have to tell each other that they were on trial before the sheriff and local officers, whose support they had been trying to win. Though admittedly afraid, they crawled under the store, defused the bomb and brought it out.

On a rainy morning seven months later, when 55 Negroes marched on the courthouse to register to vote, this same sheriff greeted the leaders with, "There's no use you getting wet out here. Make yourself at home inside while your people are registering."

An important turning point in the war against the Klan in Mississippi came when J. Edgar Hoover personally enlisted the coöperation of Gov. Paul B. Johnson, Jr. At a private conference, Hoover declared that the FBI was determined to uphold the civil-rights law and suppress Klan activities. Although a segregationist, Johnson agreed to help. The two then worked out an arrangement whereby the FBI is training large numbers of Mississippi state policemen and sharing with them secrets about terroristic activities. Now Johnson has purged the state police of all Klansmen and let it be known that any state employee found to be a member of the Klan will be summarily fired. A result: the incidence of racial violence in Mississippi has been steadily declining.

*Psychological Warfare.* Soon after a man joins the Klan, an FBI agent

visits him. "If anything happens around here, you're automatically a suspect so long as you stay in the Klan," the agent tells him. When a Klan attempted to organize in Mississippi last year, 45 men attended the first meeting. Within three days agents called on all of them. At the next meeting, only five showed up.

Agents take up every challenge that Klansmen issue. As a Klan meeting broke up, one Klansman boasted, "First time I catch one of them nigger-loving FBI's, I'm going to kick his ribs in so he won't breathe right for a month."

The next morning, an agent strode into the railroad yard where the Klansman worked and tapped him on the shoulder. "I'm from the FBI. I hear you've been looking for somebody like me."

"I ain't been looking for no one," the Klansman answered.

"Hey, boys, here's a Kluxer who says he's going to beat up the FBI," the agent called to workmen nearby. "Come watch."

The Klansman backed away.

The agent said, "I guess we can't expect any guts from a man who has to hide behind a sheet, can we?"

*Counterintelligence.* The most important tactic of all is infiltration of Klans and communist cells with informants—patriotic men who risk death to forewarn of subversion and violence, who identify terrorists and gather evidence against them.

One Sunday morning an agent invited a young farmer for an auto ride. In the car he handed the

1966 THE FBI'S SECRET WAR AGAINST THE KU KLUX KLAN 91

farmer some photographs—bloated bodies of two teen-agers, a man almost decapitated by a shotgun blast.

Later he stopped at what had been a farmhouse until set afire a few hours earlier. In the one remaining room, a fearful Negro woman was trying to feed a squalling baby and two small children while her husband searched the ruins for the few belongings not charred beyond use. "The Klan was here last night," the agent said. "I need to talk to these people a few minutes more. Look around."

As they drove away, the agent asked, "Wouldn't you like to help us put a stop to this?"

"What do you want me to do?" asked the farmer.

"Have you ever thought about joining the Klan?" the agent asked.

In the next days, the farmer was taught how to apply for Klan membership, how to survive screening by the "Klan Bureau of Investigation," how to act at meetings, how to communicate secretly with the FBI, and what to do in emergencies. Ever since, he has been a courageous and valuable source. Today, because of the FBI, every Klan group is infiltrated with such loyal Americans.

ALL FOUR of the foregoing tactics had to be used in the infamous civil-rights case which began when two shotgun blasts struck a car traveling through Georgia in pre-dawn darkness. The driver, Lt. Col. Lemuel A. Penn, a Negro educator from Washington, D.C., who had just finished

Army Reserve duty at Fort Benning, slumped over dead.

FBI Director Hoover was aboard a plane when the report of the murder was radioed to him. "If they get away with this, they'll think they can get away with anything," Hoover said to his assistant, Clyde Tolson. "Ask Atlanta how many extra agents they need. I want them all to report there today."

By nightfall, 78 agents were at the murder scene and combing the countryside. At Atlanta headquarters, analysts pored over 1214 confidential dossiers. Working around the clock, they compiled a list of 14 Klansmen considered most likely to commit such wanton murder. Then, with the help of informants and co-operating Georgia authorities, they checked where each of the 14 had been when Penn was shot. When the whereabouts of three could not be established, agents started visiting them with questions, each time making it clearer that the FBI knew their alibis to be lies.

Less than a month later, one of the Klansmen talked. He signed a detailed confession revealing how he had driven the car from which the other two suspects had fired the fatal blasts. Hours later, a fourth Klansman signed a statement saying that these same two suspects told him they had killed Penn.

The FBI could scarcely be blamed for the tragic aftermath. At the resulting trial, the Klansmen repudiated their statements. The jurors returned a verdict of not guilty,

then some shook hands with elated Klansmen. Imperial Wizard James Venable chortled, "You'll never be able to convict a white man that kills a nigger what encroaches on the Southern way of life."

An even more shocking case was that of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. On the night of last March 25, four Alabama Klansmen overtook Mrs. Liuzzo, mother of five, as she was driving from Selma to Montgomery with a 19-year-old Negro boy to pick up civil-rights demonstrators. Guns flashed, and Mrs. Liuzzo fell dead against the steering wheel.

"Let's go by the Dragon's house and tell him what a good job we did," said one of the Klansmen. But another occupant of the car, Gary Thomas Rowe, was thinking only of how to get to a phone. Rowe, an FBI informant since 1960, had been powerless to prevent the murder, but by 2 a.m. the FBI in Mobile reported to Washington: "We've got an eyewitness to the Liuzzo murder. Three Klansmen did it. We'll move as soon as we get warrants."

The trial of Klansman Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., resulted in a hung jury, although Rowe was so impressive on the stand that ten jurors voted for conviction. Last October, at the retrial, Wilkins was acquitted as courtroom spectators cheered. Still, the glare of publicity has helped further reduce Klan effectiveness.

By the record, the FBI has handled 14,000 civil-rights cases in the last

four years, more than a third of them outside the South. In just one case, the murder of three civil-rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., it spent \$768,000 and more than 175,000 man-hours before arresting 19 suspects as conspirators in the plot. And, at the same time, agents have quietly passed on intelligence which has enabled loyal civil-rights leaders to thwart communist attempts to subvert their organizations.

Through their thousands of investigations, agents have identified the persons responsible for virtually every major racial crime—even though it may be a long time before the guilty pay. For instance, they have put the finger on those responsible for the bombing of a Birmingham Negro church two years ago in which four small girls were killed. Director Hoover ordered them to keep building this case until it is so strong that no jury in the land could refuse to convict. Thus, ever since, wherever the killers have gone, agents have haunted them, watching for chances to add more evidence against them.

Yet there is no end to the abuse being heaped on the agents who fight daily in the front lines of the sinister and shadowy civil-rights war. Hoover is philosophical about this. Recently he said to a group of his men, "If we do our job right and impartially, the extremists on both sides are going to scream at us. In fact, the louder they scream, maybe the better we're doing the job."



Mr. POOL. Call your next witness.

Mr. APPELL. The committee would like to call as its next witness Mr. Ralph Pryor.

Mr. PRYOR. I have been sworn in, sir.

### TESTIMONY OF RALPH EARL PRYOR, JR.—Resumed

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, earlier you presented to the committee documents in your possession which were called for by a subpoena which had been served upon you?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. APPELL. In the course of the interrogation of Mr. Creel, I reviewed these documents. I find in the file a copy of a letter written to Robert M. Shelton, the Imperial Wizard, dated November 23, 1965, by Antonio Morello, who signs himself the exalted cyclops, "Klavern IV," which I assume to be four.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. APPELL. KKKK, Delaware Realm.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. The letter reads:

My Dear Sir;

It has come to my attention, through conversations with various Hydras—and I interrupt here, Mr. Pryor, to ask whether or not the hydra is the title given to the Grand Dragon and the officers under him on the realm level.

Mr. PRYOR. I didn't order him but I went to a State meeting approximately a week before this letter was sent to Mr. Shelton in his office in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and I just wanted to know what was making some of the people in the Delaware Realm tick.

They could see at some of the rallies Nazi literature being spread around.

Mr. APPELL. Not to interrupt you, but after I finish the letter I will ask you some questions and hope to bring this all out.

The letter continues—

with various Hydras of the Delaware Realm, that there is still concern regarding the whereabouts of Mike Desmond, who was banished from the Delaware Order. While in Washington, D.C., Grand Dragon Ralph E. Pryor Jr. was informed that only the Imperial Wizard had such authority to banish. As yet no indication has been received regarding his status with the Delaware realm.

Our members are also concerned about the new members from Pennsylvania and New York who are reputed to be members of the American Nazi Party. The Grand Dragon of Pennsylvania Roy Frankhouser has such a reputation. All of our members feel that the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan does not embrace any of the ideologies of this un-American organization.

A decision on these matters would be gratefully appreciated, and awaiting your decree I remain,

I.Y.T.S.U.B.  
/s/ Antonio Morello.  
ANTONIO MORELLO

Before asking you what prompted this letter, was a receipt ever received from this communication from Mr. Robert Shelton?

Mr. PRYOR. I believe I heard from Mr. Morello, who told me approximately, I believe, about 10 or 14 days after we sent the letter to his office in Tuscaloosa that his wife had signed for the registered letter.

Mr. APPELL. Was a reply ever received?

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

9 Karlyn Drive  
New Castle, Delaware  
November 23, 1965

Robert M. Shelton  
Imperial Wizard  
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan  
United Klans of America, Inc.  
401 Alston Building  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

My Dear Sir;

It has come to my attention, through conversations with various Hydras of the Delaware Realm, that there is still concern regarding the whereabouts of Mike Desmond, who was banished from the Delaware Order. While in Washington, D.C., Grand Dragon Ralph E. Pryor Jr. was informed that only the Imperial Wizard has such authority to banish. As yet no indication has been received regarding his status with the Delaware realm.

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A decision on these matters would be gratefully appreciated, and awaiting your decree I remain,

I.Y.T.S.U.B.

*Antonio Morello*

Antonio Morello  
Exalted Cyclops  
Klavern 1V  
K.K.K.K.  
Delaware Realm

\_\_\_\_\_  
Witnessed by

Mr. APPELL. According to the press, Mr. Pryor, you have resigned the office of Grand Dragon for the Realm of Delaware and, according to the press, the conditions complained of in this letter, together with other conditions, prompted your resignation of the office of Grand Dragon. Is that factual, sir?

Mr. PRYOR. That is correct, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Would you tell the committee your experiences as a Grand Dragon which led up to the forwarding of this letter to Imperial Wizard Shelton on November 23, 1965.

Mr. PRYOR. Well, I had received a clipping of the Grand Dragon of Pennsylvania from a friend of mine who lives in Delaware who is an ex-Klansman. He has also resigned since I did.

He knew how I felt, along with many other people, and you thought about the American Nazi Party. He sent me this clipping plus the Rising Sun rally of November 13 or 14, Rising Sun, Maryland. I arrived at a rally site at approximately 1:30 p.m. on a Saturday afternoon, and along with a group of Klansmen from my realm, I brought religious records.

I left at approximately 3:30 saying I would be back half an hour before the rally started. Upon returning, instead of the religious music there was Prussian march music being played, and I noticed that some of the security men from the either Pennsylvania or New York were wearing American Nazi Party insignias on their collars.

Mr. APPELL. Did you at that time have a discussion with Frankhouser or any of the others with respect to what you observed?

Mr. PRYOR. I was quite angry. In fact, I believe some of the reporters who heard me say "turn that damn music off."

Mr. APPELL. With respect to the Nazi insignia that you observed on some of the security guards either from Pennsylvania or New York—

Mr. PRYOR. I beg your pardon.

Mr. APPELL. What about that which you observed, the Nazi insignia, on some of the security guards from either Pennsylvania or New York?

Mr. PRYOR. I didn't talk with any of the visiting Grand Dragons that night. I did talk with my grand night-hawk, Elmer Parsons, who has also left the United Klans of America for the same reasons as I, and one or two other Klansmen, on my way back to Wilmington, Delaware.

I told them I felt sick in the stomach, that it was more like a Nazi funeral than a rally.

I respect the dead and, speaking of Mr. Burros, the one who committed suicide in Pennsylvania, who I believe was made the Grand Dragon of New York—I said I respect the dead, but this was supposed to be a Klan rally but it was a funeral, a firing, and also a Nazi salute from a superior from New York.

Mr. APPELL. Was this superior from New York, William Hoff?

Mr. PRYOR. Sir, he approached me at the rally that afternoon and introduced himself to me, but I couldn't tell you his name to save my life. I don't know his name.

Mr. APPELL. What impression did this make upon you at that Rising Sun rally when there was talk about, or reference to, things happening in America like happened in Germany in the past, an expression of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and also the expression that we will avenge the death of Dan Burros.

I was there and I heard these things.

Mr. PRYOR. You left out "live and let's live, but first let's get even."

Mr. APPELL. What impression did these make upon you?

Mr. PRYOR. Like I told you, they made me sick in the stomach.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, when and where were you born?

Mr. PRYOR. I was born August 16, 1932, Wilmington, Delaware.

Mr. APPELL. What briefly is your educational background?

Mr. PRYOR. I went through elementary school, junior high, attended Valley Forge Military Academy. I was supposed to be sent up there for a musical scholarship on trumpet and saxophone, but I didn't take it. I went back to Wilmington to go to high school and I have never finished high school.

Mr. APPELL. What has been your employment background since 1960?

Mr. PRYOR. I had 8½ years' experience on the Wilmington, Delaware, Police Department. At one time I was a detective on the Wilmington, Delaware, Vice Squad. Before that—1960 would be the police department—

Mr. APPELL. When did you leave the employ of the Wilmington, Delaware, Police Department?

Mr. PRYOR. Give or take a day, I believe it was June 9, 1964.

Mr. APPELL. How have you been employed since 1964?

Mr. PRYOR. I still play the trumpet. I was surviving a little on the trumpet. I had been helping a friend of mine out in her restaurant. Then I more or less thought I would make a decent salary as Grand Dragon, in time. I knew it would take a few years because it was a small staff.

Mr. APPELL. When did you first become interested in the Ku Klux Klan as an organization?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, sir, I can remember as a child seeing pictures of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, even pictures of them in their robes bringing Negroes to Negro families in shacks or what looked like shacks to me, and then I just didn't hear too much about the Klan any more up until approximately a year and one-half ago I read some articles in *Life* magazine and it was either the *Post* magazine or the *Look* magazine and I thought I would look into it a lot further.

I wrote a letter—I just took a wild chance—I had Mr. Robert Shelton's full name and where he lived in Tuscaloosa, but not his address at the Alston Building.

I wrote the Imperial Wizard, Robert M. Shelton, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and 5 days later I got an answer.

Mr. APPELL. Did you seek information and literature about the United Klans of America?

Mr. PRYOR. I did.

Mr. APPELL. Did this literature impress you with the worthiness of the organization, which later formally caused you to become a member of it?

Mr. PRYOR. It did.

Mr. APPELL. When did you become a formal member of the Klan?

Mr. PRYOR. August 1, 1965.

Mr. APPELL. Was this at the rally at Bear, Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. The Bear, Delaware, rally was July 31.

Mr. APPELL. Did you attend that rally?

Mr. PRYOR. I did. I was the one that set it up.

Mr. APPELL. But you set it up even though you were not a member at that time?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir. I knew that I was going to be sworn in either that day or early in the morning hours, which I was at the De La Warr Hotel outside of Wilmington, Delaware.

Mr. APPELL. What was the date of the Bear rally?

Mr. PRYOR. July 31.

Mr. APPELL. This was in the early hours of the morning—

Mr. PRYOR. —or August 1, approximately 2 a.m.

Mr. APPELL. What constituted your becoming a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. PRYOR. First of all, the literature—help fight communism, and I believe strongly that Communists are even stronger today in this country than ever.

This is my belief—not only the Communist Party, but some of the troubles in my home State alone. We do have, and it is no secret even to the press, that we do have some politicians in our State with criminal records. These men get into office and have given other people with criminal records, such as dope addicts, numbers writers, jobs in the City Hall. I have proof of this.

In other words, I was fighting for better government in the country plus better city government and State government in my home State.

Mr. APPELL. In organizing the rally at Bear, Delaware, did you feel it was within an organization such as the United Klans of America that these goals of yours could be realized?

Mr. PRYOR. I believed that, sir. At first—I will never forget—I had gone to the Republican headquarters in Wilmington telling them if there is anything I can do to help with the party at any time, any free help, I will give it to them. And I will never forget two gentlemen asked me about the name of a certain gentleman who was in public office and was running for a higher seat in the State.

I told them where he was breaking the laws, and so forth, and where all they needed was a camera to see him going into a certain place and coming out with certain equipment, and 2 days later the man had a message sent to me saying that if I don't keep my mouth shut that I will get a bullet through my teeth.

I was just hurt to see that people from another party, going to him and tipping him off about this.

Mr. APPELL. This experience of yours with the political situation in Delaware, Mr. Pryor, is only of interest to us as to whether or not this was a motivation on your part for joining the Klan and whether or not you felt that, through the United Klans of America, you could correct these situations which in your eyes you felt to be wrong.

Mr. PRYOR. Either I thought I could correct the situation by joining the United Klans of America—since then I have been so wrong.

Mr. APPELL. In order to become a formal member of the Klan, did you fill out a membership application and submit it to the United Klans of America?

Mr. PRYOR. It is really something. The best way I can answer that, the first time I started writing to Mr. Shelton he would always write back to me very promptly, sending me literature, and so forth.

The first few months I even got a collection from sympathizers of the Klan. At one time I would say it was \$20 and the next time it was \$20, and he would always send back a thank-you letter saying thank you for contributing to what I believe—I could be wrong—but I believe he said the defense fund of the Klan.

Then, as for the applications, he sent me an application, told me to fill it out and send in my picture, which I did. I sent in a snapshot

with my picture. A month went by, no answer. I sent him another letter stating that I had not heard anything. Finally, I got another letter back, and he was saying if you wish to join our organization, please fill out an application and send in a picture which I had already done. Finally, I called him. He told me that he would probably be in my area to talk to me April or May.

Well, he didn't come to the Delaware area. Then he sent me a letter, as best I can remember, a letter stating that he has a date July 31—I believe that is how it was—of 1965 set up and, if I can find land, about 20 acres of land, on a suitable place just off the main highway, that he would come to Delaware.

We had a hard time finding a place, but we did get a 20-acre tract of land for approximately \$50, leased it for the day.

Mr. J. R. Jones called me about 5 days before the rally. Mr. Jones told me, "Mr. Pryor, this is J. R. Jones of North Carolina, Grand Dragon." He told me, "We will be there probably the 29th,"—which would be a Thursday—he said, "Here is what you are going to need." I believe he said 40 gallons of kerosene. You are going to need about a 40-foot pole for the cross, 40 strong sticks to be used as a torch for the torch ceremony.

When he was telling me this at the time I didn't know what the kerosene would be for or the 40 sticks. He told me to be sure I got at least—

Mr. POOL. Will the gentlemen behind the partition please be silent? There is a hearing going on.

Mr. PRYOR. Where was I?

Mr. APPELL. You were told to get the kerosene and the 40 sticks.

Mr. PRYOR. I asked for the help and I got the help. The rally went off and it was a success. I met with Mr. Shelton, J. R. Jones, Reverend Dorsett, the other people at the De La Warr. I called and had rooms reserved for them, talked with Mr. Shelton.

Mr. APPELL. At the speech, one of the principal speakers was the Reverend George Dorsett, who was the Imperial Kludd or chaplain.

We read into the record at the time of Mr. Dorsett's appearance some of the statements that he made against the police because they were checking numbers and things like that.

How did this impress you at the time?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, I forget the words he used—something about them taking your license numbers, and so forth. I am almost positive that he also ended it with "But you can't blame the police officers. They have their job to do, and you can't blame them."

Mr. APPELL. We will have a transcript tomorrow and we can both refresh our recollection.

Mr. POOL. The Chair wishes to announce that Ralph Roton is excused permanently and the staff is so notified.

Go ahead, Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. After the meeting, did you then accompany these officers of the Klan and have administered to you a series of oaths which were required of Klansmen?

Mr. PRYOR. That is right, sir; along with approximately 14, 15 other people.

There would have been more to get sworn in, but many of them left on their vacations, some of them had to go to work the next morning and some of them just got lost. They didn't know where to go.

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a copy of a series of oaths administered to Klansmen. See if these oaths are identical to the ones you took, although not in the printed form.

Mr. PRYOR. Do you want me to read this whole thing?

Mr. APPELL. Just scan it to see if they are identical.

Mr. PRYOR. Naturally, I didn't read it word for word, but I would say that you have the Klan oath there.

(Document previously marked "Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 4.")

Mr. APPELL. Did it seem strange to you, maybe not at that moment but at a later time, when the klorann of the Klan provided for a naturalization service, in which you are brought from the alien world to the world of the Klan, that you were not put through this ceremony and merely given, or asked to subscribe to, a series of oaths?

Mr. PRYOR. I didn't know of any other ceremony. I started wondering about this after I saw the television program on the Invisible Empire.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, before we adjourn until tomorrow morning, did I understand you to say that as far as the Realm of Delaware is concerned and the members that you have taken into your organization, that none of them have ever been put through the naturalization ceremony?

Mr. PRYOR. Just the swearing-in ceremony that you had there and that is all, nothing else.

Mr. APPELL. When the Klan issues a Kloran, which provides for certain rituals and procedures to be followed, they don't even bother going through it, and it is just a question of administering the oath and taking your money?

Mr. PRYOR. If my memory serves me correctly, I believe at approximately 2 a.m. at the Lord De La Warr Hotel, just south of Wilmington, Delaware—I was sworn in by Reverend Dorsett and Mr. Grady Mars, and I believe Mr. Mars said that the other part of the swearing-in ceremony was missing and that it would have to be done at a later date, but it was never done.

Mr. APPELL. And it was never done in Delaware up to the present time?

Mr. PRYOR. It has not, until the date I walked out of the State meeting, I don't know if it has been done. I doubt it, but it might have.

Mr. APPELL. What was the date you walked out of the State meeting?

Mr. PRYOR. January 4 or 5 of this year.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I think this is a convenient place to adjourn until tomorrow morning.

Mr. PRYOR. May I say one more thing?

I called home today, and there are Klansmen around parts of my family's homes, and I have gotten a threatening letter. And I just wish if you could make it public now, the outcome of what if anything happens to my family what would happen to these people.

Mr. POOL. Let me state, in answer to that, you are under subpoena to this congressional committee, and there are adequate Federal laws that provide for the protection of witnesses and their families. I would hope that the press, in view of what you have said, would reiterate this statement. We have said it several times during these hearings, but you have adequate coverage of the Federal laws as a witness and as a subpoenaed witness and your family, also.

Mr. PRYOR. I was sorry to interrupt there, but I just felt that maybe somebody, some sympathizer or some Klansman in this room, might take this into their minds and warn these people by a telephone call, and it might help them to realize the seriousness of this.

Mr. APPELL. With respect to the fact that you have received a threatening communication, Mr. Pryor, which you have turned over to the Department of Justice—

Mr. PRYOR. I have, approximately 2½ weeks ago. I received a letter postmarked from Wilmington, Delaware. I forgot the date. I opened it up and it said: "Dear Alien, you are expected to be at your best when you go before the committee in Washington, D.C.

"If not, don't return to Delaware. Below you will find"—and there were 2 cents scotch-taped to the bottom of the letter—"below you will find 2 cents, the value of your earthly existence."

The FBI has this letter now. It was crudely printed.

Mr. APPELL. I wish to advise you as a Federal witness you have the protection of the Federal law, and the protection carries forward for a period of 5 years and that protection came to you the day you were served, and I hope that the Department of Justice can proceed with an investigation on that basis.

Mr. PRYOR. I am a God-fearing man and I am ready to die if my God wants me, but I would like to see that my family is left alone.

Mr. POOL. The committee will recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:05 p.m., Wednesday, February 9, 1966, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, February 10, 1966.)

# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*  
PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 10 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Joe R. Pool (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas, chairman; Charles L. Weltner, of Georgia; and John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool, Weltner, and Ashbrook.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Philip R. Manuel, investigator.

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order.

I believe we had Mr. Pryor on the stand. Is that right?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I would like to recall Mr. Ralph Pryor.

Mr. POOL. The Chair wishes to read the following designation of subcommittee by the chairman, Mr. Willis:

February 9, 1966

To: Mr. Francis J. McNamara,  
*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Honorable Joe R. Pool as Chairman, and Honorable Charles L. Weltner and Honorable John Ashbrook as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., on Thursday, February 10, 1966, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 30th day of March, 1965, authorizing hearings concerning the activities of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 9th day of February, 1966.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis,  
EDWIN E. WILLIS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

Mr. Pryor, you have already been sworn.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

### TESTIMONY OF RALPH EARL PRYOR, JR.—Resumed

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, when we adjourned yesterday afternoon, you were discussing that following the Bear, Delaware, rally, which was held on July 31, in the early hours of August 1, you were administered an oath and you become a formal member of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. PRYOR. That is correct.

Mr. APPELL. You testified, as I remember, that some 14 or 15 other individuals were administered the oath at the same time and became members of the United Klans of America.

Now, were these men that received their oath of allegiance into the United Klans of America, like yourself, residents of Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir. In the room where we were sworn into the United Klans of America, there was, like I say, 14 or 15 men, and I believe there were 2 women.

In other rooms, in other motel rooms, there were people from as far away as Michigan and Ohio, New York, being sworn in separately. In other words, each State had a different room to be sworn in.

Mr. APPELL. Do you possess any knowledge of the number of men sworn in, let's say, from Michigan?

Mr. PRYOR. All I can say, sir, that in the whole, everybody who was sworn in was probably close to a hundred people.

Mr. APPELL. To a hundred people.

Mr. PRYOR. That would include Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York. Roughly speaking.

Mr. APPELL. You are not able to break them down by their States as to the number from each State that were administered oaths.

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you meet any of the new Klansmen like yourself from the States of Michigan or Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York?

Mr. PRYOR. Right at the Bear rally, when I was first sworn in?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. PRYOR. I met Mr. Frankhouser.

Mr. APPELL. Who?

Mr. PRYOR. Mr. Frankhouser.

Mr. APPELL. Roy Frankhouser?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. To the best of your knowledge, did he receive his oath into the United Klans at that time?

Mr. PRYOR. If I had to swear under oath, I can't really tell you if he was really sworn in. But I was told that in other rooms, motel rooms, that the swearing-in ceremonies were going on for different States.

Mr. APPELL. With your becoming formally a member of the United Klans of America at that time, and because of the fact that you had organized the Bear, Delaware, rally or assumed leadership in the organization of the rally, did you receive at that time any type of appointment within the United Klans of America?

MR. PRYOR. No, sir. It was more or less known, and everybody just took it for granted, that—people in the Delaware Realm, plus Mr. Shelton—that I was Acting Grand Dragon.

MR. APPELL. Did you receive any credentials to that effect?

MR. PRYOR. No, sir.

MR. APPELL. When did you first receive credentials that you held a position within the Realm of Delaware?

MR. PRYOR. I got my membership card the same day. Like I said yesterday, about 2 a.m. in the morning of August 1, 1965.

MR. APPELL. What instructions did you receive from Mr. Shelton or anyone else with respect to starting from that point and organizing the United Klans of America in the Realm of Delaware?

MR. PRYOR. Well, I naturally, being a new realm, the first orders were to get out and recruit.

MR. APPELL. What instruction did you receive with respect to how these men that were sworn in from Delaware were going to be organized?

Were you instructed to form these men, or were they instructed to form a Klavern?

MR. PRYOR. On August 1, right after we were sworn in—it was either right after or before; I believe it was right after we were sworn in—certain men were given temporary offices. This office was for 3 months, until we had set up a Klavern, at least one Klavern, and we did have enough people for a Klavern. In fact, roughly, I think, we had enough for almost two, in the beginning. Some were made temporary officers of a unit. Not grand officers, but just temporary officers.

MR. APPELL. Who made the appointment of temporary officers? Did the men get together and themselves decide who were going to be the temporary officers?

MR. PRYOR. We were asked to vote on this. Somebody voted for me for exalted cyclops, and an officer from North Carolina, I believe, broke in and more or less stated that Mr. Pryor would be “one of your best candidates” for Grand, you know, permanent Grand Dragon, for the 3-year term.

And so I did not take the post, the 3 months’ temporary post as exalted cyclops.

(At this point Representative Buchanan entered the hearing room.)

MR. PRYOR. This man said —

MR. APPELL. Now this vote that temporarily decided you as the exalted cyclops—was that on the night of, or the early morning of August 1, or did this take place at some later time?

MR. PRYOR. This took place August 1. These were temporary offices for 3 months.

MR. APPELL. So that just as soon as you were sworn in, you went through the procedure of electing or designating temporary officers to serve on what we would then describe as a Klavern level, for 3 months, until permanent officers or till the strength of the organization could be built to the point where permanent officers could be elected.

MR. PRYOR. That is correct.

MR. APPELL. When you did not accept the position of temporary exalted cyclops, who did receive that office?

Mr. PRYOR. That is a man who resigned the post, plus he resigned from the United Klans of America at approximately, roughly speaking, a month and a half after taking the temporary post.

Mr. APPELL. From August 1 of 1965 until January of 1966, when you resigned the position of Grand Dragon, what strength did the United Klans of America attain in the State of Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, right after the rally, we came back to the motel room. Mr. Jones handed to me approximately, well, a little over 200 memberships or applications, filled in. We had already had, roughly speaking, about 35, 40 people.

Mr. APPELL. Where did Jones obtain these? Were these people—

Mr. PRYOR. These were application blanks that were handed out to the audience, the crowd at the Bear, Delaware, rally.

Mr. APPELL. Had the klectokon been collected by Mr. Jones on these 200 applications at the time they were executed by people at the rally?

Mr. PRYOR. The initiation fee, you mean?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What strength did the organization become by the time you resigned as Grand Dragon?

Mr. PRYOR. We had approximately—oh, I will phrase it this way: approximately a month and a half before I resigned, we had close to 300, I would say, in the State of Delaware. Approximately 35 people to 40 were leaving, complaining that—it was usually the same old complaints, that they would go to the unit meetings and it seemed like everybody was bickering with one another.

If a man wasn't there, it was like an old woman's sewing circle, they would say. "If you are ill, or can't make the meeting, they talk about you."

Mr. APPELL. These 300 members that were in the organization have been divided into how many Klaverns?

Mr. PRYOR. Let's see. One, two—Unit 1 was in the Wilmington area. Unit 4 was in New Castle area, Unit 2 was in Milford, and did I say 3?

Mr. APPELL. No; you did not.

Mr. PRYOR. Three was between Newark and Elkton, Maryland, area.

Then there was a fourth one, getting ready.

Mr. APPELL. In New Castle area?

Mr. PRYOR. No; there was over a hundred men in the Unit 3, and I told the leaders of this unit that it was going to have to be broke down, because these men wanted to stick together because, well, they worked more or less the same place. And, in fact, I think this is what was the downfall, or will be the downfall of the Delaware Klan, this unit trying to take over the whole State, now.

I think they are more interested in taking over the Chrysler plant than they are being Klansmen.

Mr. APPELL. These are the people who are in Unit No. 3 of the Newark-Elkton area?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir. Roughly speaking, about 85 percent of them are Chrysler workers.

MR. APPELL. Who were the officers of Unit No. 3, at the last knowledge that you possessed?

MR. PRYOR. John Ludwick, exalted cyclops.

MR. APPELL. I don't know whether that microphone is bad, Mr. Pryor, but if you will speak up a little bit.

MR. PRYOR. Mr. John Ludwick, exalted cyclops.

MR. APPELL. Is that L-u-d-w-u-g?

MR. PRYOR. I am not sure on the spelling.

MR. APPELL. And do you know him to be employed by the Chrysler Motor Corporation?

MR. PRYOR. I am almost positive that he is.

MR. APPELL. Can you recall other officers of that Klavern?

MR. PRYOR. May I have a few seconds, while I think?

MR. APPELL. Yes, surely.

MR. PRYOR. At this time, right now, I can't.

MR. APPELL. With respect to the organization of the Klan in Delaware, what was the rate of initiation fee?

MR. PRYOR. \$10.

MR. APPELL. And what was the monthly dues of members?

MR. PRYOR. The first month and a half, or say the first 2 months, it started out a dollar, and right after we had had our permanent elections, at Brookside, Delaware, I nominated Mike Desmond as Grand Klaliff. He suggested to me before this election that the dues go up to a dollar and a half. It was a dollar a month, and he suggested that we make it—he said he didn't see how we could make it on a dollar. After thinking it over, I agreed with him that a dollar and a half would be more sufficient, at least until we were close to a thousand people.

MR. APPELL. Now of the \$1 membership dues, what portion of the—

MR. PRYOR. \$10 membership dues?

MR. APPELL. No; of the monthly dues of the Klavern members. What percentage of that went to the realm office and what percentage of that went to the imperial office?

MR. PRYOR. 50 cents went to the imperial, and the rest, the dollar, the remaining dollar, stayed in Delaware, and 40 cents of that was supposed to go to the Grand Dragon, which ran into trouble almost immediately. I had people calling me from downstate, as far as Dover and Rehoboth, telling me that they were members of the Invisible Empire. They were calling me by phone.

They said, "We haven't been put into a Klavern. Mr. Desmond told us that we would be told where to meet, and so forth, and where to send for our robes."

And I had, at the time, a list of everybody coming in and members that were already in and members or would-be members that were waiting to come in, and 80 percent of these people just weren't on the list. And I had my doubts about Mr. Desmond's honesty, because besides being the Grand Klaliff, he was the king kleagle.

Then one day, a member of the Klan approached me and told me that he had seen Mr. Desmond the night before and that he cashed a \$25 check, or—no, it was a check for \$25.25. I said, "You cashed it?" And he said, "Yes, he said it was his pay for the week."

I said, "What did he do with the money?"

He said, "Well, he drank half of it in my bar."

Well, this check was from the State office to pay our telephone bill. Then I knew that he was stealing. I looked into it more further and found that not only downstate, but around the city of Wilmington, people that had sent in applications, he was swearing them in, taking their money, and not turning it in.

MR. ASHBROOK. Do you recall who that check was made out to—the \$25.25 check?

MR. PRYOR. It could have been made out to him, sir. His alias. Now I keep calling him "Mike Desmond." His real name is Mike Sadiwhite. He was a radio announcer in West Chester, Pennsylvania; New Jersey; and in Delaware; and he got—I hear that right after I had him banished from the Klan, which I found out later I didn't have the power to do, and I found that I was right, I did not have the power—I was wrong, I did not have the power to banish him, I had to write, go through the right channels, sending a letter to Mr. Shelton, but it might have—I would be guessing, but I am pretty sure it was in his alias, "Mike Desmond."

But even up until say, 30 days ago, I have had magistrates, I believe it is a magistrate, call me and want to know if I know where Mr. Desmond is, that he owes 60-some dollars. He also, from our State office, called long distance, many times, and they were looking for him for his bad checks—or for these phone calls.

MR. APPELL. Do you know how he spells—

MR. PRYOR. Sadiwhite?

MR. APPELL. Sh—Sadiwhite?

MR. PRYOR. No, sir.

MR. APPELL. Is the Mike Desmond about whom you are speaking—

MR. PRYOR. He worked—oh.

MR. APPELL. —the same man who was mentioned in the letter from the exalted cyclops to Imperial Wizard Shelton on November 23, 1965, the letter which was read into the record yesterday?

MR. PRYOR. Can I see it?

(Document handed to witness.)

MR. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

(Document previously marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 1." See p. 3304.)

MR. APPELL. Now you stated that Mike Desmond, who held the position of king klegale, had—

MR. PRYOR. And Grand Klaliff.

MR. APPELL. Yes. —had been taking money from individuals whom he had recruited into the United Klans of America and not making any accounting of that money to the State treasury.

What disposition or division was made of the initiation fee, the \$10 initiation fee? Was all of that to come to the State, or a portion of it?

MR. PRYOR. This would stay in the State. The \$10. It would actually—it is like, for instance, if I was just coming into the Klan and I paid my \$10 initiation fee, if I was in, say, Unit 2 or Unit 1, well, if I was going into Unit 1, that \$10 would stay right in that unit.

(At this point Mr. Buchanan left the hearing room.)

MR. APPELL. Wasn't the klegale, organizer, entitled to a portion of that money as his expenses for organizing?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And what was the proportion that he was supposed to keep, as far as the rules of the Delaware Realm was concerned?

Mr. PRYOR. I believe—now I could be wrong—I believe it was something like \$3. I could be wrong on that.

Mr. APPELL. Well, did you recruit any people into the United Klans of America?

Mr. PRYOR. Did I?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And did you keep the percentage that was authorized to be kept by a person doing organizational work?

Mr. PRYOR. I did not. In my mind, in fact, even today, I am in a hole, so to speak, as far as moneywise. I put every cent I had into organizing the Klan.

Mr. APPELL. Who was the exalted cyclops of the unit at Milford, Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. They never really had an exalted cyclops in that unit. In fact, it folded up approximately, say a month and a half, 2 months after it started.

Mr. APPELL. Did you as the——

Mr. PRYOR. They had——

Mr. APPELL. —Grand Dragon appoint temporary officers, or did they have——

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir; in the beginning, like I say, there were these temporary officers were made, voted on, down at Bear, Delaware.

Mr. APPELL. But they were voted on to temporarily head the one Klavern that you had sufficient membership for.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Now when you created the Klavern in Milford, Delaware, did they have—wasn't there someone placed in charge of the unit?

Mr. PRYOR. We found, or I found out later that they had, they sent for their—I am trying to think of it now, when you open up a new unit, you get your paper. You need 25 men or more to start a unit, and that they had put down—they didn't have 25 men. They had put down names of people that were just interested in joining, but they hadn't even approached them yet to form this. You can't really say it was a unit down there.

Mr. APPELL. Who was the exalted cyclops of the unit in New Castle?

Mr. PRYOR. Tony Morello.

Mr. APPELL. And he is the exalted cyclops that wrote the November 23, 1965, letter to Mr. Shelton?

Mr. PRYOR. I believe so.

Mr. APPELL. And did you testify yesterday that he has since resigned?

Mr. PRYOR. No; he is still in.

Mr. APPELL. Can you recall any other officers of the Milford, Delaware, Unit?

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir. You mean members now?

Mr. APPELL. I mean the New Castle, Delaware, Unit.

Mr. PRYOR. New Castle? There would be Howard Taylor. He was an inner or outer guard.

Mr. APPELL. Who was the exalted cyclops of the Wilmington, Delaware, Unit?

Mr. PRYOR. I think that that would be Mike Keatley.

Mr. APPELL. What is the last name?

Mr. PRYOR. Keatley.

Mr. APPELL. Keatley? How do you spell Keatley?

Mr. PRYOR. I am not sure. I would say roughly K-e-a-t-l-e-y, something like that. I am not sure of the spelling.

Mr. APPELL. Do you know what Mike Keatley's occupation is?

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Any other officers of the Wilmington, Delaware, Unit?

Mr. PRYOR. Grand officers?

Mr. APPELL. No; we are speaking now of Klavern.

Mr. PRYOR. Harry Smith, I believe is his name. Harry Smith.

Mr. APPELL. What position did he hold?

Mr. PRYOR. I am not sure. He was in the New Castle.

Mr. APPELL. We are talking now about Wilmington.

Mr. PRYOR. Oh, Wilmington? Let's see. Charles Hoon.

Mr. APPELL. Charles who?

Mr. PRYOR. Hoon.

Mr. APPELL. K-o-u-n?

Mr. PRYOR. H-o-o-n, I believe.

Mr. APPELL. H-o-o-n, Hoon?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, would you reflect upon the membership of the United Klans of America, the officers of the various Klaverns, and prepare for the committee, and submit to the committee, a list of those that you can recall holding positions within those units?

Mr. PRYOR. If I am ordered to; yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Well, Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the Chair direct Mr. Pryor to reflect upon the officers of the United Klans of America Klaverns in Delaware and to furnish the committee with a list of those people that he can establish to have held office within the Klaverns.

Mr. POOL. I so direct you, Mr. Pryor.

(The list of officers follows:)

*List of Officers of Realm of Delaware, United Klans of America, Inc., as submitted by Ralph Pryor, Jr., Grand Dragon from August 1, 1965, to January 4, 1966*

Office	Individual
Grand Dragon (President)-----	Ralph E. Pryor, Jr.
Grand Klaliff (Vice President)-----	Mike Desmond, alias for Mike Sadi-white, succeeded by Bennie Sartin.
Grand Kligrapp (Secretary)-----	Charles Gibason, succeeded by Thomas Edwards.
Grand Klabee (Treasurer)-----	Vernon P. Nicks.
Grand Klokard (Lecturer)-----	Charles Dougherty.
Grand Kladd (Conductor)-----	Ronnie Stansell. <sup>1</sup>
Grand Klexter (Outer Guard)-----	Alfred D. Boyer. <sup>1</sup>
Grand Night-Hawk (Courier)-----	Elmer Parsons, Jr. <sup>1</sup>
Captain of Security Guards; King Kleagle for Maryland.	Frank Pittman.
Head of Women's Auxiliary-----	Betty Taylor (Mrs. Howard Taylor).
Great Titan-----	Otis Hye.
President Unit No. 3 (Between Newark and Elkton).	John T. Ludwick.
President Unit No. 4 (New Castle)---	Antonio Morello.

<sup>1</sup> No longer associated with the UKA, according to Pryor.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir. I would like to say this, sir, that a lot of good people joined the Klan to work for better government. At Christmas-time, they gave money out of their own pockets. They made it work for the neediest family funds, bought turkeys, canned goods, and this is their only reason they joined, and I would just hate to see some of them losing their jobs, if it was found out. That's the only thing I am worrying about. They are good people; they wouldn't hurt anybody.

Mr. APPELL. Well, I don't think that the record that the committee has established at this point reflects that an individual, per se, who is a member of the United Klans of America either supports or condones or is, himself, in sympathy with the acts of violence that these hearings have attributed to members of the Klan, and we are not interested in those people who are ordinary members of the Klan.

The inquiry to you and the direction from the Chair was officers.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Appell, could I ask him a question on that point?

I would certainly agree with you, Mr. Pryor, but I assume that you would also feel, from what you have said, that anybody who learns, as you have, that even in Delaware, where the Klan has not been a party to violence—at least that seems to be the pattern—nevertheless, the same thing pertains there as we have seen in every State, the matter of aliases, cover names, misappropriated funds.

The average Klan member, learning about these, certainly would not want to stay in the Klan; would he? You talk about good people. If they learn about this, why would their desire to become a Klan member, or stay as a Klan member, be stronger than their desire to get out, knowing what you know?

Mr. PRYOR. Sir, I believe that the Klan has done a lot of good, an awful lot of good. I believe that even today, and in the future, that the Klan could do a lot of good.

I just say, a few leaders have probably hurt the Klan, but I believe that the Klan, just like any other organization, there is good and bad in every organization, and I have met some wonderful people in the organization, but I agree with what you just told me.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It would seem, even where, as I say, in your Northern States, where you do not have the pattern of some Southern States, the same thing still applies of not leveling with people as to what their objectives are, use of aliases, use of cover names, misappropriation of funds, the very same things apply, and it would seem to be just a part and parcel of the Klan organization. I think as more members know this, it would be pretty hard for the good people you are talking about to stay in the Klan.

Mr. APPELL. You stated, Mr. Pryor, that soon after the organization of the United Klans of America in Delaware got together, there was a meeting held, I believe you said, in Brookdale.

Mr. PRYOR. Brookside.

Mr. APPELL. Brookside, Delaware, at which realm officers were elected, and I assume that it was at this meeting that you were elected Grand Dragon for the Realm of Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And who were the other officers elected at that time, in addition to Mike Desmond, who you indicated or testified was elected to the position of Grand Klaliff or vice president of the realm?

Mr. PRYER. Let's see. Your grand, your State lecturer, Charles Dougherty.

Mr. APPELL. And he in Klankraft is the kladd. Is that right?

Mr. PRYOR. That is right. He is still in. Vernon Nicks.

Mr. APPELL. Vernon Nicks? N-i-c-k-s?

Mr. PRYOR. N-i-c-k-s; yes, sir, I believe. I believe. It could be N-i-x, too.

Mr. APPELL. What position did he hold on the grand, State, level?

Mr. PRYOR. He was the State treasurer.

Mr. POOL. Now, just a moment.

The Chair wishes for the record to state that Mr. Roton was, yesterday afternoon, permanently excused from testifying under the subpoena, and he was not in the room. And I just advised him that he is permanently excused and I just want the record to show it.

Mr. APPELL. Who was the grand kligrapp or secretary?

Mr. PRYOR. Secretary. Let's see. I think that was—I believe that job was left open, sir. We had a man from one of the units filling in at the State meetings.

Mr. APPELL. Well, who was the man from one of the units that filled in at the State meeting?

Mr. PRYOR. I believe Tony Morello, I believe. I am not certain. It was either Morello, or it was somebody else. We had our meetings once a month.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, according to an article which appeared in the Wilmington, Delaware, *Morning News*, you are quoted as saying that the reason you ceased being Grand Dragon of the Realm of Delaware, United Klans of America, is because you had created a monster by organizing the group.

In what way had you created a monster?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, I found that men who had joined the Klan the first few weeks and the first few months that it was organized in the State of Delaware, that these people were all for one another, they were orderly at meetings. Then, I can't explain.

It seems like men would—weren't trusting each other. They were pointing out to not only some of their superiors or friends that they believed this man was an undercover agent for the FBI or an informer.

At one time, we had a special meeting, and there was a Klansman who asked another Klansman his name, just to be friendly. And this man wouldn't hurt a fly and he was just being friendly. I know the man. The man left the Klan because of this. After he asked the Klansman his name, I—well, I wasn't there, but I received a phone call that a gun was pulled, one or two guns were pulled out, a knife, and the man had to run into the meetinghouse and was guarded by one or two Klansmen who were trying to help him.

I was called on the phone. I said, "I want the name of everybody that attacked this man." I said, "I want you people to give him safety to his car," which they did, and the next day the man called and told me he resigned, and I couldn't blame him.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 2" appears on p. 3321.)

Mr. APPELL. Because he had asked for the identity of a Klansman?

Mr. PRYOR. Just wanted to know his name.

Mr. APPELL. He was there either accused, or it was inferred, that he did this because he was an informer of some kind?

RALPH PRYOR EXHIBIT NO. 2

[Wilmington, Del., *Morning News*, February 8, 1966, pp. 1 and 2]

# Pryor calls Klan a monster

Ex-grand dragon  
due to testify  
tomorrow in D.C.

By RALPH DANNHEISSER

The former grand dragon of Delaware's Ku Klux Klan said last night he had "created a monster" by organizing the group.

"I'm sorry," Ralph E. Pryor Jr. said.

Pryor made the remarks on the eve of his departure today for Washington, D.C., where he has been subpoenaed to appear tomorrow before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its investigation of Klan groups.

WHILE Pryor refused to say directly last night whether he would cooperate with the committee, he declared that "a lot has changed since I said that I wouldn't testify."

Earlier he had remarked that he would "take just a toothbrush and a few shirts" rather than subpoenaed Klan records to Washington.

Pryor received the order to appear before the House group last Oct. 25, when he was still grand dragon. He quit the post on Jan. 5, explaining that he had found close ties between the Klan and the American Nazi Party.

BESIDES finding the Nazi connections, he said last night, he discovered soon after organizing the Klan unit last summer that it was full of unstable "Little men looking for power."

"Some of the Klan unit meetings reminded me of homecoming at the state hospital," Pryor declared. "There were more little Napoleons, Adolf Hitlers and Castros running around than Carter has pills."

Repeating his claim that he had formed the Klan in hopes of establishing a formidable "good government" group and that he eschewed violence, Pryor reported that some of the members contemptuously called him "the timid dragon."

MEETINGS often consisted of "nothing but arguing and bickering" as members tried to outdo each other in achieving status in the group, he said.

A favorite device was to try to have other members of the group put to Klan trials, Pryor said. He told of one heated exchange which almost led to violence, as "guns came out and knives came out" when one Klansman wrongly thought another to be an FBI informer.

"A few of them should have gone to an NAACP meeting to

see how to run an orderly meeting," Pryor suggested.

PRYOR said he had learned that southern Klan officers were in Delaware last weekend to attend a series of local meetings. He predicted that "the new grand dragon will be a carpet-bagger from the South who'll be making a tidy sum off these people."

The former grand dragon said that, while he is the only Delawarean ordered to appear before the House committee, his former "chief of intelligence," Dave Armstrong, would accompany him to Washington.

Armstrong and several other officers resigned along with Pryor last month.

PRYOR'S apparent readiness to discuss the Klan stood in contrast to his reaction when he was subpoenaed last October. At that time he pledged, "They'll know my name is Ralph Pryor Jr. and that's about all. The laws of our country state I don't have to do more at a hearing."

After he resigned he modified his position, saying he might be forced to testify unless the Klan provided him with a lawyer. Yesterday he said he has received no legal aid from the Klan.

Most Klan witnesses before the committee have refused to testify, claiming constitutional guarantees against self-incrimination.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir. They thought he was an informer, or getting too nosy, and all the man had to do was tell him that he didn't wish to give his name.

If he thought he was an informer, all he had to do was get in touch with me.

Mr. APPELL. The article quotes you further as saying that you quit on January 5, explaining that you had found close ties between the Klan and the American Nazi Party, and in the documents that you turned over to me, there is a clipping from the magazine-type publication called *the stormtrooper*, summer issue of 1965, saying "Ameri-

can Nazi Blinded In One Eye By Jew Gang!" and identifying Roy Frankhouser, Jr., as an American Nazi unit organizer.

Is that some of the evidence that came to your attention?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

RALPH PRYOR EXHIBIT NO. 3  
[*The Stormtrooper*, Summer Issue 1965]

### **American Nazi Blinded In One Eye By Jew Gang!**



Roy Frankhouser, Jr., an American Nazi Unit Organizer in Reading, Pennsylvania, underwent surgery for the removal of his left eye.

Racial Comrade Frankhouser was the victim of a brutal assault at 2 a.m. in front of a local tavern. A gang of unidentified Jews, apparently recognizing Frankhouser, who is well-known in Reading, set upon him and beat him unmercifully with lead pipes.

Frankhouser has been given city-wide publicity by one of the local papers. His picture was printed on one-half of the entire front page of the "Berks County Record". This particular newspaper, published by Gerry Korbin, has smeared Frankhouser and Nazis as "subversives"! Many local citizens, believing the foul lies of the "Berks County Record", labor under misconceptions and are unaware of the true and legal objectives of the American Nazi Party.

Mr. ASHBROOK. May I see that, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. What other experiences, except for your experiences at the Rising Sun, Maryland, rally, did you have to convince you that there were close ties between the American Nazi Party or members of the American Nazi Party or former members of the American Nazi Party, with the Klan organization?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, at the Bear rally, I didn't think there were any ties at all, because the grand night-hawk of North Carolina approached the microphone and stated that "whoever is handing out that Nazi literature, you had better stop it, and stop it right now."

I do remember an incident where—I believe it was Salisbury, North Carolina, where I had gone to a rally, stopped at the Holiday Inn Motel—I called Mr. Shelton, and he greeted me friendly, like he always did. I went to his room, and found his room number and went in, and there were approximately 15 people in the room, including

myself, and I told Bob that right after the Bear rally that a fellow, or a man who wanted to come into the Delaware Klan was seen by me and a few other Delaware Klansmen wearing a Nazi-type uniform, and I said and also he was seen handing out literature in Delaware a few days later. I said I wouldn't let him in.

At this time, while I was telling Bob this, there were conversations going on in the room, and I brought out the Nazi Party, just mentioning it, it seemed like it was like standing in a funeral parlor. Everybody stopped talking, and Bob said to me that I shouldn't be, you know, so hasty about it: To give a man a chance, "You can't be sure of what he is," and something of that nature, or words of that nature.

Mr. APPELL. Of course, were you as convinced that with the so-called investigative setup of the United Klans of America that the knowledge that Frankhouser had at one time been an organizer for the American Nazi Party was as readily available to the United Klans of America as it was to yourself?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, I knew. I don't know how I knew. I believe it was from newspapers I had read, where Roy Frankhouser was an ex-member of the American Nazi Party. But at the time, I just tried to forget it, because for one thing, I never saw any violence or hatred in the man. We always got along good together. I liked talking with him.

I saw him in the room here yesterday. I felt like I wanted to, but that's a Klan oath, that's not in the oath, but once a man leaves the Klan, he is not allowed to talk to me anyhow, so it won't be any use. I always thought he was all right.

But what really made me start thinking and thinking fast was the Rising Sun rally. It wasn't a Klan rally at all. Even people that are even—that either left with me or even stayed in didn't like what they saw at the Rising Sun rally.

Mr. APPELL. You are also quoted in the article which appeared in the February 8, 1966, issue of the Wilmington, Delaware, *Morning News*, as stating that you discovered "soon after organizing the Klan unit last summer that it was full of unstable 'Little men looking for power.'"

Can you amplify this?

Mr. PRYOR. Sir, I think I more or less brought that out. People that in the beginning would do anything for their fellow Klansmen more or less turned against them. Arguing—I was disgusted at one Klan unit meeting where a new man was being sworn in, and the man was swaying, had his arm up, taking an oath to God, and he was drunk.

When I told the exalted cyclops about it, he told me, he said, "he is a wonderful guy, he is a neighbor. He has just had wife troubles," or something like that.

Mr. APPELL. Did you also find that there were individuals within the Kan whom we might place in a classification of abnormal sex persons?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir; one.

Mr. APPELL. Did he hold an office within the Klan? And I don't want you to identify him.

Mr. PRYOR. He did. Many times, I had to call special meetings, telling these men to get together, investigate him, have a tribunal, "We have to get rid of this man."

As an ex-vice squad officer with the city of Wilmington, I have locked up over 200 of these people and I spot them right away. This man seemed like he wasn't even trying to hide it. He even added a little gold chain to his helmet piece. I told him to take that off. The answers from some of my officers at the State meetings were, "We need people like him, because he has got a brain. He is smart," which I couldn't argue there. He was a very brilliant fellow.

Mr. APPELL. Well, Mr. Pryor, the Wilmington, Delaware, *Journal* of October 22, 1965, which was after the start of the committee's hearings, quotes you in an article as saying that the Ku Klux Klan in Delaware is a "Christian fraternal organization trying to bring the word of truth to the people . . ."

Is that what you believed on October 22, 1965?

Mr. PRYOR. I did, and I still believe that there are people in the organization, a good 50 percent, at least, that are looking for this.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 4" appears on p. 3325.)

Mr. APPELL. But these people, according to your testimony, are not the leaders of the United Klans of America.

Mr. PRYOR. The leaders for the State, you mean, sir?

Mr. APPELL. Well, you are talking about Klaverns in Newark, in Elkton, who are more interested in taking over, I guess, the union in the Chrysler plant than they were in the Klan, and you talked of others, officers who were sex perverts and other officers who steal money.

Mr. PRYOR. Well, yes, sir. I would say that around 50 percent were looking for better government, sir.

Mr. POOL. I did not get your answer.

Mr. PRYOR. I would say at least roughly 50 percent were looking for better government, and they were God-fearing people. Roughly speaking, that there were about 50 percent good people.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Well, again on this point, that you have given the statistics there, could you add how many of these good people are now dropping out of the Klan?

Mr. PRYOR. The day I left, my grand night-hawk left with me. And—

Mr. ASHBROOK. In your opinion, just roughly, if you have any idea.

Mr. PRYOR. I would say about 10 left. I do—I am surprised there are—I still say there are some good people who stayed in.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You say you are surprised that some good people stay in?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes. Even today, there are some people that stayed in the Delaware Realm. I can remember we had one State meeting a month, and in December and in November, when I would hold my State meeting, it was more or less in regards to Mike Sadiwhite, alias Mike Desmond, being welcomed, still, but the United Klans of America, after stealing and destroying letters that I would give him to mail to Mr. Shelton, and he would destroy these, and the American Nazi Party, but it seemed like 90 percent of the people just kept wanting to put it off, put it off, saying: "Wait until after the hearings in Washington are over before you do something about it."

Mr. ASHBROOK. Well, without putting words in your mouth, I assume from what you say, where you indicate that you are surprised

RALPH PRYOR EXHIBIT NO. 4  
[Wilmington, Del., *Journal*, October 22, 1965]

# Pryor Claims Klan Is Christian Group

The Ku Klux Klan in Delaware is a "Christian fraternal organization trying to bring the word of truth to the people . . ." its state grand dragon said yesterday.

Ralph E. Pryor Jr., made the statement in offering a point-by-point answer to Harry G. Haskell Jr., Republican national committeeman, who has called for a state investigation of the Klan.

Pryor charged that Haskell is attempting to get back into politics at the Klan's expense.

In a speech Tuesday before the Brandywine Rotary Club, Haskell outlined six reasons why he believes a probe of the Klan is necessary. Pryor said he wanted to answer these, point by point.

IN response to Haskell's claim that the Klan "poses a threat to public safety, parading its own private storm troopers and trained dogs," Pryor said:

"The dogs will never be used at a public rally in Delaware. They and the security guard are used to protect the public who come to these rallies, from outsiders, such as the American Communist party, who sneak in to cause disturbances.

"They are not there to hurt anybody, but to protect them."

To Haskell's contention that any organization which sets out to influence Delaware elections should be fully exposed to public view, Pryor said:

"WE do promise to run candidates. Maybe he is afraid of the competition.

"The candidates we run will be both Democrats and Republicans. They will not be running on a Klan ticket, but will be backed by the Klan. Why should they be exposed?

"The people backed by us will be making no promises to us for state jobs or positions," the dragon said.

Pryor branded as a lie Haskell's statement that Delaware is being used as a staging area for "exporting the Klan's special brand of hate and bigotry to neighboring states."

"MR. Haskell is trying to put the United Klans of America on the same level as the Klan of 100 years ago," Pryor said. "In my view, this is ridiculous and a waste of newspaper space on his part."

Haskell also said allowing the Klan to organize in Delaware "can severely damage the state's reputation."

"The Klan, which is a Christian organization, has been from its rebirth July 31 in Delaware, and in the future, will continue to be a Christian fraternal organization trying to bring the word of truth to the people of Delaware and other states," Pryor countered.

Haskell charged "the Klan's dedication to violence and hate can destroy the relative peace and tranquility of Delaware and set one group against another."

PRYOR replied: "I've never been a violent man. I think my record speaks for itself." He said in the eight and a half years before he resigned from the Wilmington Bureau of Police, he had never shot anyone.

"If Mr. Haskell put as much work and time into the Boy Scouts of America as I've done, instead of wasting his time attempting to get back into politics at the expense of the Klan, he probably could be serving his state a lot better than he has in the last few months," Pryor said.

Haskell also stated that Pryor and the Delaware Klan "are being used to set up shop in the North." Pryor yesterday demanded Haskell make public any evidence of this he might have.

"Mr. Haskell should come out publicly and tell the people of Delaware, and also me, how we're being used. I'd be more interested than anyone else because I do not like being used."

Pryor also claimed "there has been no outside leader or Klansman in the state since the July 31 rally at Bear."

However, a program at an Oct. 10 Klan meeting about a mile south of Wrangle Hill Road near Kirkwood, featured Pennsylvania Grand Dragon Roy Frankhouser as main speaker, and also included remarks by Frank Rotella, king kleeagle of New Jersey.

that good people stay in, the inference of that is that if they would learn about it as you have, good people would not stay in.

Mr. APPELL. The Wilmington, Delaware, *Morning News*, of January 6, 1966, in a story which related to your quitting the Klan, states that the kladd, Irvin Stansell; the night-hawk, Elmer J. Parsons, P-a-r-s-o-n-s, Jr.; and chief of intelligence, Dave Armstrong, announced that they were leaving the Klan with you.

Did those three gentlemen leave the Klan organization along with you?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir. Within 2 hours after I resigned, on January 4 or 5, I believe it was, they resigned also. I believe the Wilmington paper got in touch with them, and they confirmed that they are leaving for the same reasons as I am. They didn't elaborate on it.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 5" appears on p. 3327.)

Mr. POOL. Has the testimony that has been produced at these hearings here in Washington, has that testimony influenced a great many members to get out of the Klan, you think?

Mr. PRYOR. I don't—I believe that it might have scared some people, Mr. Pool, but I look at it this way: if a man who hasn't broken any law of the country, a man who is a God-fearing man, a man who is an honest man, this committee can't scare him.

Mr. POOL. Well, I did not try to scare somebody. I mean just the revelations that have come out at these hearings. Has that convinced a lot of them that the Klan is a bad organization?

Mr. PRYOR. Not the Klan itself. I think that the average person believes——

Mr. POOL. Well, the leadership of the Klan.

Mr. PRYOR. The leadership. Yes, sir; there is a lot of people that feel, as I do, and they have spoken up, that it is going to hurt the Klan by taking the fifth.

I think there is probably a lot of people that have seen what I have seen in, say, the last 10 or 15 years—as a child, I can remember watching the hearings on the Communist Party, and seeing people taking the fifth amendment. I felt like putting my foot through the TV set.

Mr. POOL. Well, some of the questions that have been asked at these hearings, in my opinion, the person asked the question probably had to take the fifth amendment to keep from incriminating himself.

Mr. PRYOR. I agree.

Mr. POOL. And, in my opinion, a lot of these leaders have done things that are illegal acts and probably should avail themselves of the fifth amendment.

Has that been your impression?

Mr. PRYOR. I would have to say that with some of them, I say that some of these people, too, had nothing to hide, but they had their orders.

Mr. POOL. In other words, they had both kinds.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir. There is probably people in the Klan taking the fifth amendment that had nothing to hide, but they had their orders.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, within the Realm of Delaware at the time you were the Grand Dragon, did you have a security setup with members of a security force?

RALPH PRYOR EXHIBIT NO. 5  
[Wilmington, Del., *Morning News*, January 6, 1966]

# Pryor quits Klan, sees Nazi links

By RALPH DANNHEISSER

Ralph E. Pryor Jr. has quit the Ku Klux Klan.

Pryor said last night that he was stepping down as grand dragon of the Delaware Klan group and leaving the United Klans of America because of close ties between the Klan and the American Nazi Party.

But Pryor pledged in a telegram he sent last night to Robert M. Shelton Jr., imperial wizard of the national Klan in Tuscaloosa, Ala., that though he is quitting he will reveal no Klan secrets in a scheduled appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee later this month.

THE former Wilmington policeman, who brought the Klan to Delaware last July, has been subpoenaed to appear before the committee, looking into Klan activities, on Jan. 25.

According to Pryor, he resolved to break with the Klan during a statewide meeting of the group Monday night, after an argument ensued about Klan-Nazi ties. He said he walked out before the meeting was over.

"When you lie down with dogs, you get up with fleas," Pryor said in explaining why he feels the Klan should have steered clear of Nazi connections.

"I'm going to have a lot of explaining to do about the Klan to my little boy and little girl when they grow up anyway," Pryor declared. "But being friends with Nazis even a good liar couldn't explain."

The ex-dragon said he was shocked when he discovered the extent of Nazi influence in the Klan—particularly in the Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York groups—and added that "I don't know why" Shelton and the national leadership hadn't acted to remove them.

Pryor reported that a number of other state officers, including the Grand Knighthawk, a sort of courier and sergeant-at-arms, and the Grand Kladd or

security officer had resigned along with him.

THE Kladd, Irvin Stansell, the Knighthawk, Elmer J. Parsons Jr., and the chief of intelligence, Dave Armstrong, confirmed last night that they were leaving with Pryor. All said they were quitting "for the same reasons."

Pryor said that a second reason for his disenchantment with the Klan was that Mike Desmond, a former Grand Klaliff or second in command of the Delaware Klan, is "still in good standing with the national leaders" after being expelled from the local unit last October.

"I've been hurt to see a man who was found to break laws of the Klan still welcome," Pryor said.

IN his telegram to Shelton, Pryor wrote:

"Dear Bob: With deep regret I am resigning my office as of this date. The oath I took at Bear, Del., will still be with me in Washington on the 25th of January. Will see you then and explain further."

The reference was to the Klan oath Pryor took just before the meeting near Bear on July 31 which marked the Klan's return to Delaware after 37 years.

PRYOR told the *News-Journal* as long ago as October that he planned to quit the Klan after his appearance before the House committee, then scheduled for Nov. 15. He explained he did not want to leave earlier because doing so might be interpreted as fear of the hearing.

Pryor decided to stick with his plan when the hearing was postponed first until Jan. 4, then until Jan. 25. But last night he explained, "I couldn't wait any longer."

Pryor predicted that his exit "has to hurt the Klan in Delaware for a while, but it probably won't destroy it." The critical period will be next summer, he said.

"If they don't make it in the summer they might as well fold up. It gets pretty cold in those cow pastures in the winter," he said.

THE former dragon said that while he was leaving the organization, "There's a little bit of the Klan in every man, and there'll always be a little of the Klan in me."

He said his own plans are indefinite, but that he'll "keep fighting corruption in the government," the purpose for which he claims he organized the Klan.

"I might be of some value to the new third party," Pryor said, referring to the proposed conservative party in the state. "I know some of the people, and I'll get in touch with them."

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. What was the purpose of organizing this security force?

Mr. PRYOR. As far as I was concerned, you needed the security. All Klaverns have an inner and outer guard, plus you need a security force at your outdoor rallies, to more or less keep hecklers away and people that were trying to attack some of the speakers.

Mr. APPELL. Well, at the Rising Sun rally, a young girl, a photographer and student at the University of Maryland, took a photograph of one of the speakers from New York, Bill Hoff, and I observed her being—

Mr. PRYOR. Chased?

Mr. APPELL. Overpowered by members of, I believe, your security guards, the ones who were in blue, and having—if she had not taken the film out of her camera and handed it to the security guards, I don't know what would happen before the Maryland State Police came in to give her a little bit of protection.

Now, is this the type of security that the United Klans of America seeks at these rallies?

Mr. PRYOR. I, as I have said before, don't believe in any type of violence, especially toward children and women. I recall that she had taken a picture of a speaker from New York, after he took his sun glasses off, and was being chased, and somebody saying, "Get the camera."

I can remember, I think, Mr. Frankhouser was speaking, and he was interrupted, and we looked at each other and shook our heads in disgust at what was going on, chasing the girl. Both of us—I am pretty sure I speak for him, too—that chasing a woman through a crowd, a young girl at that, I didn't think that—and I am not trying to put the blame on anybody else's realm—I didn't think that it was my security force that was chasing her.

Mr. APPELL. Isn't your security force the blue?

Mr. PRYOR. With the rebel on the sleeve? The rebel flags on the sleeves, white helmets?

Mr. APPELL. I didn't notice that.

Mr. PRYOR. There were some blue uniforms, I believe, from New York or Pennsylvania. Or from New York.

Mr. APPELL. What was the color of the uniform of the security guard, the Delaware security guard?

Mr. PRYOR. Navy blue, white helmet, a gold rope, the American flag across the heart, and rebel flags on the cuff, with paratrooper boots.

Mr. APPELL. Well, I can assure you there were some of your men in that group that were chasing her. But to me, this was very remindful not of security, but something that the storm troopers in Germany would have done at a rally to somebody that they were not willing to give the right enjoyed in a democratic country, a member of the press taking a photograph at a public rally.

Mr. ASHBROOK. What was the date of that rally, Mr. Appell?

Mr. APPELL. November—

Mr. PRYOR. It was on a Saturday between the 12th or 14th, around in there somewhere.

Mr. APPELL. I have a date here.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Last year?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is all right.

Mr. PRYOR. I would like to say this, Mr. Appell: That there were many times, especially down at Rising Sun, I noticed that some of my security guards were, they thought they were protecting me, I guess. They roped off a large area, wouldn't let the photographers close, and if one of them sneaked under, trying to do a job, get a picture for his paper, they were pushed back.

Many times, I told my security men to leave these people alone and let them come in. Of course it was their job to protect me. Their answer would be, "Ralph, we are just trying to do our job. Some nut might slip through some of these photographers and put a bullet through you."

Mr. ASHBROOK. Again, going back to what you said, it is hardly the type of thing you would expect good people to do, that you referred to.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, did you, in October of 1964, attempt to create an organizational structure for the United Klans of America in Maryland?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Did you have from the Imperial Wizard Shelton the credentials, authority to organize outside of Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. I did.

Mr. APPELL. And what type of authority or credentials did you have and what was your area of jurisdiction?

Mr. PRYOR. While in Ohio, that was in September, I believe, of '65, around near Zanesville, Ohio, I was guest speaker at a rally, and Mr. Shelton, also.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That was near Cambridge; was it not?

Mr. PRYOR. It could have been, sir. I know that we stayed at the Holiday Inn at Zanesville, near Zanesville.

We were talking about the Delmarva Peninsula, and he said he would send a letter to the Grand Dragon or to the people, I think he said the Klansmen, of Maryland, telling them that parts of Maryland were going to be in my realm.

And we also talked for 3 or 4 hours about letting Catholics in. I felt as if Catholic religion had nothing to do with a man joining the Klan, and surprisingly enough, Mr. Shelton, after a few hours, we got together, and I started letting the Catholic people into the Delaware Realm, and before you know it, I now hear that they are coming into all realms of the United Klans of America.

Mr. APPELL. This meeting that was held in Ohio, this was at the Holiday Inn Motel in Cambridge on Sunday, September 26, 1965?

Mr. PRYOR. I am not sure of the date, sir. That sounds pretty close to it.

Mr. APPELL. Did you meet while there with Robert Annable, who is the great titan of northern Ohio?

Mr. PRYOR. I met a few people, not many, I might have met the man, but I couldn't swear to it.

Mr. APPELL. Bobby J. Stephens, grand titan of southern Ohio?

Mr. PRYOR. I don't remember his name.

Mr. APPELL. James Harris, from Cincinnati, Ohio, who then was either Acting Grand Dragon or a position of that stature?

Mr. PRYOR. I don't remember, sir. The only ones I remember is, you know, Flynn Harvey, talking with. In fact that was another thing, too. At these rallies, I would go to Ohio, North Carolina, and this money came out of the Delaware Klan.

In fact, when I went to North Carolina, the women had a bake sale to earn the money to send me there, in the shopping district. I found out later that a lot of Grand Dragons were getting reimbursed after the rally.

Mr. APPELL. From the money collected?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir, but I never received a cent. I will never forget the second trip to Ohio—on, I think, the second trip to Ohio, I had been talking to Mr. Harvey over in Falls Church, Virginia, and he asked me to be guest speaker at his rally, and I said, "Well, I will come with one of my security men," and I figured it would be about \$55 for two of us, gasoline, and so forth.

After—the rally never came off, and I will never forget, he handed me \$27. I told him it was going to run us \$55. He said, "Well, can I send you the rest of the money in the next couple of days?"

Well, I haven't seen it yet, but yet the same thing with the Bear rally. Every grand officer from any State, including J. R. Jones, who came there, we made them comfortable and welcome, but at the same time, when I went to North Carolina, I had to more or less look out after myself down there.

Mr. APPELL. From the proceeds of the Bear, Delaware, rally, did any of the money collected there go to any of the imperial or grand officers that attended that rally?

Mr. PRYOR. \$525, I believe that's what Mr. Jones said was taken in at the rally, \$525. We had to pay for the land, which was \$50. Kerosene, P.A. speakers, a few other items, road lights, which came to, say, a hundred and some dollars. The rest went with Mr. Shelton and Mr. Jones.

Mr. APPELL. Did any of your men participate in the count of the money?

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. So that you would know how much was collected?

Mr. PRYOR. No, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Do you think that \$525 was a fair estimate of that which was collected that night? Because I understand it was a rather large crowd.

Mr. PRYOR. At the time, I never thought too much about it. I thought that \$525, and naturally, my first rally, it, I thought it seemed like it was quite a sum. But then, at Rising Sun rally, my rally, we had anywhere from, oh, I would say about 2,000 people, and we collected over \$572.

Mr. APPELL. There were no grand officers there, such as Mr. Jones or Mr. Shelton or—

Mr. PRYOR. Reverend Dorsett had promised me that he would be in Wilmington 2 days before the rally, and I said, "If you can't make it, will you let me know?" And he said, "I am positively going to be there," and he never showed up.

Mr. Shelton was supposed to be there. He sent us a letter, stating that he had to go to California on emergency.

Mr. APPELL. Did you ever determine whether Mr. Shelton did in fact go to California on some kind of an emergency?

Mr. PRYOR. I didn't question it, but somebody who had been in Washington—I don't know who it was, a reporter or Klansman—told me he was still in Washington.

Mr. APPELL. When you saw Flynn Harvey in Falls Church, Virginia, was this sometime in October 1965 during the hearings of the committee?

Mr. PRYOR. Right before the hearings started I believe. I believe.

Mr. APPELL. Did you make another trip to Washington sometime in October 1965?

Mr. PRYOR. Right after I got subpoenaed, I believe it was the next day—I forget the date of my subpoena—the next day I came—well, no, that night I called a motel in Falls Church and I was going to tell Mr. Shelton that I had been subpoenaed and what orders, what advice, he wanted me to take.

Mr. Jones picked up the phone and said that "he's in Washington," but he said he would tell him. Then he said, "By the way, what are you fellows doing to that poor boy up in Delaware?"

I said, "What poor boy?"

He said, "Mike Desmond." He said, "He's a wonderful guy." He said, "He's down here working his head off for us."

I said, "Well, you can have him. We don't want him. He is a thief." I started getting mad, shouting. I'll never forget J. R. tell me to calm down.

He said, "Look, I'll tell Bob about it."

I said, "I already told Bob about the money stolen and so forth."

Later that night I was quite upset about it. I called the Congressional Hotel and talked with Mr. Shelton. He seemed very cold, the first time he has ever acted this way toward me. I asked him if he was going to be in Washington tomorrow, that I was coming down.

He said he didn't know. There was a 50-50 chance he might have to fly out. I went down by car with Stansell and a Frank Pittman—he was captain of security—and I saw Wilmington newspapers lying around.

I had asked, I think it was Grady Mars, who brought the Wilmington papers down. He said Desmond. Desmond wasn't in the room.

I found out later from somebody else that when they knew that I was coming down to Washington they took Desmond and, as he put it, buried him over in some motel in Falls Church to keep me from seeing him or keep me away from him.

At the time I was pretty mad, but when I walked into the room I will never forget. Bob Shelton was a man that could always cheer you up. He was a man so far as I was concerned—I know for a fact he only got about an hour, averages about 2 hours' sleep, no more, a day. I don't know how he does it. He always has a big handshake for you and a big hello, but this afternoon when I walked into his apartment at the Congressional Hotel there was no smile, no getting up, no handshake, and I knew there was something wrong then. And you could probably say this was the beginning of the end as far as Ralph Pryor and United Klans of America.

Mr. APPELL. Was it on this trip that you gave to Bob Shelton \$100? And in the records that you turned over to me is a receipt to you dated October 23, 1965, \$100 legal expenses, Washington committee hearings, signed "Robert M. Shelton."

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. PRYOR. This was mailed to Mr. Shelton by the State treasurer through my orders and there was also a note put in there that there would be more to come as soon as we could get it. We were a poor realm, so to speak, but we were going to try and send another hundred dollars within 4 weeks.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 6" follows:)

RALPH PRYOR EXHIBIT NO. 6

Oct 23 1965		No. 7	
Received of <i>Ralph Pryor</i>		<i>Delaware</i>	
		100 Dollars	
For <i>Washington Committee Hearings</i>			
Previous Balance \$			
Amount Paid \$	<i>100.00</i>		
Balance Due \$	By <i>Robert M. Shelton</i>		

Mr. APPELL. This hundred dollars, what portion of the treasury of the Realm of Delaware did this represent?

Mr. PRYOR. This came from State, I believe the State treasurer.

Mr. APPELL. What would the State treasury have been at that time?

Mr. PRYOR. Our State treasury?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. PRYOR. Where would it have been?

Mr. APPELL. No, no; the amount of it.

Mr. PRYOR. Sir, I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. Where did the Realm of Delaware keep its funds?

Mr. PRYOR. I forget the name of the bank. It is in Newark, Delaware, under the Delaware Birdwatchers.

Mr. APPELL. Under the name of the Delaware Birdwatchers?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. And this is the name under which the realm account in Delaware is maintained?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. ASHBROOK. May I ask another question on that before you leave that one subject. On the question of the parting of ways of you and Mr. Shelton: in three places in your testimony you have state that you had informed Mr. Shelton of the actions which you felt were misappropriations of funds, dishonesty, and one of the references you had given to them was on this particular person in your Klan. There

had been inaction and I gather, from what you say, that a part of the rift developed in your opinion because of your calling this to his attention on a continual basis.

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir. Well, also Mr. Shelton advised me, and I did feel like a fool, because I was wrong, but at the same time you can't have a man hanging around that has stolen anywhere from, say, \$200 to \$400 from your realm and destroyed letters. It is my opinion the man was trying to get my job somehow.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Would it also be your opinion that Mr. Shelton would probably have preferred someone like that in the Realm of Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, I hear they are pretty friendly today.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, going back to the attempt on your part to organize a Klan in Maryland, did you on October 4 hold a meeting in Salisbury, Maryland?

Mr. PRYOR. I did, sir.

Mr. APPELL. And who accompanied you to that meeting?

Mr. PRYOR. My security force, also Bob Murphy, who was kleagle, king kleagle—after getting rid of Bashing and Desmond he was made king kleagle—my grand night-hawk, and I would say that's about it. Excuse me. My State lecturer also, Charles Dougherty.

Mr. APPELL. Prior to arriving in Salisbury, had you made preliminary arrangements with residents of the State of Maryland to meet with you there?

Mr. PRYOR. No. I depended on publicity through the paper.

Mr. APPELL. In order to have people search you out and interest in the Klan?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. How many people, as a result of the publicity of your going to arrive for the purpose of opening up a shore office, showed up to confer with you and express an interest in the United Klans of America?

Mr. PRYOR. Approximately 15 people, but I found later on—while I was having supper I was called away from the dinner table at the Holiday Inn down there and the people on the phone said "Mr. Pryor, are you really Mr. Ralph Pryor of the Klan?"

I said, "Yes, I am. Why?" This was more than one phone call.

"Well, we have been hearing over the radio all today that you didn't show up," but we did have about 15 people.

Mr. APPELL. How many of the 15 people that showed up did you swear into the United Klans of America?

Mr. PRYOR. Approximately 12, a dozen.

Mr. APPELL. And who were these people that you swore in at that time?

Mr. PRYOR. I would like to put it this way, sir. First of all, their money was not taken from them.

"When you have enough to set up a Klavern in your area we will send somebody down. Then your money will stay in the Klavern and we will collect your first dues."

Right after this, shortly after this, naturally came out where I had found out about Mr. Desmond, and I would like to say right now that after my first travels to Washington and talking with Bob Shel-

ton about Desmond that my heart wasn't in recruiting. I more or less stopped cold, recruiting. And, in fact, if I hadn't given it out to the papers about the Rising Sun rally, I wouldn't even have gone through with that, so, in other words, I don't know their names and I can't tell you where they live, but no money was collected from these people.

They were sworn in and, as far as I know, they are probably still waiting for their Klavern.

Mr. APPELL. To your knowledge, a Klavern had not been formed as long as you maintained the jurisdiction over Maryland for the United Klans of America?

Mr. PRYOR. As far as I know. In fact I would have to bet on it right now that there is no Klavern in Salisbury.

Mr. APPELL. Was Vernon Naimaster down there at that meeting?

Mr. PRYOR. I believe that I might have met Vernon once before that, but we had a talk down there. He introduced himself and, yes, he was there.

Mr. APPELL. Do you possess any knowledge of how he received an appointment of king kleagle or Acting Grand Dragon or whatever title of leadership was handed out to him by Mr. Shelton?

Mr. PRYOR. Like I said, we had a talk and he was telling me, "There is a fellow down in the Baltimore area who is Acting Grand Dragon, but he doesn't want to allow women into the realm. He's not doing a thing."

And I said, "Well, Bob Shelton elected or appointed him Acting Grand Dragon?"

He said, "No. We more or less voted on it."

I said, "Well, if he's not doing anything," I said, "you're a good man. Why don't you get together with some of the people and you take it over, ask him to step down if he is not going to do anything."

So it seemed like about 2 or 3 weeks later he was Acting Grand Dragon.

Mr. APPELL. The *Washington Post* of October 10 reports that a Frank Harvey, of Elkton, Maryland, was named as the king kleagle or organizer by you.

Mr. PRYOR. That's right.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 7" appears on p. 3335.)

Mr. APPELL. Did you tell Naimaster to take over, or did you tell Frank Harvey to take over?

Mr. PRYOR. No; this was in my realm. Naimaster would have been Acting Grand Dragon of all of Maryland except the Delmarva Peninsula.

Mr. APPELL. Peninsula area?

Mr. PRYOR. Frank Harvey—his real name is Frank Pittman—was—

Mr. APPELL. You mean it is Frank Harvey Pittman?

Mr. PRYOR. No; Harvey as an alias.

Mr. APPELL. Harvey is an alias?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes. In fact to my knowledge he didn't even go back down to recruit. Naturally, he would have to go down through orders from me, and I never gave him any orders, but he was made king kleagle, appointed by—

Mr. APPELL. When you indicated to a reporter from the *Baltimore Sun* that 30 had taken the oath and that because of the Klan oath

RALPH PRYOR EXHIBIT NO. 7  
[Washington Post, October 10, 1965]

## Klan Gains Few Recruits In Maryland

SALISBURY, Oct. 9 (AP) The Grand Dragon of Delaware's Ku Klux Klan invaded Maryland's Eastern Shore on a recruiting drive today but by nightfall, had attracted fewer new members than the retinue of followers he brought with him.

Ralph E. Pryor Jr., who heads Delaware's Klan, had received about 16 persons at his hastily established motel room office by nightfall, four less than the 20-man following who accompanied him into this Wicomico County seat.

But, Pryor said he had found enough new members to warrant the establishment of a Klan unit on the Eastern Shore. He said he had sworn in about eight or ten Klansmen.

One of them, Frank Harvey of Elkton, a town at the head

of the Chesapeake Bay some 100 miles away, was named King Klagel—chief organizer—by Pryor. Harvey had earlier identified himself as a Klan security guard.

Pryor said Western Maryland already has a temporary Grand Dragon of its own, but he is working secretly.

Earlier, Pryor said at a news conference that members of his organization included police and at least one member of the Delaware Legislature.

"I have people here with me today who are on the State payroll, but their names will never be found out," he said. "And I also have been told that before I took over as head of the Klan that State Police were sworn in as Klansmen."

Asked whether any members of the Wilmington, Del., Police Department were Klansmen, Pryor replied, "Definitely yes."

Pryor did not name anyone on the State payroll who might be a Klansman, but he said "at least one member of the General Assembly" is a member.

you could not tell what the exact strength of the Klan in that area was, this was a little public relations work on your part to leave the impression that the Klan was stronger than it actually was?

Mr. PRYOR. I think you'll find that this is one of the weapons of the Klan, to double your power.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 8" appears on p. 3336.)

Mr. APPELL. In other words, if you can make people believe that you are stronger, more representative of the community, that your chance of carrying out whatever you desire to carry out is better accomplished?

Mr. PRYOR. That's right.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, within the Realm of Delaware, did you recruit any Klansmen who were members of either State or local police departments into membership in the Klan?

Mr. PRYOR. To my knowledge there was no men who work for the department of public safety in the city of Wilmington or the State police or any sheriffs.

Frank Harvey, or Frank Pittman, was the only law officer and he was broke from deputy sheriff about 2 weeks after his picture was on

RALPH PRYOR EXHIBIT NO. 8  
[Baltimore, Md., Sun, October 10, 1965]

## 30 TAKE OATH, SAYS KLANSMAN

### 16 Marylanders Are Seen In Salisbury Drive

By DOUGLAS D. CONNAH, JR.  
[Sun Staff Correspondent]

Salisbury, Md., Oct. 9—The Grand Dragon of the Delaware Ku Klux Klan said tonight he had sworn 30 new members—"give or take five"—into the Klan during a five-hour organizing drive on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

"If I give you the exact strength of this area, I'd be going against my oath," said Ralph E. Pryor, Jr., of Wilmington, as he prepared to leave a motel near Salisbury about 6 P.M.

#### Few Sworn In

To outside observers, however, it appeared as though he had recruited slightly fewer new Klansmen than there were in the "small army" he brought down with him.

Only about sixteen Marylanders were seen entering the motel room where the Klan spent the day, and a few of them said later that they had not been sworn in.

The Grand Dragon, a former Wilmington policeman, expressed delight with the turnout.

"I think everything went well except there weren't any pickets here," Mr. Pryor said. "That's the only thing that upset me."

Mr. Pryor was trailed by a retinue of about twenty Klansmen, unsmiling men with their eyes masked by dark glasses.

#### Dragon's Emergence Seen

One of them, Frank Harvey, of Elkton, was named "King Klegle"—chief organizer—for Maryland's Eastern Shore. Earlier, Mr. Harvey identified himself as a Klan security guard.

Mr. Pryor also said that Maryland already had a temporary Grand Dragon of its own, now working secretly, who would emerge soon to lead the Klan on the western side of Chesapeake Bay. The Eastern Shore will remain in Mr. Pryor's Delaware realm.

"He hasn't come out publicly yet," Mr. Pryor said in one of the numerous sessions he held to accommodate the press. "I sort of believe it'll be in the next month or so."

The Grand Dragon also said that a public Klan rally and cross-burning would be held early in November in Rising Sun, Md., at which Robert M. Shelton, Jr., of Tuscaloosa, Ala., Imperial Wizard

of the United Klans of America, Inc., would appear.

#### A Family Drives Up

Despite Mr. Pryor's optimism, the turnout was regarded as a poor showing by persons unsympathetic to the anti-Negro "invisible empire."

"Are you aware of the fact that none of these people are from Wicomico county?" Hamilton P. Fox, Jr., a Salisbury lawyer, asked an observer.

Mr. Fox is chairman of the Wicomico county bi-racial commission and attorney for the local Holiday Inn where the klansmen rented a room for the day. A hit later, a panel truck drove up, and a young couple with two small children got out and entered the room full of Klansmen.

Among the others who went inside today was Robert S. Taylor, of Princess Anne, who in the past has claimed to be the head of the National States' Rights Party in Somerset county. Mr. Taylor stayed in the room about one hour.

A red-headed man in his early twenties, Mr. Taylor was a somewhat prominent figure in Princess Anne during the Negro civil rights demonstrations there in 1964.

#### Convicted Once

He was once convicted of disorderly conduct after he had struck a Negro who had attended an Easter service at a white Princess Anne church.

television or in the newspapers. I advised some of these people that had State jobs or county jobs to keep away from TV and radio, but some of them really got hurt as far as jobwise.

Mr. APPELL. The Wilmington, Delaware, *Journal* of 10-11-65, with respect to members, law enforcement officers within the Realm of Delaware, said:

Pryor "refused to identify any members of the state police as members of the Klan, but did make the statement that there were between one and two state policemen in the Klan," \* \* \*.

Was this more of—

Mr. PRYOR. What paper was that, sir?

Mr. APPELL. Wilmington, Delaware, *Journal* of October 11, 1965.

Mr. PRYOR. On this statement I was going by what Mike Sadiwhite, Mike Desmond, had told me. He came to me one day.

First of all I heard it on WMAS in Wilmington and I was surprised about it. I called him, I believe they told me that Desmond had given this out. In fact, I was angry because he hadn't even gotten permission to go on the air from me.

About a few hours later I met him in town, in Wilmington, and he seemed excited. He told me, "Did you hear the radio broadcast?"

And I said, "Yes, I did."

Before I could even start chewing him out over the matter, he started telling me that the Delaware State Police, Lieutenant Buckmaster of the Delaware State Police had gotten in touch with him—I believe that was how he put it—and also Lieutenant Buckmaster that day had gotten in touch with me, and I told Lieutenant Buckmaster in almost these exact words, I am telling you that Mike Desmond had told me that there were two police officers coming into the Klan.

I said, "But as far as I know"—this is how I put it to Lieutenant Buckmaster—"I know nothing of this."

Also I believe he came out and stated that we had a Congressman or somebody in the Klan. And after this did come out, I think the paper got ahold of me and I thought, well, better keep it rolling.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 9" follows:)

#### RALPH PRYOR EXHIBIT NO. 9

[Wilmington, Del., *Journal*, October 11, 1965]

# No Klansmen in Ranks, State Police Tell Pryor

Delaware State Police this morning branded as unfounded

the claim. Ellis said Pryor began making a claim by the Ku Klux Klan such claims several weeks ago and was immediately contacted and interviewed by a member of the department.

Meanwhile officials at the University of Delaware said there was no official sanction for an invitation to speak at the university, reportedly tendered to the Klan's grand dragon by a youth who identified himself as a university student.

Both the claim of widespread infiltration of police agencies and the speaking invitation to Grand Dragon Ralph E. Pryor Jr. came during a weekend of Klan organizational activity on the Delmarva Peninsula.

**PRYOR had declared during a recruiting drive Saturday in Salisbury, Md., that there are a large number of Klansmen in both the state police and the Wilmington Bureau of Police.**

But Col. Eugene B. Ellis, superintendent of the state police, said in a statement this morning that investigation had produced no evidence to support

Ellis said Pryor began making a claim by the Ku Klux Klan such claims several weeks ago and was immediately contacted and interviewed by a member of the department.

Pryor "refused to identify any members of the state police as members of the Klan, but did make the statement that there were between one and two state policemen in the Klan," Ellis said.

"DUE to the ambiguity of the statement, I can attach no credence to it," the state police head concluded. But he added,

"In the event that any concrete information comes to my attention in the future, it will be thoroughly investigated and a determination made."

Joseph A. L. Errigo, Wilmington's commissioner of public safety, could not be contacted this morning for comment on Pryor's latest claims about city police membership.

But Errigo has said previously that there are no known Klansmen among active policemen.

Pryor himself is a former member of the police bureau's vice squad.

Wilmington policemen were ordered not to join the Klan by Errigo. Ellis has not yet taken a position on this.

**THE invitation to Pryor to speak at the university was made Saturday in Salisbury by a young man who identified himself as Richard MacSorley, 22, of Seaford. He said he is a civil engineering student. He asked Pryor to speak at the Russell Complex, a group of five dormitories on the campus.**

A university spokesman said this morning that "so far as we know, there isn't anything to it. There has been no official invitation issued, and we are relatively sure there will not be."

The spokesman said he doubted that what Pryor might contribute "would be very beneficial from the educational standpoint."

Mr. APPELL. Well, did subsequent investigation on your part in the position of Grand Dragon establish, as you have previously testified, that you had no members?

Mr. PRYOR. I would say there are no members of any—I can't say political office because there could be without my knowledge, but to my knowledge there is no woman or man in the State of Delaware who holds a political job in the Klan or no police officer or State policeman or no sheriff, except Pittman, who was fired as a deputy sheriff.

Mr. APPELL. He was in Maryland, but still within the Realm of Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. The Wilmington, Delaware, *News* of October 11, 1965, reported on a public rally that was held at Kirkwood. I assume that is Kirkwood, Delaware?

Mr. PRYOR. This was closed to the public. Was this—could you read some of that just to see if it was closed to the public? It would refresh my memory.

(Document marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. APPELL. Well, it says a "private meeting northeast of Kirkwood."

Mr. PRYOR. That's right. The public was not invited. This was more or less an idea of mine to have the outdoor meeting, let some of these other Klaverns meet some of their fellow Klansmen and Klanswomen, more or less a get-together meeting, plus I asked Mr. Frankhouser—he had called me on a matter and while I was talking to him I asked him to be guest speaker.

I believe Mr. Rotella showed up. I don't think I had ever met Mr. Rotella, but he was there.

Mr. APPELL. The newspaper account quotes Roy Frankhouser as the main speaker and stated that as a part of his speech he attacked President Johnson, accused him of treason and of working for Moscow. What effect did this have upon you?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, I look at it this way. I don't know anything about Moscow or treason, but I'm sort of partial to that because I don't have too much like for Mr. Johnson myself.

Mr. APPELL. Well, but do you think in your own opinion that the President of the United States is engaging in treason, working for a country other than the United States?

Mr. PRYOR. I don't believe so.

Mr. APPELL. Did you at any time learn the background of Frank Rotella, who, this article described at that time as being king klegle for the State of New Jersey?

Mr. PRYOR. Like I just said a few minutes ago, the first time I met Mr. Rotella I believe was at this outdoor meeting, and he introduced himself to me and shook hands and he wanted to say a few words, which he did.

Then I believe the second time was down at the Rising Sun rally. That was another thing that sort of shook me up. Mr. Rotella seemed to be ill. He was walking around the rally site talking to himself. I was concerned over this.

I had a talk with Mr. Frankhouser. He seemed always, like I said, to get along pretty good, always held a pretty good conversation, friendly conversation, and he seemed a little upset about it, too. I remember we called Mr. Rotella over, and Mr. Frankhouser did the talking.

He says, "Try and calm yourself tonight."

He said, "I will."

I heard later that he was upset about being subpoenaed. Also I heard that his mother was looking for him to try and have him committed to the State hospital.

Mr. APPELL. The king klegle's mother was trying to have him committed to a State institution?

Mr. PRYOR. That's what I had heard.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, in October 1965 the Newark, Delaware, newspaper, the *Newark Weekly*, in an editorial indicated that from their observation there were a number of queers in the Delaware Realm of the United Klans of America and they suggested that the sheet worn by the Klan should be changed from white to pink, and thereafter several bricks, two bricks, painted pink with the imprint on it "In Pink, K.K.K." were thrown through the glass of the office of the *Newark Weekly*.

Do you possess any knowledge of that?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, naturally you get grown men that aren't queer, homosexuals, and you have some pretty powerful men in the Delaware Realm. They weren't going to take this lying down. It was getting around that they were pretty mad about the whole thing.

For one thing, they were mad because the editor, there was a rumor going around that he was queer, but as far as knowing who did this, all I know is that it was supposed to have been done by the Delaware Klan.

I forget who the men were that came to me one day at a meeting and said, "Did you read the paper," and they were all smiles. But to save my life, I couldn't tell you who threw the bricks through the window, but it was supposed to have been members of the Delaware Klan. They were quite angry over being called queer.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, how much money did you say was collected at the Rising Sun, Maryland, rally? Five hundred and—

Mr. PRYOR. Over \$572. I believe after we paid for the P.A. system—well, altogether take about \$590, give or take \$5 either way.

Mr. APPELL. How much of this money was given to your guest speakers that night, either Bill Hoff or Frank Rotella or Roy Frankhouser, to defray their expenses for coming down?

Mr. PRYOR. None was given to anybody from New York. Mr. Frankhouser—you see this was more or less what I called a tristate rally, more or less.

Since the hearings were going on down here, I thought it was a good idea to show that we weren't afraid to go on with any rallies and it was a tristate, more or less, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware.

Mr. Frankhouser got I believe \$195. Our realm got \$195. I gave it to the captain of my security, told him to give it to Mr. Nicks, the State treasurer, the next morning since they worked together. And Naimaster got \$195. Of course, Naimaster had to pay for the land,

for the lease of the land. There were other things that we had rented, so after expenses were taken out \$195 was given to each realm.

Mr. APPELL. On the night of the Rising Sun rally, Robert Patrick Murphy was arrested by Delaware State Police and charged with possession of two weapons. According to the newspaper account, he denied that he had any connection with the Klan. This is the Robert Patrick Murphy that you have previously identified as a member of the Delaware Realm of the United Klans of America?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes. He was banished before this down in the Hartly, Delaware, area, southern part of Delaware. He had gone down without orders from me. I had sent Morello, also a Klanswoman, and I believe two other people—I forget who they were—and Charles Dougherty, I believe.

Later that night, or shortly after they arrived to swear in these people in Hartly and get them started in their Klavern and so forth Murphy went outside. There were people inside who thought they had heard either firecrackers or shooting. There was also a woman in the room about 8 months' pregnant.

Murphy runs in saying, "We are being attacked by the Black Muslims. Everybody hit the floor" and everybody hit the floor.

I would have been in Ohio, and investigated myself. I found that Murphy was away from everybody else at one time. I also found some of his shells from his .38 snubnose in a drain near the house. When telling him about this, he got very nervous. I got together with the tribunal and told them to try Murphy. He never showed up for his trial.

Mr. APPELL. And then he was thereafter banished?

Mr. PRYOR. Banished. Of course I found, like I say, I found later on before this—I don't know if it was before or after—that I had no right to banish, but at the same time I am not going to have thieves. I am not going to have people going around like celebrating the 4th of July in October with a .38 snubnose on him.

Mr. APPELL. Was Henry Wolfenden, W-o-l-f-e-n-d-e-n, Wilmington, Delaware, a member of the Realm of Delaware security guard?

Mr. PRYOR. To the best of my knowledge, he was not and he was not even a card-carrying member of the United Klans. In fact, I can truthfully say he positively was not a security guard, and there is a lot of people that I forget their names or don't remember their faces, and they stop me on the street, and I will try and remember where I placed them, and then they give me the Klan handshake. In other words, what I am getting at, there is a lot of people I don't know in the Klan.

Mr. APPELL. After he was arrested and pleaded guilty to the charges of child negligence and sodomy, ordered committed to the State hospital, and during the course of this said that he was a member of the Delaware Realm, did you make an investigation to determine whether he was or not?

Mr. PRYOR. What I did, I came out—the newspapers and radio got in touch with me and I thought the best way of handling this is, and I have to admit I was sweating this for a while—I said, "Let this man produce a membership card, also name his unit, and pinpoint its location."

And he couldn't do this. There are a lot of people that I found—I have been in restaurants and bars in Delaware and Maryland and I have heard people talking that they are a personal friend of Ralph Pryor and, "Do you want to get in the Klan?" And they'll be holding a conversation with another person, and here I am sitting in there and I don't even know the man.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Pryor, other than the statements that you have made, do you desire to make any additional statements as to why you joined the Klan and why you got out of the Klan?

Mr. PRYOR. Well, I did send you gentlemen a written statement.

Mr. APPELL. Would you desire that the statement be made a part of the record at the conclusion of your testimony?

Mr. PRYOR. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask of Mr. Pryor.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Ashbrook?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

I would merely like to thank the witness for his cooperation and, what is obvious to us, his honest answers and his effort to be of help to this committee. You have performed a great service, and I want to thank you on behalf of the committee. I know I am speaking for the chairman and everyone else.

Mr. PRYOR. Thank you.

(Mr. Pryor's statement follows:)

STATEMENT TO HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES FOR  
PRESENTATION FEBRUARY 9, 1966

I had been a member of the United Klans of America from Aug. 1, 1965 and was Grand Dragon of the Delmarva Peninsula from September, 1965 until Jan. 4, 1966. I am still a sympathizer of many of the Klan's beliefs.

I was the organizer in the State of Delaware for the United Klans of America. I started organizing for the Klan back in January of 1965. I started sympathizing with the Klan after I saw where men like Martin Luther King could walk the streets of our country making millions of dollars from people he leads into sit-ins, attacks on police officers and riots in our country. I say now there will always be a Klan as long as men like King are given a free rein in our country. In fact I believe there is a little of the Klan in every white American. When you see pictures in nationally known magazines of men like Adam Clayton Powell sitting at rallies with leaders of the Black Muslims and pictures of Martin Luther King sitting at meetings with the U.S. Communist leaders then I say its time to join or form a white organization, to help rid our country of our country's enemies.

I have seen with my own eyes how a city can die, in the city of Wilmington, Delaware alone there are several top political leaders with criminal records. These are many of the reasons I joined the United Klans of America.

I left the United Klans of America for two reasons. At one time I had as second in command of my realm which would be known as Grand Klaliff a Mike Sadiwhite alias Mike Desmond. During the few months that Sadiwhite was in my realm he had stolen about \$180 of the United Klans of America funds. He also destroyed mail that I had given to him to mail to the national office and other Klan realms. This man was given a tribunal, he pleaded guilty and was banished from the United Klans of America, a few days after his banishment I learned from employes of a certain local radio station that he had worked there and had been fired for the same reasons. I wrote to Mr. Shelton telling him of Sadiwhite and of the trial. Approximately six weeks later I found that Sadiwhite was still welcomed by the national office and was working in Washington, D.C., with them.

Another reason for my departure from the United Klans of America was the allowing of members and former members of the American Nazi Party into the

organization. At a Klan rally last November at Rising Sun, Md., there were people from New York and Pennsylvania giving the Nazi salute, this was told to me by my security guard. I had given orders that only religious music would be played at the Rising Sun rally, but right before the opening ceremonies some one played a Prussian march record over the public address system.

As I told Mr. Shelton it is with deep regret that I left the Klan. I am a very confused man at this time as at one time I thought there was no one like Mr. Shelton.

I would like to close this written statement by saying that my only purpose in joining the United Klans of America was to fight for better government. I have never hurt anyone in my life and never ordered violence to be spread in my home state. I do believe in liberty and will continue to fight for it the rest of my short life.

/s/ Ralph E. Pryor, Jr.,

RALPH E. PRYOR, JR.,

Wilmington, Delaware, January 31, 1966.

Mr. POOL. Those are the chairman's sentiments also.

You are permanently excused.

Mr. PRYOR. Thank you.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Mr. Roy Frankhouser.

Mr. POOL. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. I do so swear.

# **TESTIMONY OF ROY EVERETT FRANKHOUSER, JR., ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. My name is Roy Everett Frankhouser, sir.

Mr. APPELL. E-v-e-r-e-t-t?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. APPELL. Will counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, is it stipulated that he has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement in these hearings?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir. He has been apprised by me and is familiar with those statements.

Mr. POOL. He understands the contents therein?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, when and where were you born?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel in my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by the Constitution of the United States by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, under the conditions of the subpoena served upon you and attachment thereto, you were commanded to bring with you and to produce before the committee:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, and Pennsylvania Rescue Service, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as Acting Grand Dragon, Realm (State) of Pennsylvania of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity set forth in the subpoena, the attachment to the subpoena, Mr. Frankhouser, I ask you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. POOL. Wait just a minute. You asked him to produce the documents called for in paragraph 1?

Mr. APPELL. There is only one paragraph.

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to this committee any and all documents demanded by this committee in its subpoena, dated of 1965, October of 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed me by the Constitution of the United States, amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14.

I also respectfully decline to deliver any and all documents and records requested by this committee under subpoena dated October 1965, October 14—excuse me, sir—for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same will not aid Congress in consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such an inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated under Rule XI of the rules adopted by the Congress, House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. POOL. Mr. Chalmers, do you care to make a stipulation?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir, the same stipulation with respect to the other witnesses I represented applies to this witness also, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. I suppose that will be good enough.

Mr. CHALMERS. All right, sir.

Mr. POOL. The stipulation is so stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to produce the documents called for.

Mr. POOL. The committee rejects your reasons and orders and directs you to produce the material and documents called for in the subpoena under this one paragraph, so you are now ordered and directed to produce that material.

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Yes, sir.

Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to this committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated, sir.

Mr. POOL. Your reasons are not accepted by the committee. Go ahead.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, I show you a reproduction of a letterhead, National States Rights Party, National Headquarters, Post Office Box 783, Birmingham, Alabama, and invite your attention to the name "Roy Frankhouser" as "organizer" and put it to you as a

fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you have served as an organizer for the National States Rights Party.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed me by the Constitution of the United States, amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 1

NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY



National Headquarters:

POST OFFICE BOX 783

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

NATIONAL OFFICERS:

NED DUBBS  
Chairman  
MRS. E. L. B. SHOP  
Vice-Chairman  
W. B. BURCH  
Assistant Chairman  
BERNICE SETTLE  
Secretary-Treasurer  
ROY FRANKHOUSER  
Organizer  
MATT KOEHL  
Security Officer  
DR. EDWARD R. HODDS  
Information Director

LOCAL UNIT  
HEADQUARTERS

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, I hand you a copy of a magazine called *the stormtrooper*, summer issue, 1965. I invite your attention to page 24 and an article which reads, "American Nazi Blinded In One Eye By Jew Gang!"

In the article Roy Frankhouser is identified as an American Nazi unit organizer in Reading, Pennsylvania. I hand you this article and put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you did hold such an office within the American Nazi Party.

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 3." See p. 3322.)

Mr. APPELL. I hand you a copy of a newspaper article which appeared in the *Atlanta Journal* of Tuesday, September 5, 1961, which relates to the arrest of Roy E. Frankhouser of Reading, Pennsylvania, for an assault upon a police officer and identifies Frankhouser as having attended a Klan meeting and being an organizer for the National States Rights Party.

I put it to you as a fact that you are the Roy E. Frankhouser so arrested and ask you to affirm or deny the fact.

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT No. 2  
[Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, September 5, 1961]

# Klan 'Peace' Meet Becomes Near Riot

Northwest Atlanta Protest Rally  
Vents Wrath on Jenkins, Other Officers

By JOHN PENNINGTON

A "peaceful protest" rally, sponsored by a Ku Klux Klan, erupted into a wild disorder in northwest Atlanta Monday night.

More than a hundred angry, shouting men formed the nucleus of an almost-rioting mob that turned its wrath against police officers, including Chief Herbert Jenkins.

The crowd declared a profanely shouted intent to "stamp" Detective Capt. R. E. Little Jr.; its members jeered and cursed Chief Jenkins, let the air out of one tire of his automobile, and threatened to turn his car over.

A tear gas grenade was tossed in the course of the disorder, but it could not be determined who threw it.

ONE MAN, Roy E. Frankhouser Jr., of Reading, Pa., a national organizer for the anti-Jewish, anti-Negro National States Rights Party, was arrested. It was protest over the man's arrest that set the crowd into mob mood.

Capt. Little said Frankhouser kicked him on the shin and started "screaming like a banshee" when he arrested him, attracting the attention of the crowd.

Frankhouser, charged with disorderly conduct—assault on an officer and disorderly conduct—disturbance, was released at midnight on \$150 bond.

Grand Dragon Calvin F. Craig of the United Klans, Knights of the Ku-Klux Klan, claimed that the crowd was angered by Capt. Little and his detectives going around letting air out of car tires.

The rally was held in a baseball park at Almand Park, off Hollywood Road, N.W. Frankhouser was arrested up on the street overlooking the ball park. When hollering started up on the bank, men from the ball park raced up the hill, yelling and cursing. "Let's stamp that cop."

WHEN CAPT. LITTLE drove away with Frankhouser, some men chased the car down the street, shouting, "Stop that car. Don't let him take that man..."

After Capt. Little was gone, the full wrath of the crowd was turned on Chief Jenkins.

The chief left shortly in another car and about a dozen extra policemen came in on motorcycles. The crowd quieted down

and speechmaking continued in the ball park.

Speakers at the meeting were Atty. James Venable of Stone Mountain (who spoke twice), two unidentified klansmen who wore robes and masks (one of whom presided and made several speeches); Grand Dragon Craig, George Williams of Chattanooga, a klansman without robe; a preacher, Henry Hewatt, who said he was not a member of "any organization," and JERRY DUTTON, one of several teen-agers arrested last Wednesday, the first day of desegregation in Atlanta's schools.

KLANSMAN Williams, who declined to identify himself from the speakers' platform, opened the meeting with some light banter, tossing out intermittent jokes and comments. "This is a peaceful rally..." We believe in non-violence unless they start trampling on our own individual rights...

About 300 persons, including a number of women and children, attended the meeting — many of them in cars with license plates from other counties.

A ramrod-straight klansman dressed in a sort of stormtrooper uniform of green and white, and wearing a pistol holster on his hip, stood on the speakers' stand during the evening. He was described as an "imperial guard."

THE FIRST SPEECH was made by a klansman in red robe, in the course of introducing Attorney Venable. He described himself as a preacher, and talked over a microphone held under a mask which covered his face.

"I believe the niggers and sorry white trash oughta stay in their place — including Bill Hartfield," the masked "preacher" shouted.

The same speaker later announced that he was told that detectives were going around letting air out of car tires. "If I catch a detective letting air out of my tires," he said, "I'm going to kick him in the seat of the pants." Then, liking what he had said, the speaker repeated his words.

Shortly thereafter the disorder ensued.

MR. HEWATT SAID the answer to school desegregation is private schools. There are plenty of "Godly, saintly mothers" who could do the teaching, he said.



Staff Photo—Dorrell Thompson

ROY FRANKHOUSER JR.  
Sparks Arm Band.

"Desegregation is sin," he shouted. "Desegregation is sickening in the nostrils of God..."

Attorney Venable, who is key speaker at nearly all Klan-sponsored rallies held in the Atlanta area and at some in other parts of Georgia and in Alabama, criticized the arrest last week of four teen-age boys in connection with school desegregation day.

"These young boys went out there to see what was going on," he said, "exercising their constitutional rights. And befool, Little (Capt. Little) arrested these boys for nothing whatsoever."

The attorney, taking his usual text for such speeches, shouted criticism at Mayor Hartfield, the Atlanta newspapers, Ralph McGill, "this nigger Luther King," downtown merchants and several candidates for mayor.

DUTTON, one of the four teen-agers arrested last week and later released, spoke briefly to the crowd. He spent most of his non-speaking time in a group including Richard and Robert Bowling, two brothers who are members of the National States Rights Party, and who attended the meeting with Frankhouser.

Capt. Little said Frankhouser has been staying in Atlanta with George Bright, another "party" member who was charged and acquitted of the bombing here of the Jewish Temple. The Bowling brothers also were charged in the bombing, but a re-indictment on the case dropped Robert Bowling's name and left Richard's in. The indictment has never been tried.

THE RED-MASKED preacher said he represented 50 preachers of Atlanta who were "riled up" about the arrest of the four teen-agers here last week. But he did not name the preachers, and he never publicly identified himself.

A white-robed and masked klansman also spoke, without identifying himself.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, have you ever held membership in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, the city of Philadelphia, police department of that city, in a letter to the committee dated December 14, 1965, stated that you were picked up by them on February 1, 1961, and at the time—

Frankhouser also stated that he was a member of the Communist Party and the Civil Liberties Union, and is still on their mailing lists and attends their meetings. \* \* \*

I ask you whether or not this report from the police department of Philadelphia is factual.

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, I shall read to you from a report of the city of Philadelphia Police Department, a report dated 12-23-1962, which reports an interview of Roy Everett Frankhouser, Jr., which reads as follows:

Roy Everett Frankhouser, Jr., was interviewed by Sgt. Lottier \* \* \* of C.D.D. Det. Morris \* \* \* of the Intelligence Unit & the assigned & the following information was obtained:

Stated that he was born in Reading, Pa. 11-4-39 and has lived in Reading, Pa. primarily his whole lifetime, with exception of travel and limited stays in other cities.

Attended Northwest Reading Jr. High school and completed the tenth grade. As far as his political education he attended the school of Bio-Politics at the Institute of Bio-Politics, operated by one Max Nelson [N-e-l-s-o-n], located on Damon St. South side of Chicago, Ill., now known and operated by the American Nazi Party. Attended for approximately 2 months in 1961.

Now under the direction of George Lincoln Rockwell. Stated he was formerly the organizer of the National States Rights Party, the position that he has since resigned.

Stated that he has been active in Right-Wing and Racial movements since he was 16 years of age.

He also served in the U.S. Army as a paratrooper in 1959 and 1960, and was in continuous difficulties brought about by his political leanings. Due to his difficulties he received a discharge under honorable conditions.

The subject resides by himself at 623 N. Front St. in Reading, Pa. \* \* \* Mail is received from the American Nazi Party through Box No. 1432 in Reading, Pa., this box is shared with other members of the A.N.P. whom he stated that he is not at liberty to disclose their names.

Is this information which I read to you, Mr. Frankhouser, a factual report of the interview which you gave on December 23, 1962?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that in addition to the post office box in Reading, Pennsylvania, 1432, which was originally applied for in the name of the National States Rights Party, you have received mail as a member of the American Nazi Party and presently as a member of the United Klans of America.

I show you the original application for that post office box.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 3

F.O.Box 1432, Reading, Pa. 19603

FOR POST OFFICE USE ONLY	POSTMASTER <i>Harold D. Schildt, PM</i>	DATE BOX OPENED <b>OCT 20 1960</b>	DATE BOX CLOSED	BOX NO. <b>1432</b>
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**APPLICANT PLEASE NOTE:** Completion of this application signifies your willingness to comply with all postal rules relative to the renting and use of Post Office boxes

NAME OF APPLICANT (Print or type)  
**ROBERT LYONS**

NAME OF FIRM OR CORPORATION (If box is rented for use of either)

**NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY**

KIND OF BUSINESS

**POLITICAL PARTY - POLITICAL EDUCATION**

BUSINESS ADDRESS (No., street, and zone)

**623 NORTH FRONT STREET**

HOME ADDRESS (No., street, and zone)

**708 WARREN STREET**

SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT  
**X Robert Lyons**

DATE OF APPLICATION  
**Oct 20, 1960**

For Post Office Use Only ENTERED IN DIRECTORY	INITIALS OF CLERK <i>[Signature]</i>	INITIALS OF CARRIER	BOX NO. <b>1432</b>
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THE FOLLOWING MUST BE COMPLETED AND SIGNED BEFORE P. O. BOX IS ASSIGNED

DELIVER MAIL IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS CHECKED BELOW

- ☐ ALL EXCEPT SPECIAL DELIVERY IN BOX
- ☐ ALL INCLUDING SPECIAL DELIVERY IN BOX
- ☒ ONLY MAIL ADDRESSED TO BOX IS TO BE PLACED IN IT ALL OTHER MAIL TO BE DELIVERED AS ADDRESSED
- ☐ OTHER INSTRUCTIONS (Explain)

SPECIAL DELIVERY MAIL ONLY (Deliver as checked below)

- ☐ DELIVER TO LOCAL RESIDENCE AT
- ☐ DELIVER TO LOCAL BUSINESS ADDRESS AT

(No., street, and zone)

(No., street, and zone)

NAMES OF PERSONS ENTITLED TO RECEIVE MAIL THROUGH BOX (If box is rented to a firm, include the full name of each of its members whose mail is to be placed in box)

*Roy Frankhouser*

**X Robert Lyons**  
(Signature of applicant)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, I show you three copies of photographs taken in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, all three of which portray yourself in the uniform of the American Nazi Party.

I ask you if you are the one portrayed in those photographs in the Nazi uniform.

(Photographs handed to witness.)

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Photographs marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 4" follow:)

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 4



Roy E. Frankhouser in American Nazi Party uniform.

Mr. APPELL. I show you a photograph which is part of an article which appeared in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, *News*, November 7, 1965, which shows a photograph.

Under the photograph there is a caption, "Klansman Distributed Hate Literature Here."

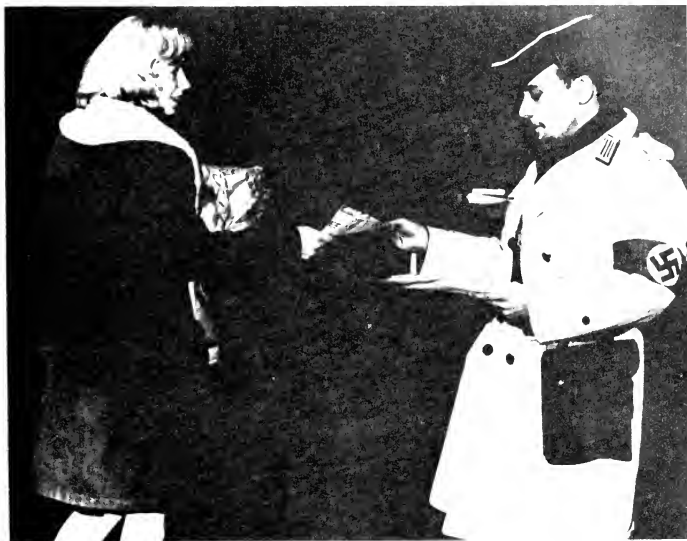
I show you this photograph and ask you if you are the person shown in a uniform which appears to have a Nazi swastika armband on yourself?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 5" appears on p. 3350.)

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

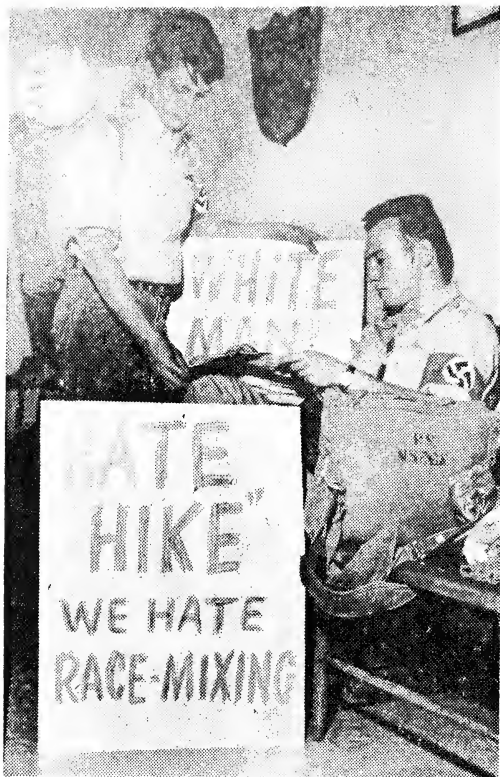


At right Roy E. Frankhouser.



Second from left Roy E. Frankhouser.

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 5

[Lancaster, Pa., *News*, November 7, 1965]

## Klansman Distributed Hate Literature Here

Roy E. Frankhouser Jr., who conducted a Ku Klux Klan meeting near Rising Sun, Md., Saturday night, was in Lancaster two years ago on a similar hate mission. Frankhouser, right above, is shown in the lobby of the Lancaster City Police Station in August, 1963.

He and his companion, iden-

tified as John Patler, of Arlington, Va., were questioned by police after they distributed "hate literature" on city streets. The pair said they were members of the American Nazi Party and were on a "Hate Hike."

They were escorted by police to the Rt. 230 bypass and released, following questioning.

Mr. APPELL. On February 3, 1965, were you arrested by the Arlington County, Virginia, Police Department and charged with disorderly conduct and found guilty of such conduct?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, according to the Reading, Pennsylvania, *Eagle* of October 22, 1965, referring to George Lincoln Rockwell, you are quoted as saying:

Of Rockwell personally, Frankhouser said he is a "vicious" and "dictatorial" man.

"I would not follow him 100 per cent any day," he declared.

He said Rockwell doesn't like him because he (Frankhouser) stood up to Rockwell and told Rockwell he doesn't like him and some of his policies.

Is that statement quoted from that Reading, Pennsylvania, *Eagle* of October 22, 1965, a statement made by you?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 6" appears on p. 3352.)

Mr. APPELL. According to the Reading, Pennsylvania, *Times* of October 25, shots were fired into your apartment from a building across the street.

Did you make a determination as to whether or not these shots were fired by members of the American Nazi Party in retaliation for your attack on Rockwell?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 7" appears on p. 3353.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, *the stormtrooper* magazine was shown to you which pictured you in a hospital bed and which reported that your eye was kicked out by a group of Jews. The Paterson, New Jersey, *Call* of November 8, 1965, referring to the rally at Rising Sun, stated with respect to the speaker on the platform:

Then it was Frankhouser's turn at bat again. With a black patch over his left eye which had been kicked out in a barroom brawl when he tried to spout his racial and Nazi views, \* \* \*.

Which is factual, Mr. Frankhouser? The story as contained in the Paterson, New Jersey, *Call* of 11-8-65 or the version given by *the stormtrooper*, summer of 1965 issue (Ralph Pryor Exhibit No. 3, p. 3322.)?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(*Call* article marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 8" appears on pp. 3354-3356.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Appell, may I ask a question on that point?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. ASHEROOK. *The stormtrooper* magazine, summer of 1965, claims that you were attacked by unidentified Jewish assailants. It is quite interesting, if they were unidentified, how you know they were Jewish assailants.

Would you care to tell the committee how these people, otherwise unidentified, nevertheless were called Jewish assailants?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 6  
[Reading, Pa., *Eagle*, October 22, 1965]

# Frankhouser Withholds Comment on Klan Link

Roy Frankhouser, the Reading man described as the grand dragon of the Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan, today claimed in a telephone interview with *The Eagle* that distortion of his motives and subsequent bad publicity had driven him deeper into the right wing.

Frankhouser, 25, of 133 S. 4th St., was contacted by *The Eagle* after his alleged link with the racist organization had come to light yesterday in a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American activities in Washington, D.C.

Frankhouser had gained notoriety locally as a reputed member of the American Nazi Party.

"I can't change my ideas overnight," he declared, saying that if he had been left alone, he probably wouldn't be a notorious right-winger. Frankhouser asserted that he had joined right-wing movements as a "matter of self-defense."

Concerning the Klan activities laid to him, he refused to comment today, saying that he has been instructed not to make any statements.

## 'Not Afraid'

"It's not that I'm afraid," he declared, "but when you're going to appear before a congressional committee, you have to be very cautious." He also refused to say when he is scheduled to appear.

He suggested that Robert M. Shelton, imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., be contacted in Washington for a statement on the matter, pointing out that Shelton is staying in the Congressional Hotel.

However, Frankhouser denied that he is a Nazi. He said he doesn't believe in the Nazis' economic policies or in their total racial policy.

He said he helped George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, because he felt that Rockwell had the right to freedom of speech.

Of Rockwell personally, Frankhouser said he is a "vicious" and "dictatorial" man.

"I would not follow him 100 per cent any day," he declared.

He said Rockwell doesn't like him because he (Frankhouser) stood up to Rockwell and told Rockwell he doesn't like him and some of his policies.

"If he ever gained power," he said of Rockwell, "I'd be one of the first he'd shoot."

However, he said, this is strictly personal. But he said, "I have cause to believe—and have stood up and suffered for it—that this country is in desperate need of some salvation. It is not safe for people to be on the streets anymore, with the riots."

He also declared that he thinks the Negro civil rights movement has been taken over as a tool of communism and that there is a "definite plot to destroy America."

Frankhouser criticized the demonstrators against U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

"You can't make peace with communism," he said. "It's like lying down with a tiger. He'll bite off a chunk at a time."

He pointed out that it was because of his belief that America is being threatened that he backed Sen. Barry Goldwater to the hilt in the last presidential election. He said he contributed money and time to help in the campaign, but did it quietly so that his name and reputation would not hurt Goldwater.

Frankhouser said he tried to stay out of the right wing, but circumstances forced him deeper into the movement and he became "linked up with some of the most notorious people" in the nation.

He said the bad publicity caused him to lose jobs and prevented him from getting further employment. He emphasized that he is not making money on his activities and that he's "just seraping along."

However, he said, that under the U.S. Constitution, he feels that he should have the right to his beliefs.

Rather than being a terrorist, he said, he has found that the terror is on the other foot. He referred to the fact that he recently lost an eye in a brawl because of his beliefs.

He said that because of his beliefs he has had to fight and has had his very life threatened. But, he said, one has to draw the line somewhere when he believes in something.

Frankhouser was emphatic in declaring that he does not consider Shelton in the same category as Rockwell.

"If you'd talk to him, you'd understand that," he said. "You can tell when a man is great."

Although he refused to comment further today on his Klan affiliation, he had stated previously that he is connected with the Klan.

He admitted addressing recent Klan meetings in Bear and Wilmington, Del., and being scheduled for another speech in Richmond, Va., this weekend.

## Underground Movement

He also said there hasn't been a Klan organization working publicly in Pennsylvania in recent years, but said there has been an underground movement in the state since 1958.

He also said the Klan movement is growing because the government has failed to crack down on Communists working within the Negro civil rights movement.

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 7  
[Reading, Pa., *Times*, October 25, 1965]

# Frankhouser Tells Of Gun Attack

Roy E. Frankhouser, 25, Reading, identified as the alleged Grand Dragon of the Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan, was shot at Thursday night.

Detective Stratton P. Marmarou Sunday said he found 37 cents in change on the roof of a building at 142 S. 4th St., across from the second-floor room in which Frankhouser was shot at Thursday night.

Marmarou said a ladder and footprints were found at the scene. The shot was fired through an open window and struck a plastic bowl in which Frankhouser keeps two pet turtles.

Frankhouser told Marmarou that he suspected "racketeers wanting to get me."

The shooting was not reported by Frankhouser until Saturday, and as of Sunday night, no slug had been found.

Frankhouser said he was talking with friends Thursday when one of them jumped up and said he heard a report that sounded like a shot from a gun with a silencer on it.

Frankhouser said he dismissed the incident as an automobile backfire until Saturday, when he learned that the plastic bowl had been pierced by a slug.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Ashbrook, I might say for the record that these three persons were subsequently arrested and, from the names of the three individuals, their race would have been Italian rather than Jewish.

Mr. Frankhouser, at the rally at Rising Sun, Maryland, November of 1965, did you read a statement which had been submitted to you by Imperial Wizard Shelton?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Is that the end of the question?

Mr. APPELL. Yes.

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. That statement which I heard you read, Mr. Frankhouser, stated that the Imperial Wizard stated, which you read for him, referring to Dan Burros, who had committed suicide in your apartment, that he, Burros, had been shadowed, followed, pressured, intimidated, and threatened by merciless investigators and their henchmen of this committee.

I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you knew that Dan Burros had not even been served a subpoena to appear before this committee?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

# Klan Hails Martyrs, Good Jews, Black Muslims

By MURRAY ZUCKOFF  
(Staff Writer)

**Rising Sun, Md.** — Leaders of the Ku Klux Klan told a rally of some 2,000 robed members, sympathizers, and spectators at George B. Boyle's farm in nearby Sylmar Saturday night that good Jews should be offered love and respect and that the Black Muslims should not be disavowed because they, like the Klan, believe in the separation of races.

▲ Klansmen called for an end to ethnic divisions among white people and for white solidarity against the encroachment of the Negro people and what they called the new tyrant who divides his time between the White House and the L. B. J. ranch in Texas.

At the same time the robed and hooded leaders warned that liberal Jews who foster integration will face another Dachau.

▲ This warning, by Roy E. Frankhouser, Grand Dragon of the K. K. K. in Pennsylvania, came moments

after he screamed into the microphone set up on a lay wagon that the Jewish press, particularly the New York Times, which he referred to as the Jew York Times, and Jewish reporters were responsible for the death of Daniel Burros.

Burros was the Grand Dragon of the K. K. K. in New York who committed suicide in Frankhouser's apartment last Sunday after the New York Times disclosed his Jewish background.

Frankhouser told the gathering, which had been called to memorialize Burros and Matthew Connolly, a Klan lawyer from Alabama who was killed in August in an automobile accident, that the Jewish press had vilified Burros and witchhunted him to his death by wrongly and deliberately identifying him as a Jew.

Burros, he yelled, was gentle and his parents were gentle who for some unknown and inexplicable reason decided to have a Jewish wedding ceremony.

Burros was identified as the King Klean of the Klan in New Jersey in an exclusive interview in the Morning Call, splattered and mutilated almost incoherently that the Klan and the white people were struck by two tragedies in rapid succession.

Frank W. Rotella Jr., who

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 8—Continued



**KLAN RALLY**—Roy E. Frankhouser, Grand Dragon of the K. K. K. in Pennsylvania, left, tells a Klan rally near Rising Sun, Md., that the Klan is on the offensive in the North. The Klansman in sun glasses, right, identified

himself before the meeting as William Hoff, the Klan head in New York. The sign in front of the platform says: "Never. Today, tomorrow, forever." (U. P. I. photo.)

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT No. 8—Continued

# Klansmen Rally, Hail Good Jews, Muslims

★ (Continued from )

## TRAGEDY OF BURROS

"After the tragedy of Burros," he said haltingly. "the white people were struck by a different kind of traginess (sic) a few days later when the election in N. J. snuffed out the life of the people."

The victory of Governor Richard J. Hughes was a victory for the lesser evil, he said. Hughes appeared as spokesman for white people because his opponent, Senator Wayne Dumont Jr., promised to give Negroes positions in his cabinet if elected.

Rotella, who almost refused to speak at the last minute and fumbled his way through his speech, was followed by Frankhouser, who was acting as the master of ceremonies. He told the lukewarm Klansmen that Rotella would sue the city of New York for back pay and if he won he would contribute his money to the Klan.

Rotella, a caseworker with non-resident Negroes and Puerto Ricans, was suspended by the Department of Welfare after his identity as a Klan leader was disclosed. A departmental hearing has been scheduled for Wednesday morning where the New York Civil Liberties Union will defend his right to retain his job.

The Klan rally buried its former kings, like Connelly and Burros, and proclaimed a new one in New York.

A man who had identified himself to reporters earlier in the day as William Hoff, a 31-year-old Brooklyn Heights machinist and State director of the National States Rights Party, was introduced but not identified by Frankhouser, as the King Kleagle of the K. K. K. in New York.

Before Hoff appeared on the platform in the bright red uniform of the kleagle, Frankhouser warned that no pictures were to be taken of him because he was not wearing his face mask only dark sun glasses.

Hoff, with arms alternately flailing and outstretched in a Fascist salute, warned that the K. K. K. in New York would break the back of the present law that outlaws the Klan in that State. Speaking fondly of Burros, Hoff repeated the previous denunciation of the Jewish press, and shouted: "My motto is live and let live but first get even."

It was Hoff who proclaimed the need for ethnic solidarity, and pointing to the plastic wreath that hung above Burros' name in front of the platform along with his uniform, said that's what Dan had been fighting for.

"We try to solve the nigger problem but find ourselves divided by group labels. Let's unite and fight as one against the nigger instead of fighting among ourselves," he screamed in a cracked voice.

Then it was Frankhouser's turn at bat again. With a black patch over his left eye which had been kicked out in a bar-room brawl when he tried to spout his racial and Nazi views, the self-proclaimed intellectual leader, and member of an American Nazi Party, cracked:

"Burros was a great patriot. He was smeared in the papers. To protect the Klan he shot himself twice. That takes a lot of courage. Before he shot himself he said, 'I must protect the Klan. I will kill myself. Long live the Klan', and then, boom, boom, he was dead. He will be replaced but never forgotten."

Ralph Pryor, a former vice squad policeman in Wilmington, Del., who was genteel during a spontaneous press conference a little earlier, now took the stand like a tiger.

"A big black octopus is wraptentacles of crime, venereal disease, and welfare. Get rid of ease, and welfare. Get rid of these tentacles, and see how much taxes can be saved."

The Klan spirit of brotherhood was kindled. The crowd, until then largely silent and unresponsive, warmed to this speech. "Give it to 'em big boy," the crowd clamored. He gave.

"I hear the niggers want two states. One of them is Texas."

A shout went up: "Give it to 'em, give it to 'em."

"Let's give them Johnson City where Martin Luther Coon can be king and L.B.J. the court jester," he roared.

"Let's give 'em Johnson City," a chorus of voices shouted. "Let's give 'em Johnson," a comedy relief yelled.

Pryor hastened to add, however, that not all Negroes are cast in the same mold. "The Black Muslims, like the Klan, say they want to get away from us, they want to separate the races, they want two states for themselves. We ought to respect them for this."

Nothing really went right at the rally. The Imperial Wizard, Robert M. Shelton, sent a telegram stating that his uncompromising fight for white Christian humanity had taken him to California; the turnout, which Klan leaders predicted would be close to 8,000, was disappointingly low; the public address system, which Klan leaders said could never have been made by Zulus in Africa and represented the ingenuity of white people, kept failing at crucial moments; the phonograph playing latest hate songs

like "The Non-violent Nigger", kept changing speeds.

Most humiliating of all was the attendance of 900 residents from local communities at a wrestling match in Rising Sun, which some State police at the scene said was actually larger than the Klan rally if curiosity seekers, reporters, and plainclothesmen at the rally were subtracted from the total.

There was a letdown, and even some grumbling from the pioneers of the future, when a 10-foot cross was fired in front of the platform during the memorial service. Some thought it was downright indecent that a security guard, dressed in the military uniform of the Klan, should give Burros a 1-gun, six-shot salute while Connelly only rated a 1-gun, 3-shot salute. This seemed to stretch ethnic solidarity a bit too far, one woman dressed in a fur coat told her impassive spouse.

## GUARDS QUIET

There were only a few rewarding moments for the security guards dressed in uniforms and white G. I. helmet liners. One such moment was with the appearance of two men with placards denouncing the Klan as a sin against God. "Get those agitators out of here," Pryor yelled. "I warn you, we won't turn our other cheek." Guards rushed them but they were hustled off by Maryland State police.

Another momentary diversion came when a girl student from the University of Maryland snapped a picture at an inopportune time and guards rushed her and her boy friend, trying to get at her camera. State police intervened. This reporter, trying to see what happened stumbled over two small children sitting in the darkened field. Suddenly four hulking specimens surrounded him yelling, "Jew reporter", and obscenities and shaking fists in his face.

While several hundred white and Negro residents and students from Lincoln University gathered in prayer vigils in a church in Oxford, Pa., 8 miles to the west, and in another church in Colora, Md., equally distant to the east, a 50-foot cross, wrapped in burlap bags and soaked in kerosene and motor oil, was fired.

The procession of 600 cars, which included seven from New York, 21 from New Jersey, 166 from Pennsylvania, and the remainder from Maryland, left the field and crowded onto the highway.

Several miles west of the cow pasture a Klansman's car screeched to a momentary halt. To the right was a 20-foot sign lit by a series of kleig lights. The message on it read: "Jesus says. Ye shall be born again".

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you attended meetings along with Imperial Wizard Shelton and other Grand Dragons held in Salisbury, North Carolina, Landis, North Carolina, and that in the course of the meetings that were held there the Imperial Wizard Shelton announced that you had been appointed as Grand Dragon for Pennsylvania.

I ask you to affirm or deny the fact.

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You say he was appointed to Grand Dragon?

Mr. APPELL. Yes, sir. Mr. Shelton announced that at meetings held in North Carolina August the 21st and 22d of 1965, that Mr. Shelton had appointed Mr. Frankhouser as the Grand Dragon for the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Frankhouser, I show you a copy of a communication addressed "Dear Patriot" which invites individuals in Pennsylvania, I assume, to a meeting to be held at 133 South 4th Street, Reading, Pennsylvania, on September 12, 1965, which is signed "Grand Dragon of Penna., Roy Frankhouser."

I ask you if that is your signature.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 9" appears on p. 3358.)

Mr. APPELL. On October 16 of 1965, did you speak at a meeting of New York State Klansmen at a meeting held at 1762 First Avenue, Apartment 8, Fourth Floor, New York City?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I show you a copy of a communication on the letter-head of the "Knights of the Ku-Klux Klan, United Klans of America, Inc., Realm of New York," with a printed signature, "Dan Burros, King Kleagle, United Klans of America, Knights of the KKK, Realm of New York, Invisible Empire," which reports that as the guest there will be the Grand Dragon of Pennsylvania. And it states that:

This man is a great hero of our [sic] who had his eye torn out by gangsters in the pay of communists.

I ask you to examine that document and if it factually represents the statements that I made to you?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 10" appears on p. 3359.)

Mr. APPELL. At the meeting on October 16, 1965, I put it to you as a fact that you attended that meeting, along with Flynn Harvey, the Grand Dragon for the State of Ohio, and in the course of the meeting you reported that you were in charge of reorganizing the Klan in New York State and said in the 1920's that there were approximately 13,000 Klansmen in the State and the national office of the Klan was presently searching old files and expected to find at least 1,000 prospective members for the reorganization:

**Dear Patriot,**

**This is to invite you to a very important meeting of our organization to be held in Pennsylvania. If you are a true patriot and believe in our nation and our heritage, you will attend. At the meeting you shall meet your state officers and be assigned your task. The meeting will be held at: 133 South 11<sup>th</sup> St**

Reading, Penna

**on Sept. 12, 1965 at 1:30 PM**

**Please be there. For remember, talk is cheap, and action speaks louder than words.**

**Grand Dragon of Penna.**

*Roy Frankhouser*

**P. S. If you are interested in getting things started in your area before the meeting please feel free to drop in any time.**

**U. K. A.  
P. O. BOX 1432  
READING, PA. 19603**

## ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 10

KNIGHTS OF THE KU-KLUX KLAN  
UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, INC.

REALM OF NEW YORK

*Attention!*

## Order of General Mobilization

October 11, 1965

Esteemed Klansman and Klanswoman,

K I G Y

I T S U B

There will be a special State Klonklave (meeting) of the Realm of New York, held on Saturday, October 16, at 5:00 P.M. at Security Headquarters:

1762 First Ave.  
Apt. 8 (4th Floor)  
New York City

All Klanspeople residing within 50 miles of New York City are *ordered* to be present. All Security Guards and Plain Clothes Investigators who fail to appear will be subject to maximum penalties.

We would also request the attendance of all Klanspeople in the entire state, but attendance by members in the upstate area is not compulsory.

We will have as the guest of honor, The Imperial Director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation. This is the first Imperial Officer of the Invisible Empire to visit New York in thirty years. The Imperial Director of the KBI has forty years of police experience. He was once chief of a military intelligence agency, was a government investigator, was with the Philadelphia Police, was an investigator for the State of Penna. and has considerable electronics experience. This very knowledgeable man will address our meeting, and later will hold a special course for N.Y. KBI personnel only.

We will also have as a guest the Grand Dragon of Penna. This man is a bit hard on our, who had his eye torn out by gangsters in the pay of communists.

We hope every member from the upstate area will be able to attend this special meeting. Refreshments will be served and there will be music and dancing after the Klavern meeting.

Be there, Duty Calls!

Non-Silba Sed Anthar! 1/

For Christ and Country,

Dan Burros  
King Kludge  
United Klans of America,  
Knights of the KKK  
Realm of New York, Invisible Empire

1/ Committee footnote - English translation "Not For Self but For Others."

He stated that these names should be available within 30 days and that he wished to have three or four kleagles or organizers to solicit this prospective membership list. Frankhouser then stated that there would be a Klan rally at Rising Sun, Maryland, November 6, 1965, at which he expected participation by every State organization.

I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, Mr. Frankhouser, that this statement read to you was in fact made by you?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, was there later appointed by the United Klans of America as an exalted cyclops and as commander of the New York security guard one David Kreig, K-r-e-i-g?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I show you a copy of a letter on the letterhead of the United Klans of America, Realm of New York, Office of the King Kleagle, signed "D. Kreig, Exalted Cyclops, Klan No. 1, Realm of N.Y.," which requests Klansmen who might be behind in their dues to send their dues to "D. Kreig, 1762 First Ave., apt. 8, New York, N.Y. 10028."

I ask you if you know Dave Kreig to hold the position represented in that communication?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 11" appears on p. 3361.)

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, do you know that David Nathan Kreig, also known as David Lamparelli, L-a-m-p-a-r-e-l-l-i, was convicted on October 15, 1963, for burglary, was released from Rikers Prison on October 27, 1964, and is presently on parole, which parole does not expire until October 4, 1966?

Do you possess that knowledge?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, one of the speakers at the Rising Sun rally was William Hoff of New York, who talked about revenging the death of Dan Burros.

Do you know William Hoff to be a member of the American Nazi Party?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. I put it to you as a fact that the late Dan Burros, William Hoff, James Bogen, and David Kreig were members of the American Nazi Party to your certain knowledge?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Frankhouser, in the possession of Mr. Burros at the time he took his life there was a copy of a communication signed merely with the initial "C"; but identifying whoever C is as the kleagle for Ladies, Realm of New York, United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

## ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 11



UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA  
KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Realm of New York

Office of King Kludge

## SECURITY GUARD DETACHMENT

General

King Kludge

1762 First Ave.

Apt. 8

New York, N. Y. 10028

December 9, 1965

Esteemed Klansman,

K I G Y

J T S U B

*This is an urgent message to remind you that according to the records of this Klavern your monthly dues have not been kept up to date.*

*As you know, the monthly dues payments are \$2.00 in addition to the regular \$10.00 Klucktoken payable at the time of initiation.*

*The prompt payment of these dues, which are needed to defray the expenses of this Klavern and this Order, is an absolutely essential part of the duties of each and every Klansman. Those who fail to keep these payments up to date without providential excuse will place themselves in danger of banishment from this Order.*

*Please make every possible effort to fulfill this obligation without delay. The dues may be mailed to the following address:*

D. Krieg  
1762 First Ave., apt. 8  
New York, N. Y. 10028

NON SOLUS SED ANTHAR! ✓  
D. Krieg  
1762 First Ave.  
Apt. 8  
New York, N. Y. 10028  
UKA

This document reads:

Today I received the following message from the King Kleagle of the Realm of New York: ♣

"The Imperial Wizard has ordered New York to send a few telegrams of support for the KKK. Tell the guys. False names can be used. But we need telegrams of support from the North. This is an Imperial Order! Send telegrams to Bob Shelton, c/o Mr. Chalmers, Congressional Hotel, Washington, D.C."

Be sure to pass the word on.

Mr. Frankhouser, are you acquainted with an imperial order which set forth that which was quoted to you from this letter that was in the possession of Dan Burros?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Roy Frankhouser Exhibit No. 12" follows:)

ROY FRANKHOUSER EXHIBIT NO. 12

*The Deadly Day of the Wonderful Week  
of the Sonarful Month in the Year of  
Our Lord 1965 and the Year of the Klan 100.*

K I G Y

J T S U B

*Today I received the following message from the King Kleagle of the Realm of New York:*

*"The Imperial Wizard has ordered New York to send a few telegrams of support for the KKK. Tell the guys. False names can be used. But we need telegrams of support from the North. This is an Imperial Order! Send telegrams to Bob Shelton, c/o Mr. Chalmers, Congressional Hotel, Washington, D. C."*

*Be sure to pass the word on.*

*Non Silba Sed Anthra! 1/*

*(01)*

*Kleagle for Ladies  
Realm of New York  
United Klans of America  
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*

1 Committee footnote - "Not For Self But For Others" English translation.

Mr. APPELL. Do you today hold an office, the office of Grand Dragon, for the Realm of Pennsylvania?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Do you still have the responsibility of reorganizing the State of New York?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Frank Rotella, identified as king klegle for the State of New Jersey, was with you at the time Dan Burros took his life. Do you know Frank Rotella to have held membership in the American Nazi Party?

Mr. FRANKHOUSER. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions to ask this witness.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. No questions.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I withhold any comment.

Mr. POOL. You are withholding comment?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. POOL. I am, too. The witness is excused permanently.

Mr. CHALMERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. POOL. Call your next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff would like to call at this time Sgt. Donald W. Swartz.

Mr. POOL. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Sergeant SWARTZ. I do, sir.

### TESTIMONY OF DONALD W. SWARTZ

Mr. MANUEL. Sergeant Swartz, would you please state your full name for the record, sir?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Donald W. Swartz.

Mr. MANUEL. And, are you appearing before the committee today in response to a subpoena served upon you by an investigator of this committee?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. MANUEL. Sergeant Swartz, would you please give the committee the date and place of your birth?

Sergeant SWARTZ. December 15, 1930, Marysville, Ohio.

Mr. MANUEL. And what is your current occupation?

Sergeant SWARTZ. I am Sergeant in the Columbus, Ohio, Police Department.

Mr. MANUEL. How long have you been a member of the Columbus Police Department?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Approximately 11 years.

Mr. MANUEL. What is your current assignment in the Columbus Police Department?

Sergeant SWARTZ. I am currently in charge of the intelligence bureau.

Mr. MANUEL. And how long have you held that position?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Approximately 3½ years.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, in your capacity as chief of the intelligence bureau of the Columbus Police Department, has your bureau had oc-

casion to investigate the Ku Klux Klan activities not only in Columbus, but in the State of Ohio?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir, we have.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee when to your bureau's knowledge the Ku Klux Klan started activity in the State of Ohio?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Approximately May of 1964.

Mr. MANUEL. Will you explain to the committee what activity occurred at that time?

Sergeant SWARTZ. On May 23, 1964, there was a speech held at North High School in the city of Columbus. The featured speakers at this assembly were one Mr. James R. Venable, Mr. William Hugh Morris. At the time it was not generally known that Mr. Venable and Mr. Morris were the Imperial Wizard and Grand Emperor of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. MANUEL. Subsequent to May of 1964 were public rallies held in the State of Ohio?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir, there were.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee the dates and places at which public rallies of the Klan were held?

Sergeant SWARTZ. On the weekend of May 28 through 30, 1965, there was a rally held near Lebanon, Ohio, in the southwest section of the State.

On the weekend of August 20 and 21 of 1965, there was a rally held in the vicinity of Brunswick, Ohio. This is in the northern portion of the State near Cleveland.

On the weekend of September 18 and 19, 1965, a rally was held in the vicinity of Lodi, Ohio, also in the vicinity of Cleveland.

On the weekend of September 25 and 26, 1965, there was a rally held near Cambridge, Ohio, in the eastern portion of the State.

This latter rally was held under the sponsorship of the United Klans of America and the three earlier ones mentioned under the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. ASHBROOK. May I interrupt you at that point, Sergeant?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The prior witness referred to a meeting at Zanesville. I think at the time he was referring to the Cambridge meeting. Would that not be correct? This was the only meeting to my knowledge that was held in that area. That was at Cambridge, not at Zanesville?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir, the Cambridge-Zanesville area.

Mr. MANUEL. Sergeant Swartz, would you please tell the committee, without delving into the operations of your bureau, how you maintain knowledge of the Klan activity in the State of Ohio and in the city of Columbus?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Primarily, through sources within the organizations.

Mr. MANUEL. And did sources within the organization who were reporting to you hold positions within the Realm of Ohio?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir; at least one source held two positions at various times.

Mr. MANUEL. Was this source in such a position to give reliable information to the police department of Columbus?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir, he was.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, during the course of your investigation of Ku Klux Klan activities, was it reported to your department that there were various plots on the part of persons known by you to be members of Ku Klux Klan organizations to engage in acts of violence?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please explain for the committee in chronological order the results of your investigation in that regard?

Sergeant SWARTZ. The first plot that comes to my attention occurred in September of 1964, shortly after the Klan was organized in the State. At that time some of the local members of the Klan plotted to kidnap a local civil rights leader. In fact he was the head of CORE at the time. He was to be blindfolded and taken out into the country, beaten, and left lying by a burning cross.

Mr. MANUEL. Was the identity of those Klansmen involved in this plot made known to you?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Was this plot subsequently thwarted?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir, it was, through the efforts of an undercover operator working within the bureau.

Mr. MANUEL. Were there any other plots of violence which came to your attention?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir. The next one occurred in July of 1965. At that time 4½ sticks of dynamite were found in a car belonging to a local Klansman. Our subsequent investigation disclosed that this was part of a quantity of dynamite that had been brought from Georgia by the same Klansman that owned the car. This dynamite had been left in his car after a training session up in northern Ohio, near the Carrollton, Ohio, area where some Klansmen had practiced setting off some charges of dynamite.

Mr. MANUEL. Did your subsequent investigation reveal the source of this dynamite as to the place it came from?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir, it did.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please advise the committee of the results of your investigation in that regard?

Sergeant SWARTZ. The quantity of dynamite originated in the vicinity of Stone Mountain, Georgia.

Mr. MANUEL. How, exactly, Sergeant Swartz, did you come upon this knowledge?

Sergeant SWARTZ. By the admission of one of the individuals involved in the transportation.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you name that individual?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Daniel N. Wagner.

Mr. POOL. Is it difficult to trace where dynamite was sold? I am thinking of other cases referred to before this committee. How difficult is it, as a police officer?

Sergeant SWARTZ. It is quite difficult to trace the place where it is sold. It is a little easier to trace the manufacturer and distribution centers.

Mr. POOL. And they don't have too good a followup to determine which areas get certain types and all that?

Sergeant SWARTZ. When it gets down to retail distribution points, it becomes highly difficult; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. With further regard to the source of the dynamite, Sergeant, would you please inform the committee whether the persons who went to Georgia from Ohio to pick up the dynamite actually obtained the dynamite from other Klansmen?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir; by their admission.

Mr. POOL. Let me ask you this. Can you think of any changes in our laws that might make it easier to trace this dynamite?

Sergeant SWARTZ. So far as the tracing, I couldn't offer a suggestion at this point. However, I have discussed this situation with our chief, George W. Scholer, and he has come up with the possible consideration and revision of certain laws. Primarily, the intent was of Federal statutes that prohibit transporting dynamite interstate with intent to commit an illegal act. This intent, as we all know, is oftentimes difficult to prove. Possibly some liberalization along this line would help.

Mr. POOL. In other words, close that loophole there?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. That would be of help.

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Thank you. The purport of our inquiry is for legislative purposes, to write new legislation that might aid in preventing violence and dynamite and things like that, and I appreciate the suggestion.

Mr. MANUEL. Sergeant, in addition to the 4½ sticks of dynamite which your department recovered in July of 1965, did you subsequently recover any other dynamite?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir. Also in August of 1965 near Darbydale, Ohio, in the central portion of the State, just southwest of Columbus, at the Coon Hunters Club—this is a lodge-type place used by the Klansmen in the area—

Mr. MANUEL. What was the name of that club again, Sergeant?

Sergeant SWARTZ. The Coon Hunters Club.

Mr. MANUEL. The Coon Hunters Club?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And this was a meeting place used by Klansmen?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Used for various purposes, including turkey shoots.

Mr. MANUEL. Proceed.

Sergeant SWARTZ. We found a fused and capped bomb made of four half-pound sticks of 60 percent dynamite. This also we determined was part of the quantity of dynamite mentioned earlier that had come from Georgia. We also learned that this bomb was to be used to blow up the offices of local civil rights organizations, also the Black Muslim Mosque, and also part of the sewer system in the city, with the idea that this would create chaos and hysteria and hopefully result in retaliation and riots between the races in the city.

Mr. POOL. Let me interrupt one more time.

I hate to keep going back to this. Is it possible to number sticks of dynamite, put numbers on them some way?

Sergeant SWARTZ. I don't know that much about the manufacture. I would suggest the possibility would have to be a concealed number, similar to those applied to automobiles when they are manufactured.

Mr. POOL. I am thinking if you had all dynamite manufactured with numbers, it would be a lot easier to trace it; wouldn't it?

Sergeant SWARTZ. It would be a help.

Mr. POOL. I don't know that. I was talking to some experts in the dynamite business. I thought I would ask you. It would make it easier to trace?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. According to your information, as you have testified, certain members of the Klan group in Ohio planned to use dynamite to blow up certain civil rights organizations or buildings used by civil rights organizations, including NAACP headquarters; is that correct, sir?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Were there also plans formulated to dynamite the Black Muslim Mosque in Columbus?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir; it was also mentioned in the plot.

Mr. MANUEL. And was there also a plot to place explosives in certain portions of the sewer system in the Negro district of Columbus?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. How did this information come to your attention, Sergeant Swartz?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Through sources working within the group.

Mr. MANUEL. Did this investigation of the dynamite and its sources lead you to other documentary evidence involving Klan activities in the Columbus, Ohio, area?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir. Shortly after the discovery of these two caches of dynamite, we also received information of the existence of a letter or statement which was written by a Klan associate wherein he spells out a plot to assassinate six persons, including some national political leaders, some civil rights leaders, and a Klan leader that was determined to be too passive, and other persons.

Mr. MANUEL. How did you obtain that evidence, Sergeant Swartz?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Through an admission of the party that wrote it.

Mr. MANUEL. And who was the party that wrote that letter?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Daniel N. Wagner.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is the same man that transported the dynamite you referred to?

Sergeant SWARTZ. That assisted in the transportation; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Sergeant Swartz, would you please name for the committee one of the sources who advised you of all of the incidents which you have enumerated for the committee?

Sergeant SWARTZ. We have various sources reporting, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you receive this information from one Bobby J. Stephens?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, we received a considerable amount of information from one Bobby J. Stephens.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Bobby J. Stephens in the Klan acting as a member of the Klan and an official of the Klan at the behest of the Columbus Police Department?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir. Bobby J. Stephens was operating as an undercover operative for our bureau.

Mr. MANUEL. In fact, does not Bobby J. Stephens' name appear as one of the original incorporators of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the State of Ohio?

Sergeant SWARTZ. His name appeared on the original incorporation papers; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee what other offices Mr. Stephens held?

Sergeant SWARTZ. In the original Klavern which was formed in Columbus, he had held the position of chaplain or kludd.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he hold any other office?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir; after some revision in the ranks of the Klan in the State of Ohio, he then attained the position of great or grand titan.

Mr. MANUEL. Are you aware that Bobby J. Stephens has been subpoenaed to appear before this committee?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. MANUEL. And such was done with your knowledge and consent?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of Sergeant Swartz.

Mr. POOL. Have you used this informant before in other cases, or is this the first time?

Sergeant SWARTZ. This was the first group that he has infiltrated for us.

Mr. POOL. I won't ask you the circumstances surrounding your signing him to this, but I will ask you if you found him reliable?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir. All of his information was determined to be reliable.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Chairman, I would have one question.

Sergeant, one of the things that we have generally found as a pattern of the Klan is the fact that more often than not they have small numbers, but their importance and their significance is heightened by the fact they are willing to use violence, intimidation, and acts which are outside of the type of conduct that most legitimate groups that have ideas and opinions would utilize.

As far as your experience in central Ohio, would you say there are large numbers or small numbers associated with the Klan, as far as membership and interest in it and involved with the Klan?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Small numbers involved with the Klan and then, within this small number, a very small minority that advocates violence.

Mr. ASHBROOK. But it is very difficult, I would assume, at least from my judgment from what I have seen, to say the Klan is not important or significant simply because of small numbers, because most people don't realize that there are some within the Klan who would use these methods, and it would seem to me that this justifies in Ohio, and elsewhere we have seen, the investigation into the Klan because the numbers alone are not the significant, determining factor.

I think what you pointed out, the efforts that they have directed towards extreme violence, willingness to use violence, certainly justifies our study in Ohio. And I think most of us are pleased that we have a police department and a group of men, such as yourself, always vigilant as to what is going on.

I know it has been very helpful to the committee and I want to thank you for that.

Mr. POOL. I do have one other question.

I was talking to you about the dynamite sticks a while ago. I forgot to ask you, Did you have any other suggestions in the way of legislation that might be helpful?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Not at this time. However, again I am going to confer with our chief of police after some of the information from the committee is made available.

Mr. POOL. Would you inform him that the committee would appreciate any suggestions he has along that line?

Sergeant SWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Since you are working in this field all the time you are bound to know the problems involved, and the committee would certainly appreciate any information or any suggestions you have along that line.

We want to thank you for appearing here today, and the testimony you have given today has been very helpful to the committee.

Sergeant SWARTZ. Thank you, sir.

Mr. POOL. You are excused permanently.

Sergeant SWARTZ. Thank you.

Mr. POOL. Call the next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff would like to call at this time Bobby J. Stephens.

Mr. POOL. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STEPHENS. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF BOBBY J. STEPHENS

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. STEPHENS. My name is Bobby J. Stephens.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, I notice that for your appearance this morning you are not accompanied by counsel. I would like to ask you at this time whether you desire counsel?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you read and become thoroughly familiar with the opening statement made by Chairman Edwin Willis at the start of the hearings into the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. POOL. Also, you are advised of your rights under the fifth amendment. If you feel that any question asked you might tend to incriminate you, you have a perfect right to take the fifth amendment, or you can also ask for an attorney at any time during the proceeding and the committee will take your request under advisement. With that in mind, go ahead.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, are you appearing before the committee this morning in response to a subpoena served upon you by Sergeant Swartz of the Columbus Police Department?

Mr. STEPHENS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, when and where were you born?

Mr. STEPHENS. In Hardy, Kentucky, July 13, 1937.

Mr. MANUEL. Where do you currently reside?

Mr. STEPHENS. 2973 Reaver Avenue, in Grove City.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mr. STEPHENS. I finished the eighth grade in Hardy, Kentucky, 1 year in high school at Belfry. I stopped in my 10th year in Mayo High School in Louisville, Kentucky, and later finished in the Navy in Jacksonville, Florida.

Mr. MANUEL. Where are you currently employed?

Mr. STEPHENS. Westinghouse Electric Corporation in Columbus.

Mr. MANUEL. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. STEPHENS. Eleven years this August.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever served in the military?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please give the committee the dates of your service in the military and also what branch of service you served?

Mr. STEPHENS. From May 1954 to May of 1955, discharged honorably under minority reasons, and then later again in 1956 to 1959 in the U.S. Navy.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, would you please give the committee the date of your first membership in the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. In September, Labor Day weekend, 1964.

Mr. MANUEL. As of today, as of your appearance before this committee, are you still a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. As of today, yes; and tomorrow, no.

Mr. MANUEL. I didn't quite get your answer.

Mr. STEPHENS. I don't think that they would want me in the Klan after today, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to suggest that we recess for lunch.

Mr. POOL. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30 p.m.

(Whereupon, at 12:45 p.m., Thursday, February 10, 1966, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p.m., the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—FEBRUARY 10, 1966

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:40 p.m., Hon. Joe R. Pool, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Pool, Weltner, and Ashbrook.)

Mr. POOL. The subcommittee will come to order.

All right, call your witness.

#### TESTIMONY OF BOBBY J. STEPHENS—Resumed

Mr. WELTNER (presiding). Proceed, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, would you please tell the committee the extent of your knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the start of Ku Klux Klan activities in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. In the first part of 1964, there was a meeting held in Indianapolis, Indiana, of some rightwing groups, and they had speakers, and Mr. Flynn Harvey and W. K. Smith was at this meeting, at which they met Mr. Venable.

(At this point Mr. Pool left the hearing room.)

Mr. MANUEL. Now as you go along, let me ask you several questions. Who are Mr. Flynn Harvey and Mr. W. K. Smith?

Mr. WELTNER. Speak up, Mr. Manuel. We can't hear you.

Mr. MANUEL. Who are Mr. Flynn Harvey and W. K. Smith?

Mr. STEPHENS. Flynn Harvey was one of the incorporation signers of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the State of Ohio. Also, he was appointed the Grand Dragon by James Venable, the Imperial Wizard of the National Knights.

W. K. Smith is also a signer and held a position in the Black Shirts or the guard force.

Mr. MANUEL. Now at the time of the meeting with Mr. Venable in Indianapolis, were these men members of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; they were not.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, would you please proceed, then, with what happened at that meeting?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I can't elaborate on the particular meeting, since I wasn't there, but in the few months to follow, correspondence between James R. Venable and W. K. Smith or Flynn Harvey—I am not exactly certain between what two—they asked him would he come to Columbus and make a speech, and at that time, which was to be held at North High School in Columbus, it came to my attention that Mr. Venable was the Imperial Wizard of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you attend the meeting at which Mr. Venable spoke at North High School in Columbus, Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MANUEL. At that time, was there an active Ku Klux Klan organization in the State of Ohio, to your knowledge?

Mr. STEPHENS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. How long after that meeting was a Klavern or a Klan established?

Mr. STEPHENS. This was in the month of May of '64. And a Klavern was established in September of '64.

Mr. MANUEL. Will you please tell the committee the circumstances under which the Klavern was established? How did it start?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, in September of the same year of 1964, 10 of us went to Tucker, Georgia, Stone Mountain, for a rally which is held down there once a year. And I think at that time, six or seven of us were sworn in.

Mr. MANUEL. Now why did you go to Stone Mountain, Georgia?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, we went to Stone Mountain to be initiated into the Klan and for the rally that they were holding at Stone Mountain.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, let me ask you another way: How did you come to know of the rally at Stone Mountain, Georgia, and were you invited by any Klan official at that time?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; this came to my attention through W. K. Smith and through Harvey.

Mr. MANUEL. And would you please tell the committee what happened at the September 1964 rally at Stone Mountain, Georgia?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, there was—well, first, we were sworn into the Klan. I think it was on a Friday night, and then the rally was held in a cow pasture at Stone Mountain.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you possess knowledge as to when Flynn Harvey and W. K. Smith were initiated into the Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. To the best of my knowledge, it was in July of 1964.

Mr. MANUEL. Now prior to the September '64 rally at Stone Mountain, were there any officers of the Realm of Ohio, National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Prior to what date?

Mr. MANUEL. The September '64 rally.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes; there was only one, which Flynn Harvey claimed that he was appointed the Grand Dragon.

Mr. MANUEL. And to your knowledge, by whom was he appointed?

Mr. STEPHENS. James R. Venable, the Imperial Wizard.

Mr. MANUEL. And how do you know that, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, through Flynn Harvey's admission, through W. K. Smith's admission, and Mr. Venable.

Mr. MANUEL. Now prior to the September 1964 meeting at Stone Mountain, who else, to your knowledge, in the State of Ohio, were Klan members?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my knowledge, Flynn Harvey's wife, Nancy, and W. K. Smith's wife, Ruth.

Mr. MANUEL. Who was initiated with you from the State of Ohio at the September 1964 rally?

Mr. STEPHENS. Robert L. Leavey, Columbus; Chuck Gilliam, Columbus; Lawrence Mink, of Cincinnati, and his wife; Barney Ross, I think around Covington, Kentucky. And I think that was it.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, was Clarence Brandenburg of the area around Cincinnati, Ohio, initiated into the Klan at that time?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, that evening, he had mentioned that he had been initiated a night or two before. However, later I found out that he had been given the oath some place in Tennessee, a month or two prior to that.

Mr. MANUEL. Now prior to the September rally, had there been a Klavern established in the Columbus, Ohio, area?

Mr. STEPHENS. Prior to September? No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. All right.

At the September rally, did you become aware that there was a meeting of the Imperial Klonsilium of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at that time?

Mr. STEPHENS. In 1964?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I was aware of that.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please describe for the committee your knowledge on that matter?

Mr. STEPHENS. This was, to my knowledge, it was in regards to organizing, which Flynn Harvey was appointed one of the Imperial Board.

Mr. MANUEL. Now did you observe delegates to the Imperial Klonsilium from other States besides Georgia and Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; I was told that they were from Louisiana and other Southern States, but I don't—I wasn't introduced to the members directly.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, was Mr. Flynn Harvey appointed to an office on the Imperial Kloneilium of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at that time?

Mr. STEPHENS. I was told that he was appointed to the outer guard.

Mr. MANUEL. Position of outer guard?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. Now whether this exists, I don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. Now on your return from the rally at Stone Mountain in September of '64, was a Klavern established in the city of Columbus?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; we started a Klavern there, established one.

Mr. MANUEL. Other than Columbus, to your direct knowledge, were there any other Klaverns which existed in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. This was the same year of '64?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEPHENS. There were plans being made to start one in Cincinnati. Now I was never there so, therefore, I don't know for sure.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know the official, the Klan official in Cincinnati who started the Klavern there?

Mr. STEPHENS. I think that this was between Barney Ross and Slim Mink, and Curtis Rose, which they live in the vicinity.

Mr. MANUEL. I see.

At this time, that is, the time immediately subsequent to the September '64 meeting, did you know Mrs. Eloise Witte to be a member of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever know Mrs. Witte to be a member of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. When did you first have knowledge of this?

Mr. STEPHENS. I am trying to get my dates established here. I think it was in the early part of 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. 1965?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I think it was.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know whether she held any title or office in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. I am under the understanding that she was appointed the Grand Empress, I believe it is.

Mr. WELTNER. Grand what?

Mr. STEPHENS. Empress.

Mr. WELTNER. Empress?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Now of the members of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan who started a Klavern in the city of Columbus, would you please advise the committee who held positions as officers in that Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. The president or the exalted cyclops was Robert Leavey of Columbus.

The klaliff, which is the vice president, Chuck Gilliam; and the klokard, the lecturer, McKinley Mink; and myself serving as the chaplain; kligrapp and secretary and treasurer, was acted by Flynn Harvey, which was the Grand Dragon; and the kladd, W. K. Smith;

and the klarogo, the inner guard, was Barney Ross. This was their first establishment.

Mr. MANUEL. Now how long did you remain a member of that particular Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, this was from September up until October and November, they filed charges against me for being an informer, which I would say cooperating with the police department, and which I held, a trial was held on me on September—December the 6th, 1964.

Mr. MANUEL. Who filed the charges against you?

Mr. STEPHENS. I have before me a registered letter that was sent to me by Flynn Harvey, the Grand Dragon, requesting that I appear for this trial.

Mr. MANUEL. I see. Did you cease your membership at that particular time in the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, this was temporarily, which the findings of the judges, that I be banished from the Klan. Because of my—me working as undercover, and being out in the open, I decided that it would be better for me to file an appeal with Mr. Venable, which I did, and ask, request to be reinstated into the organization, to complete the work that I had started with.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever admit or deny that you were an undercover agent for any law enforcement agency?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I denied it, because, well, it just wouldn't be wise to admit it.

Mr. MANUEL. Now during the period of time from September, when the Klavern was started, until December, at which time you have just testified that you were temporarily out of the Klan, were you aware of an investigating committee of some kind in the Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, I do know that it was customary to have such a committee.

Mr. MANUEL. And under what name was this committee known in the Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, naturally, you would use it as the investigator, or later, I was aware that it was known as the Black Shirts or the Guards.

Mr. MANUEL. Now who were members of the Black Shirts in the Klavern in Columbus?

Mr. STEPHENS. W. K. Smith was in charge of them, but in the beginning, prior to it being formed, I mean, when it was first formed, Chuck Gilliam, I understand, took charge of that, and after he was arrested, W. K. Smith took over, and proceeded. And there was Danny Wagner, I understand was one of the enforcers, and there was Barney Ross and McKinley or Lawrence Mink.

Mr. MANUEL. Now at this time, and at this time only, that is, between September and December of 1964, did you become aware of any plot to commit an act of violence on the part of persons whom you knew to be members of the Columbus Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. Would you rephrase that statement?

Mr. MANUEL. I say, from the period of September 1964 until December of 1964, did you become aware of a plot to commit an act of violence on the part of persons whom you knew to be members of the Klavern in Columbus, Ohio?

Mr. WELTNER. Let's clarify the question.

Mr. STEPHENS, did you become aware of any plot among Klan members to conduct or carry out any act of violence?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; but not against another Klansman, at that particular time.

Mr. MANUEL. No, that wasn't my question.

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I interpreted it that way.

Mr. WELTNER. That is the purpose. Plot by members of the Klan to carry out an act of violence. That is the question. Did you become aware of such a plot?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, I did.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please explain your knowledge in that regard to the committee?

Mr. STEPHENS. During that time, there was a CORE member who was, shall we say, to the organization, was agitating in the Columbus School Board, and other—the housing project, and so forth, around the Columbus area.

Mr. Gilliam, W. K. Smith, Bob Leavy, Flynn Harvey, and myself was involved in abducting or kidnaping this civil rights man, and supposedly, we were to take him out and whip him, and be robbed, scare him a little bit, rather than to—

Mr. MANUEL. Well, Mr. Stephens, how did you find out about this?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I was asked to obtain some identification, which is a badge, a detective badge, something that you can pick up in a pawn shop, and make up some type of identification to reveal one party, one Klan member as a police officer to arrest this particular party. And then, we would proceed from there.

Mr. MANUEL. And who were the persons involved in this plot?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, Chuck Gilliam, W. K. Smith, Flynn Harvey, Bob Leavey, and myself.

Mr. MANUEL. Were all those mentioned at that time officers of the Klavern in Columbus?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Stephens, you mentioned that Flynn Harvey acted as secretary and as treasurer of the Columbus Klavern.

May I ask you at this time what the initiation fee or klokann or klectokon was for members of the Columbus Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. \$15 initiation and \$15 a year.

Mr. MANUEL. And to whom was this money paid?

Mr. STEPHENS. Flynn Harvey.

Mr. MANUEL. At any time from September to December 1964, did Mr. Harvey make an accounting of the funds which were in the Columbus Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, were charges against Flynn Harvey made by members of the Columbus Klavern to Mr. James Venable, the Imperial Wizard?

Mr. STEPHENS. I am aware of a letter that was drafted up to be sent to Mr. Venable, requesting that he remove Flynn Harvey.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you identify the Klan members who were involved in the enumerating of charges against Mr. Harvey?

Mr. STEPHENS. There was W. K. Smith, Robert Leavey, and Chuck Gilliam, and they asked me to be one of the signatures, too. But at

that particular time, I had been dropped and so I told him that it wouldn't be wise for me to even sign it.

Mr. MANUEL. Now I show you a copy of a letter to the Honorable James R. Venable, National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Post Office Box 107, Tucker, Georgia, which is unsigned, and in which there are contained several charges against Mr. Flynn R. Harvey, Grand Dragon of the State of Ohio, and ask if you can identify this copy of this letter?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; this is a carbon copy of that letter.

(Document marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, for the record, I would like to read into the record the contents of the letter, which states as follows, and it is addressed to the Honorable James R. Venable:

Dear Brother Venable,

We of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in and for the State of Ohio, Franklin County, do hereby request that the following charges be brought against Mr. Flynn R. Harvey, Grand Dragon of the State of Ohio.

I. UNTRUSTWORTHY: He has been found to have unlawfully used Klan funds.

II. UNRELIABLE: Not answering the call of a fellow Klansman.

III. SLANDEROUS: Without reservation he has referred to fellow Klansmen as being communistic.

IV. INFIDELITY: He has failed to maintain a sound reputation with his creditors for purposely neglecting payments thereof.

V. DRUNKENNESS: He has been viewed in a drunken stupor while fellow Klansmen awaited his arrival at a pre-arranged meeting.

These charges may be detailed upon request and numerous others listed should it become necessary.

Mr. Venable, we, the Officers and members of this Klavern would refer you to Article 3, Section 13 of the Constitution of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and ask that this ruling be enforced and acted upon immediately; whether it be by trial—by jury—or any other means in your authority.

We will patiently await your reply.

Mr. Stephens, to your knowledge, was any action taken by the national office because of this letter in regard to Mr. Harvey?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, in May there was a break between Flynn Harvey and the national. Now whether this letter had any bearing on it or not, I do not know.

Mr. MANUEL. And to your knowledge, was Mr. Harvey guilty of the charges which are enumerated in this letter?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; there probably would have been a lot more, but we just wanted to put it on one page.

Mr. MANUEL. Now to your certain knowledge, was Mr. Harvey continued in Klan membership in another Klan organization?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, he later went with UKA, with Robert Shelton.

Mr. MANUEL. That is the United Klans of America.

Mr. STEPHENS. This is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he hold any position in the UKA, to your direct knowledge?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, he didn't lose his rank. He stayed Grand Dragon.

Mr. MANUEL. Grand Dragon for the United Klans of America, Realm of Ohio. Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Stephens, was the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan incorporated to do business in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; there was an incorporate papers filed. However, they were later revoked by the secretary of state.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you one of the persons named as the original incorporators of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you in fact a signator to that document?

Mr. STEPHENS. I did not sign the document that was put in the office of the secretary of state.

Mr. MANUEL. And do you have any knowledge who did sign that document?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, Chuck Gilliam told me that he had signed it, due to the fact that I was at work, and would it be all right for him to sign my signature. And I said, "Well, you have already done it, so what can I do about it?"

(Document marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 2." See committee report, *The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement*, pp. 332-334.)

Mr. MANUEL. Did you sign any previous statement requesting incorporation of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did, which was a small formality here.

(Document handed to interrogator.)

Mr. MANUEL. This was a preliminary form to the incorporation papers?

Mr. STEPHENS. We were in the impression that that would be sufficient, and which it wasn't.

(Document marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 3" appears on p. 3378.)

Mr. MANUEL. Now did the Klan officials in Columbus, Ohio, receive any legal advice from any Klan official outside of the State?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; Mr. Venable.

Mr. MANUEL. And how did Mr. Venable advise the officers of the Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. Pertaining to the incorporation? I think this was done through correspondence.

Mr. MANUEL. I show you a copy of a letter from James R. Venable, 207 Walter R. Brown Building, Atlanta, Georgia, signed by the signature James R. Venable, addressed to Mr. W. Smith, 3482 Maple Grove Drive in Grove City, Ohio, and ask you to identify this letter.

The letter is dated September 24, 1964.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I have knowledge of this letter.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, would you explain to the committee what this letter is?

Mr. STEPHENS. This was instructions to follow in the course of obtaining our incorporation papers to operate in the State.

Would that be sufficient?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. WELTNER. Well, this letter seems to simply be a transmittal of legal advice with regard to—

Mr. MANUEL. I ask that it be made part of the record.

## BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 3

Corporation not for Profit.

THESE ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION  
ofNational Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Ohio

WITNESSETH, That we, the undersigned, all of whom are citizens of the State of Ohio, desiring to form a corporation, not for profit, under the general corporation laws of said State, do hereby certify:

FIRST. The name of said corporation shall be National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Ohio, Inc.

SECOND. Said corporation is to be located at Columbus, Ohio in Franklin County, Ohio, and its principal business there transacted.

THIRD. Said corporation is formed for the purpose of operating as a realm organization within the State of Ohio operating under and in accordance with the constitution and laws of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., said corporation existing by virtue and authority granted by a charter under the laws of the State of Georgia, said corporation being a corporation organized not for profit.

Second - to promote patriotism towards our civil government, honorable peace among men and nations, protection for the happiness in the homes of our people, manhood, brotherhood and love among ourselves, and liberty justice and fraternity among our people, said purposes to be accomplished through a social, patriotic and benevolent association for the mutual benefit of all mankind.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, WE have hereunto set our hands, this

25 day of ~~September~~ <sup>OCTOBER</sup>, 1964.

W. K. Smith  
William R. Hymey  
Bobby J. Stephens

WORN TO BEFORE ME A NOTARY PUBLIC THIS 25th day of October, 1964.

Granville H. H. H.  
GRANVILLE H. H. H.  
Notary Public

Mr. WELTNER. The document, along with the prior documents identified by the witness, will be made part of the record.

(Document marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 4" follows:)

BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 4

JAMES R. VENABLE, ESSLEY B. BURDINE  
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

207 WALTER R. BROWN BUILDING OPPOSITE COURT HOUSE ATLANTA 3 GEORGIA

OFFICE PHONES  
MURRAY 8 9137  
JACKSON 4 4986

RESIDENCE PHONES  
MR. VENABLE  
STONE MOUNTAIN 469 9786  
MR. BURDINE  
373 4276

September 24, 1964

Mr. A. <sup>1</sup> Smith  
3400 Maple Grove Drive  
Grove City, Ohio

Dear Brother Smith:

Enclosed find certified copy of charter which will have to be taken to the Secretary of State of Ohio, State Capitol, Columbus, and have it filed and pay the fee and send me the bill and I will reimburse you. This is called domesticating a charter.

If they will not allow you to file it, then you and Flynn will have to register a trade name. You will get the forms at the Clerk's office at the Circuit Court there and fill them out. It will be registered under a secret paternal order, known as "The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. I am sending you a form that is used in Georgia as a trade name where you will know something about what I am talking about. Although Ohio may have a different form. You may have to get a lawyer to fill them out for you. This registration is only to be used in case you cannot domesticate this Georgia Charter in Ohio.

It may be necessary if the Charter is filed in the Secretary of State's office that you and ~~Max~~ Flynn will have to give your address as agents where any legal service can be had on you as the Agent of this Corporation. This is required in most states in case a civil law suit is filed against the corporation.

Please rush this through upon receipt of this Charter, and let me know by return mail the results.

Give my regards to the other members. I remain, as ever,

Your friend,

*James R. Venable*  
James R. Venable

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Stephens, we touched very briefly on a plot to commit an act of violence against a civil rights leader in the city of Columbus a moment ago.

Would you please tell the committee if this act actually was carried out?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; it was not carried out, because I was supposed to have taken the first step by obtaining the fake badge, fake identification card, and naturally, with the job that I was doing, I was not particularly in agreement with this act, so with a few delays, it just seemed to wither out. Nothing ever happened.

Mr. WELTNER. You were to impersonate an officer of the law and, in impersonating a law officer, purport to arrest this individual?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. Not I, but Chuck Gilliam was going to be the impersonator.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Gilliam was to impersonate a law officer, and arrest the individual?

Mr. STEPHENS. This is correct, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And then what was to happen?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, we were to, first of all, as the plan, was that Mr. Gilliam was to be, to impersonate the police officer and knock on the man's door and tell him they wanted to talk to him downtown, and for any particular reason that he could think of at that time. And once we got him in the car, he was to be, shall we say, knocked out, and taken to a secluded area.

At this time, we would proceed with tying the man to a tree, stump, or whichever was convenient, and lash him a few times with a whip and then take the mask off his face, let him know that the Klan did exist in the State, and we wasn't going to tolerate any type of civil rights work at all.

(At this point Mr. Pool returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Stephens, when was this plan discussed?

Mr. STEPHENS. Where? I think it was discussed in about three different places, really.

Mr. MANUEL. On three separate occasions?

Mr. STEPHENS. We met on several occasions, probably more than three.

Mr. MANUEL. Was the plan discussed with persons other than members of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. Were all the persons involved whom you have mentioned officers in the Klan at that time?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Could I ask a question on that point?

It is repeatedly alleged that whatever acts of violence or intimidation take place are isolated and aren't with the knowledge of the leaders.

In your personal experience, could this be said as to Ohio actions of intended violence, if not actual violence?

Mr. STEPHENS. That the leaders wouldn't have knowledge of this?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Yes.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. There is quite a bit of this going on.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I mean, do the leaders know about it, or is it something that is done on an isolated basis, without their knowledge?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, this went all the way up to the Grand Dragon.

Mr. ASHBROOK. He knew about it.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he was in on the plot.

Mr. ASHBROOK. The point is, then, it is very difficult for them to allege these are isolated acts of violence by people they can't always control.

In some cases, they are specifically in on these acts of violence—or if not acts of violence, at least discussions of and intended acts of violence.

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, the only thing that I have ever been involved in which would come to that point, the Grand Dragon was the highest, and—

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is a leader.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I would think so.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, during this period of time from September to December 1964, would you please advise the committee how the Realm of Ohio reported to the national headquarters of Mr. Venable?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, I don't think Flynn Harvey made any—you mean, you are speaking of financial reports?

Mr. MANUEL. Any type of report at all, to your knowledge.

Mr. STEPHENS. Through phone calls and through correspondence.

Mr. MANUEL. You know what the content of the correspondence was?

Mr. STEPHENS. Maybe asking for literature or some advice on some things, but that was about it.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, how much contact was there between the national headquarters of the National Knights and the Columbus Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. How much contact? I think it was probably at least once a week. Some contact.

Mr. MANUEL. At that period of time, that is, from September, again, to December 1964, how many members were there in Columbus area of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan? Approximately?

Mr. STEPHENS. Approximately 15.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you say 50 or 15?

Mr. STEPHENS. Fifteen. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Other than the plot to kidnap and beat the civil rights leader in Columbus, did you hear of any discussions of any other acts of violence in the Klavern or talked about by persons known to be Klan members?

Mr. STEPHENS. Up until December '64?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes.

Mr. STEPHENS. I don't recollect at this time.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, during that period, were any crosses burned on the property of individuals?

Mr. STEPHENS. I don't believe there were.

Mr. MANUEL. Now Mr. Stephens, you have testified that in December of 1964 you were accused by several officers or Flynn Harvey, in particular, of being an informant for a law enforcement agency, and your testimony is that you became inactive for a period of time subsequent to December 1964.

Is that correct, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. This is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. How long did that period of inactivity last?

Mr. STEPHENS. It lasted from—I was actually shut off officially December the 6th, 1964; and in May of 1965, I was reinstated.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please describe to the committee how you became reinstated in the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I would presume that they reviewed my case, and I attended a rally in Lebanon, Ohio, in May of 1965, and I was informed by Mr. William Hugh Morris that I had been officially reinstated in good standing.

Mr. MANUEL. And where did this reinstatement take place?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, at the time I was informed? It was at the rally in Oregonia, which is near Lebanon.

Mr. MANUEL. Now to your knowledge, did any of the national leaders of the Ku Klux Klan discuss your status as an informant, or alleged status as an informant?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my knowledge, I would presume that they discussed it.

Mr. MANUEL. Specifically, did Mr. William Hugh Morris come to your defense in countering the charges leveled against you of being an informant?

Mr. STEPHENS. You mean after the trial was over with?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, he did. He made the statement that he had connections with the FBI and he had checked to see if I was on their list as being an informer, and I was not.

Mr. MANUEL. And where did this conversation take place?

Mr. STEPHENS. I believe it was in Oregonia.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he make any comment as to what his contact was in the FBI?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, at one time, he said there was some relation, distant relation of his that worked with the FBI, and he had contacts through there.

Mr. MANUEL. And he had occasion to view the list of FBI informants and your name did not appear. Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. I think the way that came about, he give my name to this party, and they in turn checked the list, and evidently, my name wasn't on it, so—

Mr. MANUEL. And therefore, he took up for you, and you were reinstated in the Klan.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. William Hugh Morris ever come to Ohio and stay at your residence while he was there?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. In the month of July 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. Was there any other time?

Mr. STEPHENS. He has been in my house on several occasions, but he stayed there for a period less than 2 weeks in July.

(At this point Mr. Ashbrook left the hearing room.)

Mr. MANUEL. Now, when did the Klan hold its first public rally in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. This was held May the 28th and the 30th, 1965, at Oregonia, Ohio. Parkie Scott's farm.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, at that time, was Mr. Daniel Wagner known to you to be a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. He was not a member at that time.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Wagner take part in the rally at Parkie Scott's farm?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he took a real active part. He was arrested.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you explain to the committee what part he took?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, he was to be a guard, which he was later arrested, off the property, for having a concealed weapon.

Mr. MANUEL. And do you know how he happened to be there as a guard, not being a member?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I think through his contact with Mrs. Eloise Witte.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have knowledge of when Mr. Wagner did become a member?

Mr. STEPHENS. In the latter part of July 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. Can you fix the date exactly?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, I would think it would probably be around the third Sunday of the month. In Akron, Ohio. There was a trip that he made up there, and it seemed to be like the 18th, or something. The third Sunday.

Mr. MANUEL. Now prior to May of 1965, were you aware of an organization within the Klan known as the Black Shirts?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; not before May of 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. I said subsequent to May of 1965.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please explain to the committee what the Black Shirts is?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, not being a member of it, and feeling that it is probably something new, it was supposed to have acted as a guard, investigators, enforcers, hatchetmen.

Mr. MANUEL. Did it come to your knowledge as a member of the Klan at that time that certain members of the Black Shirts were plotting acts of violence?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee your knowledge in that regard?

Mr. STEPHENS. This was before what dates, now?

Mr. MANUEL. Well, from the period May 1965 until the 1st of August 1965.

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, there was assassination attempts—or not attempts, but assassination plots.

Mr. MANUEL. Now would you explain to the committee how you learned of this knowledge?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, this was in June, at the initiation, Parkie Scott's farm, in Oregonia. It came to my attention through Danny Wagner that Mrs. Witte had plotted with him to take the life of William Hugh Morris.

Mr. MANUEL. And others.

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, at that time, this is all I learned. Later I found out, through a letter, that there was other political leaders to be assassinated, civil rights leaders, and, well, I guess that covers it.

Mr. MANUEL. Please continue with your narration.

Mr. STEPHENS. The first week of July, Mr. Morris called me long distance and asked me to have Danny Wagner to write out in his own handwriting a complete list of the things that they had discussed in the trailer at the initiation in June.

And he said, "I think you are aware of the contents," and I said, "Well, yes," but I was only aware of the plot to kill him.

Later I found out—this was in July—and Mr. Morris was staying in my home, that the letter was revealed to me and Mr. Morris by Chuck Gilliam.

He read the contents of the letter. Mr. Morris asked that the letter be given to him, and Chuck made the statement, "No, I am going to keep this. I am going to use it." For what purpose, I don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. Now have you ever seen a copy of this letter, Mr. Stephens?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I seen it at the time it was revealed to me at my home and I think it was the only time.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Wagner write this letter at the command or the insistence of Mr. William Hugh Morris?

Mr. STEPHENS. Through Mr. Morris' instructions, yes, he did.

Mr. MANUEL. And to your knowledge, and very briefly, what did the contents of the letter contain?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, the assassination of Martin Luther King, the assassination of Mr. Morris, Mrs. Witte's husband, and I think the Vice President of the United States was mentioned in that letter, too.

Mr. MANUEL. I show you a copy of a 10-page letter, handwritten letter, signed by Daniel N. Wagner, and ask you to examine the contents of that letter and, to the best of your knowledge, tell the committee whether that is a copy of the letter which you are discussing now?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; this is the letter that I became aware of through Chuck Gilliam.

(Document marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 5." See pp. 3398-3407.)

Mr. MANUEL. Now was this—can you fix the date when Mr. Morris received a copy of this letter?

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Morris never did receive a copy of this letter, because Chuck Gilliam refused to give it to him.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Mr. Morris made aware of the contents of this letter?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he was. Now I am under the impression that he was made aware of the contents in Oregonia, at the initiation, in June.

Mr. MANUEL. As a matter of fact, Mr. Stephens, was Mr. Morris read the contents of this letter in your presence?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; in July.

Mr. MANUEL. At that time, at that date in July, was Daniel Wagner a member of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; he wasn't.

Mr. MANUEL. After this, did he become a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. It was in Akron, Ohio, about the third weekend of the month.

Mr. MANUEL. And who gave Mr. Wagner the oath of a Klansman?

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Morris.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Morris, against whom a plot in which Mr. Wagner was involved, assassination plot against himself, gave Mr. Wagner the oath. Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. This is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. As I understand your testimony.

Now to your knowledge, was any action taken by officials of the Klan against Mrs. Witte?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my knowledge, there was no action taken.

Mr. MANUEL. Did she continue to be a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I have heard talk that she more or less was getting out of the Klan, due to her health, and that she was going to turn everything over to parties in the Cincinnati area.

Mr. MANUEL. At that time, did she hold a position in the Klan, an official position?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; she was known as the Grand Empress, I believe.

Mr. MANUEL. At that time.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Stephens, to get back to the organizational aspect of the Klan, at the time that you became active again in May of 1965, was there a change in the name, structure, and organization of the Klan in Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; Mr. Morris, and I am under the impression the Imperial Klonecilium had agreed that they would take the Klan back home, as Mr. Morris put it, the whole Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the original.

This was to be the change that they were working on at that time.

Mr. MANUEL. And did the actual name change?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, I always seen Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at the rally, but headquarters-wise, and even through stationery, it still stayed the National.

Mr. MANUEL. But it was referred to as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever receive any correspondence from Mr. Morris outlining the new organization?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MANUEL. I will show you a letter addressed to Mr. Parkie Scott, signed by the initials "W.H.M." I show you this letter, Mr. Stephens, and ask you to read it into the record, and at the same time, identify as best you can the statements contained in that letter.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. STEPHENS. This was a letter addressed to Mr. Parkie Scott, Rural Route 1, Oregonia, Ohio.

Also, copies were made to Jim Harris, myself, and the Imperial Wizard, Mr. Venable, and to every member of the Imperial Klonecilium:

Dear Klansman Scott:

After a few days of meditation about the confusion, misunderstanding and exchange of harsh words between some "Klansmen." in your room Saturday

Night it seems to me some clarification [sic] is urgently needed there to avoid a repetition [sic] of the same. Hence this letter.

First of all let me state that after spending the Summer in Ohio trying to pick up the pieces and start the KLAN anew. I felt that I had found the four who had the necessary intelligence and ability to build the KLAN in Ohio. Those four men were and are, Harris of Cincinnati, Stephens of Columbus, Annable of Cleveland, and Yourself. You four working as a team, without jealousy [sic] and friction between you can build the KLAN. With this in mind I so stated this fact before the Imperial Kloneilliam [sic] Friday Night. Along with my intention to follow through with this plan. There was no audible objection to this plan in the meeting and if objections there were going to be this was the proper place to bring them, in fact the only place. You can perhaps begin to understand my complete surprise at the statement by Klansman Venable to Klansman Harris that no one had the authority to appoint anyone in Ohio. and besides the appointments were premature.

Now a word to clarify the status of the Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN and The NATIONAL KNIGHTS of The KU KLUX KLAN INC. They being two different and distinct organizations [sic]. The NATIONAL KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN has an Imperial Wizard namely James R. Venable The KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN which you and I and every Klansman in the State of Ohio belong to is governed by an Imperial Kloneilliam [sic] who have elected an Emperor and delegated to him certain powers ordinarily exercised by the Imperial Wizard. The Emperor of The KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN happens to be me at the present time. The Imperial Wizard of the NATIONAL KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN has no more authority over our KLAN than does the Imperial wizard of the United Klaus or any other Klan group, or Visa Versa [sic]. Klansman Venable being a member of The Imperial Kloneilliam [sic] of The KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN

—should have been National Knights—

has as much authority as any other member and no more. His authority in the National Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN is absolute.

Any time the Imperial Kloneilliam [sic] wishes to elect an Imperial Wizard or delete my delegated authority in any way as a matter of course they are free to do so. In the meantime I fully intend to exercise the authority vested in me by the Imperial Kloneilliam [sic] without fear and without favor when necessary. I will state further that I fully intend to live and act according to the Constitution of the Order as the Supreme Law of the Order.

Any other course invites disrespect for authority and anarchy would follow. I will do this with the full knowledge that I am no more immune from its provisions than is its newest member.

I hope that this will clear up for good the existing confusion and that all Klansmen who are willing to live by the provisions of its Constitution will forget their petty and childish differences, divest themselves of the troublemakers in their midst [sic], and move forward in a solid phalanx [sic] of strength to face a common foe.

I understand that Harris, Stephens and Annabell [sic] will meet in Columbus this Sunday to further formulate plans for our progress. I personally urge you to meet with them and to remain a vital part of the team.

In conclusion realizeing [sic] fully my own capacity for human error and wishing to avoid as much damage to the KLAN as possible. All appointments will be on temporary basis so that if a mistake is made it can be quickly be remedied.

Thanking you and yours for past courtesies [sic] and assuring [sic] you of my continued respect and friendship. I beg to remain Yours for GOD HOME RACE and COUNTRY And IN THE SACRED UNFAILING BOND.

WILLIAM HUGH MORRIS.  
/s/ W.H.M.

Copies to all members of the Imperial Kloneilliam [sic].

P.S., If I have outstripped my authority I will gladly answer to the constituted authority of the order—

This is in ink, and it is hard for me to read. I can't quite make that last word out.

(Document marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 6." See p. 3408.)

Mr. MANUEL. But in any case, Mr. Stephens, by that letter, there were appointments made in the State of Ohio for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan by Mr. Morris, and those appointments were yourself as a great titan, Mr. Robert Annable of Cleveland as a great titan, Mr. Jim Harris of Cincinnati as a great titan, and Mr. Parkie Scott, and what was his title to be?

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Parkie was to be an organizer in the State.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he in fact serve as an organizer for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he did.

I would like to clear up one thing here. In reference to Robert Annable, this man was appointed to a position as a great titan in the State of Ohio, and he wasn't even a member of the Klan. This I know for a fact.

Now whether he became a member after that, I do not know.

Mr. MANUEL. Could you explain how a person could be appointed to a great titan position in an organization and not even be a member?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, personally, if you live by the rules, it can't be done, but as you can see, it was carried out. I am under the impression that Mr. Don White had taken a message to Mr. Morris and Mr. Venable that Bob Annable would serve in any capacity that he could, to build the Klan, to get it moving, in his area.

Mr. MANUEL. To your direct knowledge, is Mr. Annable acting as an organizer for another Klan organization in Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. It is my interpretation that he is organizing a group called the North American Alliance for White People in Cleveland and some Christian order, too.

Mr. MANUEL. Is he doing this on behalf of any Klan group, to your knowledge?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, it had been talked that we would possibly use this organization as a front for activities in the Klan.

Mr. MANUEL. And specifically for what Klan group?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, we were going to use it for the National, and then the Knights, and at a later date, the last one was the UKA.

Mr. MANUEL. That is the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. This is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, to your knowledge, how many public rallies have been held in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. There has been four, in 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. And the first one was held on May 28 and 29, 1965? Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; at Oregonia, Ohio.

Mr. MANUEL. Could you tell the committee, to your direct knowledge, approximately how many members were obtained by the Ku Klux Klan at that particular rally?

Mr. STEPHENS. I think there was approximately—well, there was less than 200. I would say around in the vicinity 190 to my knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. And did these people contribute any money in the way of initiation fees, klectokons, or even contributions?

Mr. STEPHENS. This is customary to pay your klectokon fee. However, I do know that there were people who signed applications and

did not submit money. However, they had assured them that they would submit it at a later date. And there has been donations made, too.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, approximately how much money was raised by the Klan at the May 29 rally?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I would say a good conservative guess would be right around 2,000.

Mr. MANUEL. About \$2,000, and how do you have knowledge of this sort? Were you in a position to know of the membership and the amount of money taken in?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I had a list of names of the membership. However, I never seen any of the money. But I would assume from the membership, the list that was taken in, it was in the vicinity of \$2,000.

Mr. MANUEL. So your estimate is based on the amount each person would have had to give, based on the membership list. Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Likewise, at the rally in Brunswick, Ohio, which was held on August 19, 20, and 21 of 1965, could you advise the committee of approximately how many new members were taken in at that rally?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, the only thing I could give you there is my opinion. However, I did not see the membership list that was taken in at that rally. Mr. Scott had the list, and no one else had it.

I would say that it was approximately 300 members taken in, and in the vicinity of \$3,000 to \$4,000.

Mr. MANUEL. At the third rally, held at Lodi, near Cleveland, on September 18 and 19 of 1965, could you give the committee your knowledge on approximately how many members were signed by the Klan on that occasion?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, again I would state that I did not see the list, but I would assume that it was maybe a hundred taken in there, or less.

Mr. MANUEL. I see. And approximately how much money would you say was taken in by that, in that rally?

Mr. STEPHENS. I would think probably less than a thousand.

Mr. MANUEL. Now at these three rallies which we have mentioned, were any national figures of the Ku Klux Klan present?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; in Oregonia, Mr. Venable and Mr. Morris. The Brunswick rally, the same. At the Lodi rally, Mr. Morris and Mr. Venable both were present.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Venable or Mr. Morris bring with them to Ohio a degree team to initiate members?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; this was at the Oregonia initiation in June of '65.

Mr. MANUEL. And do you know the identity of the persons who acted as the degree team for Mr. Venable?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, offhand I couldn't give you the names, but I do know that they had been associated with, shall we say, killings in the South. The Lemuel Penn—Colonel Penn's.

Mr. MANUEL. How do you know that, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, you showed me some pictures, which I identified.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, I would like to show you a picture taken in Atlanta, Georgia, at a rally, and ask you if those two individ-

uals shown in that photograph were present with Mr. Venable and acted as a degree team for him in the State of Ohio, to your knowledge?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; they were present and they acted as a degree team.

(Photograph marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 7" follows:)

BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 7



Photograph taken at United Klans rally held June 5, 1965, at Atlanta, Ga. No. 1 is Earl Holcombe; No. 2, Colbert Raymond McGriff.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, let the record show that the witness identified a picture of Earl Holcombe and Colbert Ray McGriff. However, I wish to state for the record that, to the committee's knowledge, they were not involved in the killing of Colonel Penn. And I would suggest, Mr. Stephens, that perhaps your knowledge on that is faulty, because the persons to whom I was referring were Mr. Holcombe and Mr. McGriff, and not Mr. Sims or Mr. Myers, who were indicted in the killing of Colonel Penn.

Mr. STEPHENS. I am sorry. I was just mistaken there on that.

Mr. WELTNER. Is that one of the same photographs that the staff brought to the attention of the committee during the time we were examining the activities of the Klan in Georgia, earlier or late last year?

Mr. MANUEL. I don't believe this particular photograph was.

Mr. WELTNER. That has not previously been submitted in evidence.

Mr. MANUEL. That has not previously been submitted in evidence. However, the persons on this photograph are Mr. Earl Holcombe and Mr. Raymond McGriff of the State of Georgia.

Do you know Mr. Holcombe and Mr. McGriff in the State of Ohio to act in the capacity of a security guard at any one of the rallies?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I think it was at the Lodi rally, the one held on September 18 and 19, 1965. They appeared on the scene late in the evening after the rally had started. And I guess they would likely come under the direction of W. K. Smith, who was in charge of it.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, did Mr. McGriff or Mr. Holcombe advise members of the Ohio Klan on procedures in security or any other matter, to your knowledge?

Mr. STEPHENS. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, to your knowledge, does Parkie Scott maintain a bank account in the State of Ohio, which is supposed to be the depository for Klan funds?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, I have been told that it was under the White Horse Agency.

Mr. MANUEL. Was under the name of what, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. I believe it was the White Horse Agency.

Mr. MANUEL. White Horse Agency. And do you know where he maintains this account?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Mr. Scott in receipt of any of the money which was taken in at the three rallies which you have described?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he was. You mean he received the money? Correct. Deposits, I do not know.

Mr. MANUEL. Did anyone else share in the money?

Mr. STEPHENS. I have been told that he passed in the vicinity of \$400 to Mr. Venable, but to verify this, I wasn't there, so I don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, do you have knowledge of a trip taken by Verlin "Chuck" Gilliam and Daniel Wagner to the State of Georgia on which they received an amount of dynamite?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. I was aware of a trip. Not knowing the purpose.

Mr. MANUEL. At the time of the trip?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. When did this trip allegedly take place?

Mr. STEPHENS. The weekend after the 4th of July.

Mr. MANUEL. That would have been——

Mr. STEPHENS. 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. 1965. Did you subsequently discover that Mr. Gilliam and Mr. Wagner had brought back a supply of dynamite from Georgia?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please explain to the committee how you came in possession of this knowledge?

Mr. STEPHENS. We were preparing statements, letters to be sent out to future Klansmen, people who may be interested in joining the Klan, at Chuck Gilliam's home one evening, and he brought out this package, and he said, "Do you know what this is?" And I said, "No, what is it?" And he said, "A stick of dynamite." And I said, "What

the hell are you doing with it here?" And he said he had good purpose for it. He would take care of a few places with it at a later date.

I told him he had better get rid of it, which this was in the latter part of July, the first part of August.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Gilliam ever admit to you where this dynamite came from?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my recollection, I don't believe he did. I just guessed where it came from.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you subsequently inform the Columbus Police Department of the existence of the dynamite in Mr. Gilliam's possession?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MANUEL. Now was it ever discussed by Mr. Gilliam or any other person known by you to be a member of the Klan as to what the plans were for this dynamite?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. Chuck Gilliam brought it to my attention that it was to be used to blow up C.P. headquarters, CORE.

Mr. MANUEL. Now when you say C.P. headquarters, would you be more specific?

Mr. STEPHENS. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and also the Muslim Temple there, too.

Mr. MANUEL. And he had the dynamite in his possession at this time?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And did Mr. Gilliam identify to you any other person who would be involved in this activity?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, he tried to recruit me, but I told him I didn't want nothing to do with it, I wanted to work on the administrative part of it, and I wanted nothing to do with the bombings, to be involved.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he indicate any other person who would engage in this?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir. It was just like a feeling that he knew that I knew who was going to be involved, so names wasn't mentioned.

Mr. MANUEL. At this time, who were members of the organization known as the Black Shirts in Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. Who were members? Members, to my knowledge, were W. K. Smith, he was acting as the commander of it, he called himself the general. No, I would like to rephrase that. At that particular time, Chuck Gilliam was evidently in charge of it. W. K. Smith, Danny Wagner, at a later date, Danny Wagner was part of it. He entered the Klan a week or so before. Curtis Rose of Cincinnati, Barney Ross, and Slim Mink. There was several others, but I don't recall their names at this time.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Danny Wagner a member of that?

Mr. STEPHENS. I think he was. He was supposed to have been an enforcer for the area that he lived in, Whitehall.

Mr. MANUEL. Did the Black Shirts in the State of Ohio go by any other name?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, they used the names, the Guard.

Mr. MANUEL. Were they ever known as the Enforcers?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, Danny was to be head of the Enforcers in Whitehall.

Mr. MANUEL. Whitehall is an area right outside of Columbus?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; it is a suburb to the east.

Mr. POOL. The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken. Subcommittee members present at time of recess and when hearings resumed: Representatives Pool and Weltner.)

Mr. POOL. The committee will come to order.

Okay, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, did you attend a meeting on September 26, 1965, at Zanesville, Ohio, which was also attended by the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; this was held in the Holiday Inn.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, could you tell the committee, other than yourself and Mr. Shelton, who else was in attendance at that meeting?

Mr. STEPHENS. Jim Harris of Cincinnati, Bob Annable of Cleveland, and Don White of Cleveland, and myself, of Grove City.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Eugene Tabbutt present at that meeting?

Mr. STEPHENS. Eugene Tabbutt was present.

Mr. MANUEL. Were any other persons present at the meeting?

Mr. STEPHENS. This guy Pryor, I believe it was, the Grand Dragon of Delaware. And there was several others that I don't recall the names, and some I was not introduced to.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, what was the purpose of this particular meeting, Mr. Stephens?

Mr. STEPHENS. Now, this came about because of a break. We were breaking off from the Knights and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and going with a much stronger organization. I conferred with Sergeant Swartz and talked this over with Jim Harris of Cincinnati, and we felt that—scratch Don Swartz at this particular time.

We decided that we would go with UKA, because they were stronger, they had more organization, and at the present, through Parkie Scott, through Mr. Venable, and through Mr. Morris, there was no real leadership that we could see. And knowing that, eventually, the organization would die, and some of them wanted to keep the Klan going in Ohio and moving on an even keel, Mr. Harris contacted Mr. Shelton and arranged for the meeting to be held.

Mr. MANUEL. Now at the period immediately prior to this meeting on September 26, were James Harris and Don White and yourself members of the National Knights or the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan headed by Mr. Venable and Mr. Morris?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I can't say that Don White was a member, which I don't think he was. And to this day, I don't think he is a member.

Mr. MANUEL. Did this group which met with Shelton plan to switch membership from the National Knights to the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, actually, there was only two Klansmen, which was Jim Harris and myself, that was going to make the switch. Bob Annable got involved through discussing the matter with him, he knew exactly what was going on in the State, that there was a lot of misuse of funds, and through Parkie Scott and through Flynn Harvey, and also a few of the others, we had had a rough time in the

State. And we decided if there was going to be a Klan in Ohio, it would be run right, and they felt that the leadership would come through Shelton's group.

Mr. MANUEL. Now at the time of this switch, or projected switch, did Mr. Venable or Mr. Morris know that their membership in Ohio was about to switch to Mr. Shelton's United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. I think Mr. Harris made some statement to Mr. Morris that he would stick with him as long as he had an organization and as long as it was run right, but once it started going in the other direction, that he would leave him, real quick.

Mr. MANUEL. Could you tell the committee what was decided with regard to the organization of the United Klans of America in Ohio as a result of this September 26 meeting?

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Shelton made it very clear to us that if we decided we wanted to switch that he would welcome us over, but we told him that under the circumstances in the State, that which was Flynn Harvey, we couldn't make the switch.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Flynn Harvey then the Grand Dragon of the—

Mr. STEPHENS. UKA in Ohio.

Mr. MANUEL. Ohio.

Mr. STEPHENS. Right.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Flynn Harvey present at this meeting?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; he wasn't.

Mr. MANUEL. What did Mr. Shelton say with regard to Mr. Harvey?

Mr. STEPHENS. Shelton admitted to us that he had made a mistake, he would like to see Harvey out, and Harvey was one of his biggest mistakes he ever made, and that he would leave it up to us to get rid of Harvey.

After we got more membership than he had, we would have an election and elect our own Grand Dragon. This was the detailed facts laid out to us on how to proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. Has Mr. Shelton appointed a Grand Dragon for the State of Ohio for the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. Not Mr. Shelton. He told us that he generally didn't interfere, but that it would be left up to us to appoint, or elect. However, we hashed it over in our mind, and Jim Harris looked like the most likable candidate that we would put in as a Grand Dragon, and he assumed, shall we say, the ghost position as the Grand Dragon.

Mr. MANUEL. Has he been elected to that position?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; we was going to wait until after you had your hearings and proceed the first of the year, but things sort of changed a little bit.

Mr. MANUEL. Was that on Mr. Shelton's recommendation?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; it was on your recommendation, the guys here.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you clarify that?

Mr. STEPHENS. The first of the year, we were to start our drive in the State and have our elections in the UKA and vote out Flynn Harvey, but because we were subpoenaed, we were unable to carry out these plans.

Mr. MANUEL. And what is the current status of the United Klans of America in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. The membership?

Mr. MANUEL. Membership and leadership.

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, presently, there are two factions. One of them is run by Jim Harris of Cincinnati, and the other one is Flynn Harvey of Columbus. Flynn Harvey, I would assume, doesn't have very many members, very many followers, and our status, I think, probably all together, Harvey's group and ours, might hit 300 in the whole State.

Mr. MANUEL. 300 current membership in United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. 300 bodies. That's about it.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, what is the current status of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. I am going to give you a little guess, and my opinion. I would say in the vicinity of a thousand.

Mr. MANUEL. And who is the—vicinity of what?

Mr. STEPHENS. In the vicinity of 1,000.

Mr. MANUEL. 1,000 members?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. At the current, at the present time?

Mr. STEPHENS. I would think that that would be a good guess.

Mr. MANUEL. Who in the State of Ohio is acting as leader of the National Knights?

Mr. STEPHENS. Evidently Parkie Scott is. To my knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Parkie Scott ever discuss with you the—any switch to the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, Parkie Scott never did discuss very much of anything with me.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, you testified that Eugene Tabbutt was in attendance at the September 26 meeting. Did Mr. Tabbutt or anyone else identify him at that meeting?

Mr. STEPHENS. I think Mr. Shelton introduced him to us, and if my memory serves me correctly, it was noted that him and his brother—I think they were introduced as brothers—were retired FBI agents.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he say that he was a retired FBI agent?

Mr. STEPHENS. I believe he did, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he say that he had a position in the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he was head of the KBI.

Mr. MANUEL. That is the Klan Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And he made that claim in front of Mr. Shelton.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he was one of Mr. Shelton's direct, shall we say, right-hand men in it and mentioned the fact about a protective agency which he had set up, which would be a front for the KBI.

Mr. MANUEL. Was this to operate in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. He was going to make arrangements to have an office in Columbus, which he assured me that he could use my knowledge, and the records, on different civil rights leaders and different activities going on in Columbus.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, for the record, let me state that although Mr. Tabbutt, according to the testimony of Mr. Stephens, has

said that he is a retired or an ex-FBI agent, investigation conducted by the committee establishes that this is not the case, that Mr. Tabbutt has never been associated with the Federal Bureau of Investigation as an agent or in any other capacity.

Mr. POOL. Okay. Go ahead.

Mr. Weltner?

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Stephens, you were very closely associated with the leaders of the Klan in the State of Ohio, and I would like for you to tell us just what you believe or sense to be, or determine to be, the motivation on the part of those persons whom you have heretofore described as leaders of the Klan.

What were they, why were they spending such time and activity and energy in this organization, and what did they hope to accomplish by it?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, I guess most of it grew out of hatred.

Mr. WELTNER. I am sorry; I did not understand you.

Mr. STEPHENS. I would say most of it grew out of hatred; involved in race hatred, a lot of it hatred for the communism, anti-Christ.

What did they hope to achieve? I would say it was more or less in the form of a dream—of eliminating people they didn't like. Really, sir, this is a pretty hard question for me to answer, because I am speaking for somebody else, that I don't know their inner thoughts.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, you attended, I think you mentioned, four rallies that were held in Ohio. How many of those did you attend? I don't recall your testimony.

Mr. STEPHENS. I attended the first three, sir. I wasn't a welcome guest at the fourth one, which was held under the UKA at Flynn Harvey's direction, so I just met with Mr. Shelton on Sunday morning.

Mr. WELTNER. What was the basic appeal, as you sensed it, in the three rallies that you attended? How did the speakers, on behalf of the Klan, seek to generate enthusiasm for their organizations? What did they hold out to prospective members as benefits to be derived from Klan membership?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, most of our rallies, Mr. Venable was the main speaker. He would most generally speak on the Negro and the Jews, stirring the people up in this fashion.

Mr. WELTNER. Would it be accurate and fair to characterize the appeal made through public rallies as an appeal based upon hatred of one kind or another?

Mr. STEPHENS. Would you rephrase that, sir?

Mr. WELTNER. Would it be fair to characterize the appeal made through public rallies as an appeal based upon hatred of one kind or another?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I would think that would be a general rule.

Mr. WELTNER. Was there any basis other than hatred upon which appeals were made?

Mr. STEPHENS. Maybe the suspense or the intrigue of being part of a Klan which had the reputation, in the old days—maybe this was, oh, shall we say, a psychological thing, in being part of something of secrets, mystery, intrigue.

Mr. WELTNER. Being part of a secret organization.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Those two constitute the substantive basis for appeals made at the rallies you attended.

Mr. STEPHENS. This would be my impression, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you say a moment ago that the leaders in this Ohio activity were living in a dream, or words to that effect?

Mr. STEPHENS. I would say some of them, sir, were living in a dream.

Mr. WELTNER. You mentioned awhile ago the various plots of assassination against well-known public figures and other individuals who were not well-known public figures.

Was this, were these plots made with any real determination or intention of carrying them out, or was it the sort of thing that young children might do on a rainy afternoon to pass the time away?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, on the assassinations, I would say that this might have been in a dream world. On the bombings, I think that could have been realistic. This could have happened.

Mr. POOL. Do you have any suggestions as to future legislation that this Congress should enact to curtail activities of such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; I don't have. I haven't given it very much thought.

Mr. POOL. That is one of the purposes of the investigation, to develop the facts, and also to develop ideas on closing loopholes in the law to prevent these acts of violence and the things that the Ku Klux Klan has been carrying out. And I thought I would ask you.

Mr. Weltner has another question.

Mr. WELTNER. How important is the secrecy aspect of the Klan activities to its organization and to the continuation of Klan units and to the attraction of members, the maintaining of membership, and to the accomplishment of whatever program or plans Klan units might devise?

Just how important is the secrecy of the identity of the members to that, to those factors?

Mr. STEPHENS. You mean to the people itself who would possibly join or to the organization?

Mr. WELTNER. Yes.

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, the Klan, as you know, in the past, doesn't have a very good name. At least, from what I read in the papers. A lot of people believe in the principles set forth in the Klan. Some of them are in positions that they don't want their identity known, and due to the fact it is a secret organization, they feel that they would be a little safe in, shall we say, maybe getting involved, where no one knows.

It could just be a place for them to release some of the tension that might be built up in them, but they don't want to be identified as a party to such.

And others just do it right out in the open, without any problems at all, as you know.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, do you think the secrecy aspect is quite important to a certain sector of the Klan membership?

Mr. STEPHENS. To the very small percentage, very, very small.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you think that the traditional secrecy of the Klan might in some way lend an encouragement for plottings of such acts as you have brought to this committee, bombings, as well as assassinations?

Mr. STEPHENS. Do I think that the Klan would contribute to it?

Mr. WELTNER. No; do you think that the secret aspect of the Klan activities, the fact that its members, the identity of its members, is secret and that its proceedings are secret, do you think that lends some encouragement to the plotting of acts of violence?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, this would, in my opinion, it would have to come on a low-caliber person, and the secrecy, regardless of whether they belonged to the Klan or any other organization, I think that these things would be discussed.

This is the kind of a person that you are dealing with. I don't think the Klan personally has any bearing on the thing.

Mr. WELTNER. Any what?

Mr. STEPHENS. I don't think the Klan, being a member of the Klan, would have too much of a bearing on it. To some radicals, I would say yes, but you know, just like there is other things, like assassinations has been carried out in the past that was not even members of the Klan. They belonged to other organizations.

I don't think the Klan has a real strong bearing on it; no, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you think the Klan tends to attract radicals to its ranks?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I would say it attracts—a good percentage of the members are radicals.

Mr. WELTNER. I did not understand your last statement.

Mr. STEPHENS. I would think that the biggest percentage of the members are in a radical stage.

Mr. WELTNER. During your association with the Klan, did you have an opportunity to observe any works of ministration to the poor and unfortunate, instruction of the youth of the country in the ways of patriotism and Christianity, feeding the hungry and visiting the sick, clothing the naked, any activities like this carried out during your association, by your Klan unit during your association with it?

Mr. STEPHENS. The Klan unit that I was associated with was too busy fighting one another. They didn't have time to carry out these needs.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, was there any discussion about carrying them out?

Mr. STEPHENS. It might have entered the mind, but they were too busy fighting amongst themselves.

Mr. WELTNER. You did not have a fraternal benefit committee that aided the needy, comforted the widows of departed Klansmen, cared for their orphans, and visited the imprisoned and sought to spread Christian love and brotherhood throughout the community?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; I sort of wish that they had been that way.

Mr. WELTNER. I have no further questions.

I do thank the witness very much for his testimony.

Mr. POOL. The committee will stand adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, when you will be back on the witness stand.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Pool and Weltner.)

(Whereupon, at 3:35 p.m., Thursday, February 10, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Friday, February 11, 1966.)

[Bobby Stephens Exhibits Nos. 5 and 6 introduced on pp. 3384 and 3386, respectively, appear on the following pages.]

## BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 5

[Letter written by Daniel Wagner at the request of William Hugh Morris explaining in detail Wagner's affiliation with Eloise Witte.]

(One evening, either the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> of March 1965, being very much interested in reaching an organization for the white race, I decided I would try locating one and see about my membership. I had heard of the Ku Klux Klan since childhood but had heard of the National Association for the Advancement of White People more recently. In my lack of knowledge on how to get in touch with such an organization I first tried the Columbus State Troopers. Not receiving any help I then telephoned the Columbus Dispatch Newspapers. The person at the desk knew only that the N.A.A.W.P. was active in Cincinnati under William F. Miller. I then telephoned the Cin. Information for William F. Miller's phone no., but received two other phone no. instead. Then I phoned the Cin. police and told the lady who answered the phone what I wanted. She relayed me over to another woman whom was present (Mrs Weiche 1251 COLREIAN AVE 542-0322) Mrs. Weiche gave me Mr. Miller's phone no., so I phoned him and found he was no longer with the N.A.A.W.P. and wouldn't be of any help to me in helping to contact others, so I phoned Mrs. Weiche again and she took my phone no., and called me that eve. at home giving me Mrs. Witte's phone no.

The next morning I called Mrs. Witte.

## BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 5—Continued

(whom claims to be Grand Empress in the State of Ohio for the Women's Auxillary of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and presently ahead of the whole Klan in Ohio)

Mrs. Witte, whom at this date (July 5, 1965) and lives at 1654 Otte St. in Cincinnati 23, Ohio, her phone-area code 513-547-4353, asked for my presence in Cin. Sat. March 27, 1965. Sat. morning when I reached Cin.

(at the Greyhound Bus Station) I was met by a young College student whom is called H. D. and dates Mrs. Witte's daughter. He took me to Mrs. Witte's home on Otte St. where I met Mrs. Witte for the first time. Mrs. Witte and I talked shortly and then we went to Music Hall in Cin. where we talked more excessively.

Mrs. Witte found that I didn't believe in these small marches as protest but in much larger protest as in drastic steps.

Since this instant I have talked to Mrs. Witte many times over the phone 2 or 3 time a week and some visits to Cin. at her home.

On April 10, 1965 I accompanied Mrs. Witte and others to an N.S.P.P. meeting at 224 Oak St. Dayton 2, Ohio. After the meeting Mrs. Witte introduced a Mr. W.A. Davis to me in hopes of acquiring a weapon for myself. Mr. Davis sold me a 32 German Mauser, Pistol and a 250 Savage Rifle. He then had me fill out an I.C.H. stating

what I had purchased and the price. I mailed Mr. Davis \$75<sup>00</sup> on April 12, 1965 and \$50<sup>00</sup> on April 29, 1965.

Mrs. Witte explained that since I had been an expert with an M-1 rifle that I could practice with the 250 Savage on negroes as a sniper, thus proving myself to the organization and helping the white race. I felt this was stupid ~~was~~ since the negro birth rate was much higher than I could possibly sniper. Mrs. Witte agreed after some thought to this and stated that there would be something better for me in the future.

On the first of March 11-14, 1965 I took 4 days vacation staying in Cin. & Kentucky. I saw and spoke to Mrs. Witte 3 of those 4 day excessively. She claimed she had called Jimmy or James R. Veneable in hopes he would be able to find something important for me but he didn't have anything at the time. I was told by Mrs. Witte not to mention anything about this to Mr. Morris because he was getting old and was afraid to have any action such as this anymore and would possibly spill the beans.

On the last evening of my stay in Cin., at the home of Mrs. Witte accompanied by Richard & Anna whom is a late member of the Nazi Party in Kentucky, Mrs. Witte told Richard and myself that her husband had demanded that

BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

she drop all activity with the K. K. K. K., and U. S. R. P. and let a mother, to her, children and a housewife. When she refused he said he could have her committed to a mental institution, since it only took his signature and the signature of a doctor. She claimed there was nothing but Jew doctors and Judges in Lin. and she would be committed. She also stated he I. Q. was in the 150's which is near genius (average 100-110) and there was nothing wrong with her, but ~~he~~ if he (her husband) went through ~~the~~ with this, it would be a big step for the communist in hurting the white race. R. Hanna wasn't for killing her husband but for beating some sense into his head. Mrs. Witte claimed this was no good and wanted him either shot as he left the house for work or in the house to make it look like an intruder did this. I thought a good idea was to get him high on narcotics and cloth him in a Klan robe then have him drive into the Black Muslims training center in Cincinnati. Mrs. Witte agreed, but Richard Hanna was hesitant about murder so he dropped out of the scene. The next week R. Hanna phoned me in Columbus and told me it was called off for a while because J. B. Stoner was straightening her husband out legally.

and Mr. Morris would be down to help soon. I contacted Mrs. Witte and she said to hold off till they found out what they could do.

Earlier talks on my 4 day vacation with Mrs. Witte covered other things such as: how I would assassinate Pres Johnson & J.P. Humphrey. I thought blowing up the White House would be appropriate and she agreed but this wasn't dealt into or talked out so I figured that was all it was, talk.

One evening Mrs. Witte became drunk and started talking in circles to me asking me how far I would go for the white race and I told her there was no stopping. She couldn't get rid of her daughter so that cut off for then, but the next day when she was in a sober state of mind, had not had a drink of alcoholic beverage, I inquired what she had been talking about the evening before. She asked again how far I would go for the white race or party and I told her there was no stopping or no end.

Mrs. Witte then told me that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had hired a gunman for \$25,000. to assassinate Martin Luther King but the gunman had had feathers on his legs and couldn't accomplish this task so in turn had to give the money back. Mrs. Witte then

BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 5--Continued

said it appeared it was up to her to take care of King and if I were interested. I said I would accomplish this for a lesser amount of money. Mrs. Witte said she would take care of me financially and if I needed place to stay of any kind of support she would see that I received it, but this assassination had to take place in Ohio. So Mrs. Witte set the date June 29, 1965 at Antioch College in Yellow Springs Ohio. Later this date was changed because King was to appear at the administration building at Antioch College on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1965. Mrs. Witte asked if I wanted the assistance of another 10 men which she had appointed to help and I said that that sounded better. We were suppose to drive up to the speaker stand and those other ten men in 4 or 5 different cars would blast the crowd all around King and I was to shoot King and be positively sure he was dead. Mrs. Witte said that this would be a great achievement for the white race.

This was canceled as I was told about it earlier the week of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June because Mrs. Witte couldn't get it organized as well as the K.K.K. rally which was supposed to take place on a farm at the same time. ~~She~~ Mrs. Witte told me not to worry.

but that she would make sure I got another chance to get King.

On Friday Afternoon May 28, 1965, the first scheduled day of the Ku Klux Klan Rally on Parke Scott's ~~farm~~ farm, Mrs. Witte had a few chats with me downing Mr. Morris. The first discussion took place in the kitchen of the home of Parke Scott located on his farm in

S. Lebanon. Mrs. Witte gave me an oath in a blue folder for the Dixie Knights of the K.K.K. and a second application for the Klan. The first had been for the Knights of the K.K.K. but this one was for the Dixie Knights of the K.K.K.

Mrs. Witte explained that she was the secret leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the State of Ohio had talked with the leader of the Dixie Knights of the K.K.K. and that she, (Mrs. Witte) was going to take all of the members in the State of Ohio and possibly thousands from surrounding states and go into the D.K.K.K.K. She (Mrs. Witte) claimed she had taken care of the legal end. The Dixie Knights of the K.K.K. were supposed to be more masculine or more full violence than the K.K.K.K. and they get a lot done. When I questioned Mrs. Witte on what Hon. Venable or Mr. Morris would say or would do, Mrs. Witte said this would

## BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 5- Continued

cripple the Knights of the K.K.K., and that Venable and Morris would have to go along with her in the end. This would also be a benefit to the White cause. I was told not to open my mouth about the change to anyone, but if I had any questions I could talk to Pache Scott who she said she had explained everything to or to her (Mrs. Witte).

I agreed.

Later that afternoon Mrs. Witte had had a few words with Mr. Morris about myself wearing a Klan robe which was against regulations and of myself or anyone else carrying a rifle. He (Mr. Morris) stated that he had talked to The Police and they would assist us if we needed any help. Mrs. Witte felt this was silly style as in my words to the reporters which were relayed by Mrs. Witte, a pappy patch or sewing circle instead of a Ku Klux Klan rally.

Mrs. Witte told me it was okay for me to wear my shoulder holster and pistol under my coat while guarding the premises for my protection as well as everyone else since there were reports of five to six busloads of degenerates and negroes within sight distance of the farm and they claimed they were there to break up the rally.

Mrs. Witte later stopped me and talked to me of the assassination of Mr. Morris. I was told Mr. Morris said for me to take off my robe which Mrs. Witte had brought for me to wear. Mrs. Witte escorting me outside asked me how far I would go for the white cause. again I told her there was no stopping. Mrs. Witte asked me to lure Mr. Morris into the basement of the Burke Scott home that night when the rally was real lively and shoot Mr. Morris to death with my 32 mauser pistol till he was dead then to leave the pistol beside him. Mrs. Witte explained that there were so many negroes and left wing organizations after Mr. Morris it would appear that they got him and not me. I wanted to bury the gun on the farm afterwards but she said it would be more appropriate to leave it next to the body. This she explained would definitely benefit the white race because they needed a younger and more active member. She (Mrs. Witte) stated that everyone was behind me, and I would be doing the right thing. Then I got locked up, thank God.

The night I got out of jail Mr. Morris and Mrs. Witte took me to Mrs. Witte's house to stay for a couple

## BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT No. 5—Continued

of days. That night after Mr. Morris had retired and I had taken a bath Mrs. Witte and I had a talk and the next morning we had a talk. Mr. Morris had gone to an appointment somewhere so we could talk rather freely. (His son was on the couch in the living room but was taking medicine and was drowsy or sleeping.) In the kitchen we talked of the things I was supposed to do (assassinations) but something had gone wrong each time. Mrs. Witte told me not to worry about it, to have patients, my chance would come for the others but presently she had another problem. Mr. E. D. Eldridge of the N. S. R. P. office in Dayton Ohio. He had grown to independent, hadn't shown up at the rally to help get things organized as he had promised and he hadn't shown up at the rally to speak. He hadn't called and given any explanation so Mrs. Witte was perturbed with him.

Mrs. Witte and myself decided to kill Mr. Eldridge making it appear that a sniper had done it and to replace him with a good or active K. K. K. member to lead Mr. Eldridge's 4,000 members into the Klan without their suspecting.

This was written of my own free will without the promises or threats of any other individuals.

Daniel N. Wagner,

## BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 6

Mr. Parkie Scott.

A.F.D.#1

Oregonia Ohio.

Dear Klansman Scotts:

After a few days of meditation about the confusion, misunderstanding and exchange of harsh words between some "Klansmen," in your room Saturday Night it seems to me some clarification is urgently needed there to avoid a repetition of the same. Hence this letter.

First of all let me state that after spending the Summer in Ohio trying to pick up the pieces and start the KLAN anew I felt that I had found the four men who had the necessary intelligence and ability to build the KLAN in Ohio. Those four men were and are, Harris of Cincinnati, Stephens of Columbus, Annabelle of Cleveland and Yourself. You four working as a team, without jealousy and friction between you can build the KLAN. With this in mind I so stated this fact before the Imperial Klondilliam Friday night. Along with my intention to follow through with this plan. There was no audible objection to this plan in the meeting and if objections there were going to be this was the proper place to bring them, in fact the only place. You can perhaps begin to understand my complete surprise at the statement by Klansman Venable to Klansman Harris that no one had the authority to appoint anyone in Ohio, and besides the appointments were premature.

Now a word to clarify the status of the Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN and the NATIONAL KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN. They being two different and distinct organizations. The NATIONAL KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN has an Imperial Wizard namely James P. Venable. The KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN which you and I and every Klansman in the State of Ohio belong to is governed by an Imperial Klondilliam who have elected an Emperor and delegated to him certain powers ordinarily exercised by the Imperial Wizard. The Emperor of the KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN happens to be me at the present time. The Imperial Wizard of the NATIONAL KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN has no more authority over our KLAN than does the Imperial Wizard of the United Klans or any other Klan group, or Visa Versa. Klansman Venable being a member of the Imperial Klondilliam of the KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN has as much authority as any other member and no more. His authority in the National Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN is absolute.

Any time the Imperial Klondilliam wishes to elect an Imperial Wizard or delete my delegated authority in any way as a matter of course they are free to do so. In the meantime I fully intend to exercise the authority vested in me by the Imperial Klondilliam without fear and without favor when necessary. I will state further that I fully intend to live and act according to the Constitution of the Order as the Supreme Law of the Order. Any other course invites disrespect for authority and anarchy would follow. I will do this with the full knowledge that I am no more immune from its provisions than is its newest member.

I hope that this will clear up for good the existing confusion and that all Klansmen who are willing to live by the provisions of its Constitution will forget their petty and childish differences, divest themselves of the troublemakers in their midst and move forward in a solid phalanx of strength to face a common foe.

I understand that Harris, Stephens and Annabell will meet in Columbus this Sunday to further formulate plans for our progress. I personally urge you to meet with them and to remain a vital part of the team.

In conclusion realizing fully my own capacity for human error and wishing to avoid as much damage to the KLAN as possible, all appointments will be on a temporary basis so that if a mistake is made it can be quickly remedied.

Thanking you and yours for past courtesies and assuring you of my continued respect and friendship, I beg to remain: Yours for GOD HOME RACE and COUNTRY.

And IN THE SACRED UNFAILING BOND.

PS: If I have overstepped my authority I will gladly answer to the constituted authority of the Order. I am sure that the Imperial Klondilliam will be able to handle the situation.

WILLIAM HUGH MOHRIS

1965

Bobby: Give a copy to Annabelle if he attends the meeting

Also you will note I made no mention to Parkie of the Projected Rally in Cleveland. Try to contact him for his reactions to this also try for his cooperation if possible. The biggest thing we don't need now

is an open split of which he is avoided. If Parkie goes ahead with the Rally without me, I would like to know what his reasons for same. If I can know of it in time I have a plan to stop it. Keep this all of this to yourself if Cincinnati may not work out. If there is a meeting Sunday be soon as it is over call me. Call him mention it to some place at this time destroy this. W.H.M.

# ACTIVITIES OF KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

## Part 4

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1966

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D.C.*

### PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as reconstituted for the February 11 hearings, met, pursuant to recess, at 10:05 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Charles L. Weltner (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Charles L. Weltner, of Georgia, chairman; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Del Clawson, of California.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Weltner, Ashbrook, and Clawson.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; William Hitz, general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; Donald T. Appell, chief investigator; and Philip R. Manuel, investigator.

Mr. WELTNER. The subcommittee will come to order.

The Chair would like to make part of the record of today's proceedings the designation of the chairman of the full committee providing for a subcommittee to meet today, consisting of myself as chairman, Messrs. Ashbrook of Ohio, and Del Clawson of California. This will be added to the record and made part of the proceedings today.

FEBRUARY 10, 1966.

To: Mr. Francis J. McNamara,  
*Director, Committee on Un-American Activities*

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Honorable Charles L. Weltner as Chairman, and Honorable John M. Ashbrook and Honorable Del Clawson as associate members, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C. on Friday, February 11, 1966, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the Committee on the 30th day of March 1965, authorizing hearings concerning the activities of the various Ku Klux Klan organizations in the United States.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 10th day of February, 1966.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis  
EDWIN E. WILLIS,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.*

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Manuel, proceed with your first witness.

Mr. MANUEL. I would like to recall at this time, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Bobby J. Stephens.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Stephens, you are reminded that you are still under oath, and you are also reminded of your rights under the Constitution.

Proceed, Mr. Manuel.

### TESTIMONY OF BOBBY J. STEPHENS—Resumed

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, yesterday, we started on your testimony into the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Ohio, and I would like to briefly restate the main part of your testimony as I understand it, in that you first became a member of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in September of 1964 at Stone Mountain, Georgia, and that you were initiated in Stone Mountain, along with Robert Leavey, Barney Ross, Lawrence Mink, and Curtis Rose, of the Ohio Realm, and that on your return from Stone Mountain, a Klavern was started in Columbus, with Mr. Robert Leavey as the exalted cyclops, Mr. Verlin "Chuck" Gilliam as the klaliff, McKinley Mink as the klokard, Bobby Stephens, yourself, as the kludd, W. K. Smith as the kladd, and Barney Ross as the klarogo.

Is that correct, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Further, you stated that Mr. Flynn Harvey was appointed by James Venable as the Grand Dragon of the Realm of Ohio and, further, you stated that Mr. Harvey acted as the klabee and the kligrapp, or treasurer and secretary, of the Klavern in Columbus area.

Is that correct, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. That is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. Were all moneys payable to Mr. Flynn Harvey by members of the Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my knowledge, all moneys was payable.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have any idea what Mr. Harvey did with the money that was paid to him by Klansmen?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my knowledge, Mr. Harvey kept all funds. And I don't believe any was sent to the national, to my knowledge.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Harvey ever make an accounting to the membership of the Columbus Klavern?

Mr. STEPHENS. Not in my presence.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, you further stated, Mr. Stephens, that in December of 1964 a trial was held, at which you were accused by certain Klansmen of being an informant for a law enforcement agency, and you became inactive in the Klan movement until approximately May of 1965, at which time you were reinstated in the Klan, and at that time, or shortly thereafter, you held the title of great titan of southern Ohio district of an organization known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which was headed also by Mr. Venable and Mr. Morris.

Is that correct, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. That is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. Now Mr. Stephens, you also testified yesterday as to your knowledge of a certain letter which was written by Mr. Danny

Wagner. And in the letter, Mr. Wagner sets forth certain portions of his own Klan background and discussions with certain Klan leaders, and in the letter he outlines a certain plot which was talked about and discussed with persons known to him.

Mr. STEPHENS. I would like to ask you, when did you first become aware of such a letter?

Mr. STEPHENS. This was in June, in the month of June 1965, on Parkie Scott's farm in Oregonia. They were holding initiations at that time.

Mr. MANUEL. Now did you have knowledge of the contents of the letter, or what would be in the letter before the letter was actually written?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you have any conversation with Daniel Wagner before he wrote the letter?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did. Pertaining to the plot on assassination of Mr. Morris. And that was up until the time before he wrote the letter.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, to your certain knowledge, did the contents of this letter become known to Mr. William Hugh Morris?

Mr. STEPHENS. Would you repeat that, sir?

Mr. MANUEL. I say, to your certain knowledge, did the contents of this letter become known to Mr. Morris?

Mr. STEPHENS. At what time?

Mr. MANUEL. At any time.

Mr. STEPHENS. I am under the impression Mr. Morris knew of the letter at the initiation in June.

Mr. MANUEL. In June.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. The letter wasn't written until approximately the first part of July, under Mr. Morris' instructions.

Mr. MANUEL. Was the letter read in your presence to Mr. Morris?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. MANUEL. And by whom was the letter read?

Mr. STEPHENS. By Chuck Gilliam.

Mr. MANUEL. How did Mr. Gilliam come into possession of this letter?

Mr. STEPHENS. Danny Wagner had contacted Chuck Gilliam and told him of the instructions that Mr. Morris had relayed, for him to write such a letter. And Danny made it known that Mr. Morris had instructed him to have this letter written up, notarized, given to me, and sent directly to Mr. Morris.

Chuck Gilliam requested that Danny not follow these procedures, but give the letter to him, and he would handle it.

Mr. MANUEL. Did the letter remain in the possession of Mr. Gilliam?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; it did.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Gilliam himself read the contents of the letter to Mr. Morris in your presence?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he did.

Mr. MANUEL. Now what position did Mr. Gilliam hold at this time, that is, either the latter part of June of 1965 or early July, within the Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my knowledge, he was leading the group of Enforcers, or part of which would be associated with the Black Shirts.

Mr. MANUEL. Was the Enforcers also known as the Black Shirts in Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. To the best of my knowledge, it was.

Mr. MANUEL. And you state that Mr. Gilliam was the leader of this group.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; until——

Mr. MANUEL. Now, did this group operate within the membership of the Klavern in Columbus?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, it operated in a secret fashion. I would say it was more or less separate, but part of the unit.

Mr. MANUEL. Were all members of the Black Shirts also members of the Columbus Klavern of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my knowledge, sir, and some were members of the unit in Cincinnati.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you, to the best of your knowledge, name all those whom you know to be members of the Black Shirts or Enforcers, as they were known?

Mr. STEPHENS. Chuck Gilliam, W. K. Smith, Barney Ross, Lawrence Mink, Danny Wagner. I think that's all I can remember at this time.

Mr. MANUEL. Okay.

Now Mr. Stephens, you testified yesterday that Mr. Wagner did not join the Ku Klux Klan until approximately the middle of July 1965. Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. The latter part of July 1965.

Mr. MANUEL. The latter part of July. And you further testified that he was administered the oath by Mr. William Hugh Morris. Is that correct, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Was this done in your presence?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. MANUEL. And where did this initiation take place?

Mr. STEPHENS. In the city of Akron, in a garage.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, was Mr. Daniel Wagner a member of the group which you called the Black Shirts prior to his initiation into the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. He couldn't have been an actual member of it. He could have been being groomed at this time for the position.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, to your certain knowledge, did he take part in the activities of the Black Shirts?

Mr. STEPHENS. He had been associated with Mr. Gilliam, and what may have taken place, I don't know.

Mr. MANUEL. I see. Did you become aware at any time that Mr. Wagner and Mr. Gilliam had traveled to the State of Georgia and had returned to Ohio with a certain amount of dynamite?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. This was prior to his entrance into the Klan.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever see any part of that dynamite?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I seen one stick of it.

Mr. MANUEL. And where did you see this, sir?

Mr. STEPHENS. In Chuck Gilliam's home.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you have any conversation with Chuck Gilliam regarding this dynamite?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MANUEL. What did Mr. Gilliam tell you relative to the dynamite?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, he first brought out the stick of dynamite and asked me, did I know what it was, and I told him no. He made the statement that it was dynamite and there was enough there to level his house. I told him he was a fool for having it there. And statements was made with regards to blowing up C.P. headquarters and places of this nature.

Mr. MANUEL. Now when you say "C.P. headquarters," exactly what do you mean?

Mr. STEPHENS. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. MANUEL. And there were plans to blow up that building in Columbus, Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. There was talk of this; yes.

Mr. MANUEL. And do I understand you correctly that Mr. Gilliam told you this?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have any knowledge regarding any other plans that this dynamite was to be used for?

Mr. STEPHENS. I have been told that it was to blow up the Black Muslim Mosque, the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People headquarters, and to be used in the Negro district of Columbus in the sewer system.

Mr. MANUEL. Did this knowledge also come to you from Mr. Gilliam?

Mr. STEPHENS. I believe it did, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Has Mr. Wagner made statements to you to that effect?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he has.

Mr. MANUEL. Has Mr. W. K. Smith made statements to you to that effect?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; I don't think so.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you had any conversation with Mr. W. K. Smith relative to any acts of violence on the part of members of the Black Shirts?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Has Mr. Robert Leavey discussed any acts of violence with you?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; he has not.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. who?

Mr. MANUEL. Robert Leavey.

Now I state that question with reference to dynamite. Yesterday you testified, if I am correct, that Mr. Leavey and Mr. Smith, Mr. Flynn Harvey, yourself, and Mr. Gilliam had discussed a plan to kidnap a local civil rights leader.

Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; that was correct.

Mr. MANUEL. And your reference to Mr. Leavey and Mr. Smith, just recently, was in reference to dynamite, and not to that particular act of violence or proposed act of violence.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; that was the impression.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, did you attend, with other members of the Ohio Realm, a meeting at Stone Mountain, Georgia, in September of 1965?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MANUEL. Who were the other members of the Ohio Realm who were also in attendance?

Mr. STEPHENS. W. K. Smith, Parkie Scott, Lawrence Mink, Barney Ross. There was a man by the name of Don White there, but to my knowledge, he isn't a member.

Mr. MANUEL. Don White is from the Cleveland area?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. Mr. Morris, Mr. Venable, Malcolm Smith, of around Mason, Ohio. Jim Harris of Cincinnati.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Parkie Scott at this?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I think I mentioned his name.

Mr. MANUEL. I am sorry.

Mr. STEPHENS. There may have been a few others, but I can't think at this time.

Mr. MANUEL. At that particular rally and subsequent meeting, were any appointments made as far as officers of the Ohio Realm were concerned, of the National Knights, also known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. They had had a meeting of the Imperial Kloneilium the day before. I think that was on a Friday. And these appointments, from my understanding, had been verified, which Jim Harris was to be the Grand Dragon, myself the great titan, and Bob Annable would have been the great titan, if he should have entered into the organization.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you at any time receive a document appointing you to a position within the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you have that document with you?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I do have.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the witness has just handed me a document under the letterhead of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Incorporated, and signed by William Hugh Morris, Emperor of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a document which appoints him to the title of great titan, and these are great titan's credentials.

Mr. Stephens, I ask you, at the same time that you received this particular credential document, did you also receive a similar document naming Mr. Robert "Annabelle" to the position of great titan for the Cleveland area, or northern district of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did, but I also received instructions to hold onto these, this document, until he had entered into the Klan.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, has Mr. Annable ever seen that particular document?

Mr. STEPHENS. I don't think Mr. Annable has, sir.

(Documents marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibits Nos. 8 and 9," respectively, follow.)

BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 8

KLAN DRAGON

# KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN INC.

~~\*\*\*REDACTED\*\*\*~~

Office Of The Emperor.  
Invisible Empire  
KNIGHTS Of The KU KLUX KLAN.

Great Titans Credentials.

TO THE LOVERS OF LAW AND ORDER, PEACE AND JUSTICE AND TO ALL TO WHOM OF RIGHT IT MAY CONCERN:

GREETING:

Ever Holding The Best Intrest Of The Invisible Empire, KNIGHTS of The KU KLUX KLAN, In Mind And Heart, And Having Had Comitted To Me The Sacred Trust Of Its Government; Know Ye That I have This Day Created Out Of The Grand KIAN And Appointed And As Evidenced By This Document Do Commission Klansman;

B.J. STEPHENS.

Whose Address Is 2973 Reaver Ave. Grove City Ohio, United States Of America.

A Great Titan For Province # 2 Provisional Realm Of Ohio, United States Of America, Invisible Empire, KNIGHTS Of The KU KLUX KLAN. For The Term Ending May 30th 1966 Or Until Same Is Revoked By Me.

HE IS AUTHORIZED As A Representative Of The Invisible Empire, To Secure Members, Collect The Required " Klectokens " Administer The Oath Of Allegiance, Organize KLAN'S, Instruct Klansmen And Assfist Generally In The Work Of Promoting And Expanding The Domain Of This Society, In Strict Accordance With The Constitution, Laws, Usages And Imperial Authority Of The Same.

HE IS NOT AUTHORIZED To Make Or Incure Any Debts, Develop, Or Contract For Any Printed Matter Of A Promotional Nature, Authorize The Manufacture Of Any Regalia, Jewelry, Etc, Without The Written Authority Prior To The Transaction.

HE IS NOT AUTHORIZED To Collect Monthly Dues From Any Member Of A Provisional KLAN Nor To Institute The Payment Of Monthly Dues In A Provisional KLAN Until Such Time As Said Provisional KLAN Has Selected A Kligrapp And Klabee To Receive Same. All Klansmen Are Commanded To Observe Proper Respect For And To Heed The Authority Of His Office.

Done In The Aulic Of The Emperor, On This The Dark Day Of The Wailing Week Of The Sorrowful Month In The Sixth Cycle Of The Fourth Reign Of Our Reincarnation. Witness My Hand As The Supreme Authority Of This Society.

A.D. 1965 A.K. 100.

*William Hugh Morris*  
William Hugh Morris.

Emperor The Invisible Empire.  
KNIGHTS Of The KU KLUX KLAN

TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE OF A TRUE AMERICANISM  
MUST BE FERRETED OUT AND EXPOSED.

BOBBY STEPHENS EXHIBIT NO. 9

# KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN INC.

Office Of The Emperor.  
Invisible Empire.  
KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN.

Great Titans Credentials.

TO THE LOVERS OF LAW AND ORDER, PEACE AND JUSTICE, AND TO ALL TO WHOM OF RIGHT  
~~THEY BELONG~~ IT MAY CONCERN:

GREETING:

Ever Holding The Best Intrest Of The Invisible Empire, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN,  
In Mind And Heart, And Having Had Committed To Me, The Sacred Trust Of Its Government;  
Know Ye, That I Have This Day Created Out Of The Grand KLAN And Appointed, And As  
Evidenced By This Document, Do Commission, Klansman:

Robert Annabelle.

Whose Address Is Parma Heights (Cleveland) Ohio, United States Of America.

A Great Titan For Province # 3 Provisional Realm Of Ohio, The Invisible Empire,  
KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, For The Term Ending May 30th 1966 Or Until Same Is  
Revoked By Me.

HE IS AUTHORIZED As A Representative Of The Invisible Empire, To Secure Members,  
Collect The Required "Klasktokens", Administer The Oath Of Allegiance, Organize  
KLANs, Instruct Klansmen, And Assist Generally In The Work Of Promoting And Expanding  
The Domain Of This Society, Within The Jurisdiction Of His Province In Strict  
Accordance With The Constitution, Laws, Usages And Imperial Authority Of Same.

HE IS NOT AUTHORIZED To Make Or Incur Any Debts, Develop Or Contract For Any Printed  
Matter Of A Promotional Nature, Authorize The Manufacture Of Any Regalia, Jewelry, Etc,  
Without Written Authority Prior To The Transaction.  
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Nor To Institute The Payment Of Monthly Dues In A Provisional KLAN, Until Such Time  
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Sorrowful Month In The Sixth Cycle, Of The Fourth Reign Of Our Reincarnation.  
Witness My Hand As The Supreme Authority Of This Society.

A.D. 1965. A.K. 100.

*William Hugh Morris*  
William Hugh Morris

Emperor The Invisible Empire.

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN.

TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE OF A TRUE AMERICANISM  
MUST BE FERRETED OUT AND EXPOSED.

Mr. WELTNER. Was it in your testimony yesterday that Mr. Annable had not, to your knowledge, ever joined the Klan organization?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; to my knowledge, he has not.

Mr. MANUEL. And again, Mr. Stephens, could you explain why a credential naming a person to the position of great titan of a particular district was made out to a person who, to your knowledge, had never joined the Klan in the first place?

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Annable is looked upon as a, well, as a good potential leader, if he could be talked into entering into the organization.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever attended any meetings with Mr. Annable?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And I say "meetings" in the sense of Klan meetings.

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir. Well, I attended rallies that Mr. Annable was present, but I have never attended any closed meetings for Klansmen only.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you attend a meeting on September 26, 1965, with certain representatives of the United Klans of America at which Mr. Robert Annable was present?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MANUEL. Were all other persons, to your knowledge, members of one Ku Klux Klan organization or another at that time?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; they were all members, with the exception of Mr. Annable and Mr. Don White.

Mr. MANUEL. And they were both from the Cleveland area?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And during the course of that meeting, Mr. Stephens, did Mr. Annable and Mr. White agree, or were they appointed, as organizers or recruiters in the Cleveland area for the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, in our discussion with Mr. Shelton, Mr. Shelton made it very clear that he would be happy to have us into his organization, but he wasn't up in Ohio to cause any trouble with those who belonged to another Klan organization.

However, he said if we ever decided to come in that he would be happy to have us, and we later discussed about all joining up with Mr. Shelton in the United Klans of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, was it your intention prior to this meeting to join the United Klans of America and leave Mr. Venable's outfit completely?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; it was our intention.

Mr. MANUEL. With what other Klan leaders did you have discussions in that regard?

Mr. STEPHENS. Other than the ones that was present?

Mr. MANUEL. No, including the ones that were present.

Mr. STEPHENS. I discussed this with Jim Harris, of Cincinnati, and I don't recollect if there was any phone calls made to Cleveland by me. However, I do believe that there was phone calls made by Mr. Harris.

Mr. MANUEL. To Mr. Annable or Mr. White?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. I think so.

Mr. MANUEL. And is it your testimony that it was in that manner that they were notified of this meeting in Zanesville, at which Mr. Robert Shelton was present?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Now Mr. Stephens, at any time prior to this meeting, to your knowledge, had any official of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan contacted either Mr. Morris or Mr. Venable to tell either one or the other that the Ohio group had planned to switch into the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. I believe Mr. Harris told me that he had contacted Mr. Morris and made the statement that when we felt that his organization wasn't doing the job that it should do, that we were going to make a switch.

Mr. MANUEL. Now was it the feeling prior to the meeting with Shelton that the National Knights, in your own words, wasn't doing the job that it was supposed to?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, it was our feeling that the Knights, or the National Knights, was lagging in cooperation in the leadership. We felt that it was going to a one-man show, and naturally, in an organization, it isn't a one-man show; you have to have leaders, and they have to coordinate with one another on different functions.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, did the leaders of the National Knights, prior to the meeting with Shelton, invite Mr. Shelton to Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. I think Mr. Harris had invited him; yes.

Mr. MANUEL. For the purpose of discussion aimed at ultimately joining the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. I believe this was what was referred to me as the discussion; yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Shelton at that time lay down any conditions that the Ohio Realm would have to fulfill before becoming a part of the United Klans of America?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; we were to set up, we were to have an operation approximately 10 Klaverns, of 25 each, before we could hold an election. And which this goes back to the point that Mr. Harvey, being the Grand Dragon, under Mr. Shelton, we were in disagreement with him, and we would not enter into his organization as long as Mr. Harvey was on the top.

Mr. MANUEL. And Mr. Harvey was not present at this meeting. Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. No, sir; he was not.

Mr. MANUEL. And at that time, he was the Grand Dragon.

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Mr. Harvey, to your knowledge, aware that the group under Mr. Harris and yourself and others were meeting with Mr. Shelton?

Mr. STEPHENS. To my knowledge, he was not aware of such a meeting.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Shelton make any statement regarding Mr. Harvey at this particular meeting?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he did make the statement that Mr. Harvey was probably one of his worst mistakes that he has ever made and he would leave it up to us to eliminate this mistake.

Mr. MANUEL. And was there any discussion as to how you were to eliminate this mistake?

Mr. STEPHENS. Through an election.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, at the present time, how many Klan organizations are operating in the State of Ohio?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, in the change from the National Knights to the Knights——

Mr. MANUEL. Now, just a minute. You mentioned the change, first of all, but the first organization in Ohio was the National Knights, as I understand. Is that correct?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. Now proceed from there.

Mr. STEPHENS. Then we have the Knights, and then we have the UKA, United Klans of America, which at this time, there is a split, the two factions of that, really.

Mr. MANUEL. Now is the organization known as the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the organization known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan substantially the same organization?

Mr. STEPHENS. Basically, yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Can you tell the committee what the difference is, if any, between the two organizations?

Mr. STEPHENS. There is no difference, technically.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, I notice that the designation of yourself as the great titan is signed by W. H. Morris, Emperor, the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Now, that is inconsistent with the position of Mr. James R. Venable as Imperial Wizard of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. And if you could clarify how these two individuals could each occupy the top office of the organization, it would be helpful.

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, as you know, in the beginning, we had the National Knights. This was incorporated. And through my understanding, that there was a little bit of trouble between possibly Mr. Morris and Mr. Venable. Mr. Morris wanted to change to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and referred to it as "taking it back home" to the old Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

I think there might have been some disagreement with this. Through my interpretation, Mr. Morris has taken this on his own with the Imperial Board, which they were in agreement to take it back to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, so you could look at it from two different views. You could say that there is a difference, or is two organizations, but the way I look at it, basically, it is strictly one organization.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, who is the head of that one organization, Mr. Morris or Mr. Venable?

Mr. STEPHENS. Of the Knights, Mr. Morris is head of that.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Morris outranks Mr. Venable?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, Mr. Venable holds a title as the Imperial Wizard under the National Knights, which I think is incorporated in the State of Georgia.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, see, that is the point that confuses me. As I understand it, Mr. Morris and Mr. Venable were associated with the same organization, which was the National Knights of the Ku Klux

Klan, Incorporated, and in that organization, Mr. Venable held the position as Imperial Wizard. But now here is a document where Mr. Morris purports to have signed his signature and the title of Emperor of the Invisible Empire, and I do not know if you can get any higher than Emperor. And I am somewhat confused as to just who is in charge of the organization which originally entered Ohio and with which you originally were associated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, if I might, I believe I can clarify this situation by describing or reading a paragraph from a letter which Mr. Stephens read into the record yesterday. (Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 6.)

This letter was addressed to Mr. Parkie Scott, with a copy going to Mr. Harris and Mr. Stephens and possibly others, and the letter is from William Hugh Morris.

In this letter, Mr. Morris states as follows:

Now a word to clarify the status of the Knights of the KU KLUX KLAN and The NATIONAL KNIGHTS of The KU KLUX KLAN Inc. They being two different and distinct organizations [sic] The NATIONAL KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN has an Imperial Wizard namely James R. Venable The KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN which you and I and every Klansman in the State of Ohio belong to is governed by an Imperial Klonecilliam [sic] who have elected an Emperor and delegated to him certain powers ordinarily exercised by the Imperial Wizard. The Emperor of The KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN happens to be me at the present time—

meaning Mr. Morris—

The Imperial Wizard of the NATIONAL KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN has no more authority over our KLAN than does the Imperial wizard of the United Klans or any other Klan group, or Visa Versa [sic]. Klansman Venable being a member of The Imperial Klonecilliam [sic] of The KNIGHTS of the KU KLUX KLAN has as much authority as any other member and no more. His authority in the National Knights of The KU KLUX KLAN is absolute.

Any time the Imperial Klonecilliam [sic] wishes to elect an Imperial Wizard or delete my delegated authority in any way as a matater of course they are free to do so. In the meantime I fully intend to exercise the authority vested in me by the Imperial Klonecilliam [sic] without fear and without favor when necessary. \* \* \*

Mr. WELTNER. I think that clarifies the matter.

Mr. Stephens, please describe for us, if you can, the existing split within the United Klans of America to which you referred a moment ago.

Mr. STEPHENS. You want me to elaborate on that?

Mr. WELTNER. Yes, please.

Mr. STEPHENS. Like I stated before, we had approached Mr. Shelton in regards to possibly coming with his organization. However, we could not come under the direction of Flynn Harvey, who is presently the Grand Dragon of the State of Ohio under the UKA.

So our split was to remain a split until January of this year, 1966, at which we were to have held an election, which has not taken place at this time. Then we would eliminate Flynn Harvey by having a statewide election and electing the Grand Dragon of our choice. Then we would be united together as one in the UKA.

Does that clarify the split, sir?

Mr. WELTNER. Well, the split is not within the UKA; it is within the old—

Mr. STEPHENS. The State itself.

Mr. WELTNER. The whole State, embodying all Klan activities. There are no two factions of a UKA organization in Ohio, are there?

Mr. STEPHENS. Technically, no, sir, there is only one.

Mr. WELTNER. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, have you ever received any sort of a threat on either your life or your family's life?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; on the 11th day of December last year, about 11 p.m. or thereafter, I received a phone call from one Flynn Harvey, who identified himself as Flynn Harvey, which I can verify the voice.

He mentioned the fact that I owed him approximately \$10, each member that he had taken in. He was under the impression that we had received 400 members under the UKA, which would have been in the vicinity of \$4,000. He mentioned the fact that there was members in his group that had been wanting to get me and he was trying to hold them back, but he said, "This is it. I am not going to hold them back any longer."

And about that time, a gentleman on the extension of his phone interrupted and made a statement in the regards that "I am going to kill you, you s.b.," and at that time, I did not know that voice. I tried to find out through Mr. Harvey who he was, and he said, "Bob," later on—which I talked with him for about an hour, and this seemed a little bit silly, but I realized that the men were drinking, from the sounds of their voice, and Mr. Harvey said, "It looks like we are going to have to get you, Bob. You are getting in our way." Or something to that effect.

And later, I think it was on several weeks later, which—there was a police report made. At 1 a.m. in the morning, Sunday morning, my doorbell rang. I got up to answer the door and I realized that it was—I had better look out and see who was there first. I looked out and I did not recognize the car in the driveway. It was night, the headlights were on, and I could see two silhouettes in the car.

However, I did get the license plate number, and later called Sergeant Don Swartz and give him this license plate number, which was registered under the name of Albert Roseberry.

Mr. MANUEL. Albert Roseberry?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; he is, I think, one of Flynn Harvey's lieutenants, and I later identified the voice from Mr. Roseberry's residence as the threatening, the man who threatened my life on the 11th day of December.

Mr. WELTNER. Was this a threat that stemmed from a dispute over money?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, yes, sir; it was over money and also the fact of muscling in on their operation.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Stephens, to your knowledge, has an attempt been made on the life of Mr. James Harris of Cincinnati?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; I believe it was on Thursday, the 23d of December of last year, 1965. I received a phone call, approximately 10:05 in the evening. Mr. Harris was on the other end. He mentioned the fact that "You get to that s.b. Harvey and you tell him the next time he wants me to come down here and I'll plant him. Don't send none of his goons."

And I asked him what had happened, and he made the statement that he was to have met, I believe, 11 women in regards to coming into the UKA.

Mr. MANUEL. Eleven women, did you say?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; this was a set up affair. And Mr. Harris arrived on the scene.

Mr. MANUEL. And where was the scene? I am sorry.

Mr. STEPHENS. The scene was at the Mercy Hospital in Hamilton, Ohio. When he arrived on the scene, there was only two women, and one of them made the statement, "Aren't you the parachutist that dropped at the rally?"

And he said "yes." I presume that they were under the impression they were going to meet a Mr. Wilson—who does not exist, to my knowledge.

He identified himself, I think, as Jim Harris, and they later proceeded to go to a car where they could talk in regards to joining UKA. Mr. Harris stated to me that he sat in the back seat of the car, and the two women were up front. Moments later, the car door on the left side on the rear opened up, two men entered into the car and grabbed ahold of him. He struggled with them, and at the same time, two more men from the right side started to enter the car. He struggled and fell out onto the pavement, and at that time, he pulled his revolver and fired three shots over their head.

And I am under the impression it was the front of the emergency exit of the hospital.

Later he proceeded to get up and run from the scene, and in his course of running, he approached a man who made some cussing remarks at him. He swung at him, not knowing whether he hit him or not, entered into the hospital, and out another door, got in his car, and drove back to Cincinnati.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know any reason why an attack should be made on the life of Mr. Harris?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, none other than the fact that Jim Harris and I were moving into the UKA, which is Harvey's territory in the State.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you subsequently find out who was responsible for this attack?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir. Also, in the instructions that I received from Mr. Harris was to make contact with Mr. Harvey the next day and relay the message to him that he would plant him if such incidents should happen again.

Mr. WELTNER. By "planting" Mr. Harvey, he meant——

Mr. STEPHENS. Burying him, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Disposing of him permanently?

Mr. STEPHENS. This is the impression I received; yes, sir. So I took the message to Mr. Harvey the next day, around noon, and we talked for quite some time, even though our feelings were not at the best of each other, and just as I was getting ready to leave, Mr. Curtis Rose of Hamilton, I believe, appeared on the scene with some young man, which I identified as his son.

Harvey mentioned the fact that something had happened down in Hamilton the night before, and Mr. Roseberry—not Roseberry, Mr.

Rose—stated, "Yes, we know all about it," and that "what would you do if you caught a man out with another man's wife?"

I said, "Nothing, as long as it wasn't my wife." [Laughter.]

Mr. STEPHENS. I told him, I said it seemed a little strange that Mr. Harris has to have two women when he goes out, and that was about the extent of the conversation.

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, then, in your own mind, you have laid the blame on Mr. Flynn Harvey and his group for this attack on Mr. Harris?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; this is the conclusion we arrived at.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, just a few more questions.

Under the current setup of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Ohio, who is the present leader in Ohio of that group?

Mr. STEPHENS. The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, sir, I think the only ones left is Parkie Scott, who has identified himself as the organizer.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens, you testified yesterday that, as a result of three rallies which were held in the State of Ohio from May to approximately September of 1965, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan realized a certain financial gain, also realized a certain membership enrollment.

Could you tell the committee, to your knowledge, what has happened to those members who were enrolled by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEPHENS. Well, in certain sections, there has been Klaverns established, which I have not been part of those Klaverns since, I would say, right around July or August. I am under the impression that there was Klaverns formed in Akron, Cleveland, Cincinnati, down around Hamilton, but to my knowledge, there was no Klaverns in existence now in Columbus.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, has an organizer or kleague for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan ever been appointed in the city of Akron?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; there is a man by the name of Lewis. I don't recall his first name.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that Howard C. Lewis?

Mr. STEPHENS. Yes, sir; that is Howard Lewis.

Mr. MANUEL. That is all I have of Mr. Stephens, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Stephens, you are excused.

Mr. MANUEL. Except that I request that all documents that Mr. Stephens has submitted to the committee and has talked about in his testimony be admitted.

Mr. WELTNER. The documents will be admitted at an appropriate place in the record.

Mr. Stephens, you can be excused, and this committee expresses its deep appreciation of your willingness to testify.

You, as you know, as a witness subpoenaed in a congressional proceeding, have certain protections existing by virtue of statutes of the United States, which make it a criminal offense to threaten or intimidate or otherwise attempt to deter a witness from testifying, or to bring about any retribution as a result of his testimony.

I want to make that clear in this record and to you, as well, sir.

Thank you very much for your attendance and for your testimony, and you will be now excused.

Mr. STEPHENS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Call your next witness, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff would like to call Mr. Daniel Wagner.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WAGNER. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF DANIEL N. WAGNER

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, would you state your full name for the record, sir?

Mr. WAGNER. Daniel N. Wagner.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, I notice that you are not accompanied by counsel. I would like to ask you at this time if you desire counsel?

Mr. WAGNER. No, I wouldn't. I have conferred with my counsel.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wagner, the committee advises you that you have a right to be represented by counsel in these proceedings.

Mr. WAGNER. I understand, sir. I have conferred with my counsel.

Mr. WELTNER. Very good. You have a right at any time during the course of the proceedings to request counsel, and you may so request that, and this committee will assure you of that right.

Now, I also wish to advise you that you have a right under the Constitution to refuse to answer any question that you believe may tend to incriminate you under any State or Federal statute. And with that advice, I inquire as to whether or not you understand your rights under the Constitution, and wish to now proceed without counsel?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir. Thank you.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, thank you, Mr. Wagner.

Proceed, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, you are appearing before the committee this morning in response to a subpoena served upon you by Sergeant Donald Swartz?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir; by Mr. Wetterman.

Mr. MANUEL. I am sorry. By Mr. Wetterman, who served you the subpoena.

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. When and where were you born, Mr. Wagner?

Mr. WAGNER. April 11, 1946, in Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. MANUEL. And would you give the committee, please, a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. WAGNER. Nine years education.

Mr. MANUEL. And where did you obtain such education?

Mr. WAGNER. Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Wagner, have you ever served in the military service of the United States?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, I have.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee what service, what branch of the service you were in?

Mr. WAGNER. U.S. Army.

Mr. MANUEL. And when did you go into the U.S. Army?

Mr. WAGNER. August 23, 1963.

Mr. MANUEL. And when did you terminate your service in the U.S. Army?

Mr. WAGNER. I believe it was April or May of 1964.

Mr. MANUEL. April or May of 1964. Would you tell the committee under what circumstances you left the Army?

Mr. WAGNER. I got court-martialed under A.R. 635-208, undesirable discharge.

Mr. MANUEL. And could you tell the committee what the charges were filed against you by the Army?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir; I had two separate charges of breaking lawful restriction, one charge of disrespect to an NCO, and had in my possession an unlawful weapon, a pair of brass knucks, and attempted escape from Fort Dix Post Stockade.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, to set the record straight, you were not given a bad-conduct discharge or a dishonorable discharge?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. You were given an administrative discharge?

Mr. WAGNER. Undesirable; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. All right.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, have you ever been arrested?

Mr. WAGNER. As a juvenile; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you tell the committee under what charges you were arrested?

Mr. WAGNER. Burglary and petty larceny.

Mr. MANUEL. When and where did this occur, Mr. Wagner?

Mr. WAGNER. Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you as a result of this charge serve any time in prison?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever been arrested, other than the juvenile charge?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee the second such occasion?

Mr. WAGNER. Columbus, Ohio; armed robbery.

Mr. MANUEL. On what date were you arrested on the charge of armed robbery in Columbus? Approximately the month, that's all.

Mr. WAGNER. August, '65.

Mr. MANUEL. August of '65.

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Is the trial on that case still pending, Mr. Wagner?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you arrested on any other occasion?

Mr. WAGNER. In South Lebanon, Ohio, at a Ku Klux Klan rally, Parkie Scott's farm, for carrying a concealed weapon.

Mr. MANUEL. And do you remember the month that that occurred? Was that May of '65?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And what was the disposition of that case, Mr. Wagner?

Mr. WAGNER. That is pending also.

Mr. MANUEL. Could you please give the committee a more detailed explanation of the circumstances surrounding your arrest at Parkie Scott's farm?

Mr. WELTNER. With the admonition that this committee does not desire you to allude to any possession of any weapon or in any manner discuss any substance of any charge now pending against you. I make that for your protection.

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir; I understand.

Mr. WELTNER. And we wish you not to discuss that area.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, let me rephrase the question, Mr. Chairman.

At the time of your arrest, were you wearing a Ku Klux Klan robe?

Mr. WAGNER. At the time of my arrest, no, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. At any time immediately prior to your arrest were you wearing a Ku Klux Klan robe?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you acting as a security guard?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MANUEL. At the time that you were wearing the Ku Klux Klan robe and acting as a security guard, were you a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, could you tell the committee how it is that you were acting as a security guard at that particular rally?

Mr. WAGNER. Mrs. Eloise Witte asked me if I would do it, was supposed to pay me, you know, and I agreed.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Wagner, did you in approximately July of 1965 write a letter at the direction of Mr. William Hugh Morris and, in that letter, did you set forth certain circumstances surrounding your first contacts with the Ku Klux Klan and, also in that letter, did you set forth certain plans and plots which you had made with a person known to you to be a leader of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WAGNER. Mrs. Eloise Witte; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Wagner, I want to show you a copy of a 10-page letter, bearing the signature of Daniel N. Wagner, and ask you, sir, to identify this letter and tell the committee whether it is a true copy of the letter which you wrote at the direction of Mr. Morris.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. WELTNER. In view of the importance of that document, let it be marked by the reporter as an exhibit so there will be no question as to its identification.

(Document previously marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 5." See pp. 3398-3407.)

Mr. MANUEL. Is that it?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, it is.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you examined such a letter?

Mr. WELTNER. Just a moment.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you examined this document, Mr. Wagner?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. WELTNER. And is it a true copy of the letter which you wrote?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, it is.

Mr. MANUEL. With the Chair's permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to read into the record at this time the contents of this document.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. [Reading]:

One evening, either the 19th or 20th of March 1965, being very much interested in reaching an organization for the white race, I decided I would try locating one and see about my membership. I had heard of the Ku Klux Klan since childhood but had heard of the National Association for the Advancement of White People more recently. In my lack of knowledge on how to get in touch with such an organization I first tried the Columbus State troopers. Not receiving any help I then telephoned the Columbus Dispatch Newspapers. The person at the desk knew only that N.A.A.W.P. was active in Cincinnati [sic] under William F. Miller. I then telephoned the Cin. Information for William F. Miller's phone no., but received two other phone no. instead. Then I phoned the Cin. police and told the lady who answered the phone what I wanted. She relayed me over to another woman whom was present—

And the notation in the letter states—

(Mrs. Weiche 1251 Colreian Ave. 542-0322) Mrs. Weiche gave me Mr. Miller's phone no., so I phoned him and found he was no longer with the N.A.A.W.P. and wouldn't be of any help to me in helping to contact others, so I phone Mrs. Weiche, again, and she took my phone no., and called me that eve. at home giving me Mrs. Witte's phone no.

The next morning I called Mrs. Witte. (Whom claims to be Grand Empress in the State of Ohio for the Women's Auxillary [sic] of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and presently ahead of the whole Klan in Ohio).

Mrs. Witte whom at this date (July 5, 1965) and lives at 1654 Otte St. in Cincinnati [sic] 23, Ohio, her phone-area code 513-541-5353, asked for my presence in Cin. Sat. March 27, 1965. Sat. morning when I reached Cin. (at the Greyhound Bus Station) I was met by a young College student whom is called H. D. and dates Mrs. Witte's daughter. He took me to Mrs. Witte's home on Otte St. where I met Mrs. Witte for the first time. Mrs. Witte and I talked shortly and then we went to Music Hall in Cin. where we talked more excessively.

Mrs. Witte found that I didn't believe in these small marches or protest but in much larger protest or in drastic steps.

Since this instinct [sic] I have talked to Mrs. Witte many times over the phone 2 or 3 time a week and 5 or 6 visits to Cin. at her home.

On April 10, 1965 I accompanied [sic] Mrs. Witte and others to an N.S.R.P. meeting at 224 Oak St. Dayton 2, Ohio. After the meeting Mrs. Witte introduced a Mr. W. A. Davis to me in hopes of acquiring a weapon for myself. Mr. Davis sold me a 32 German Mauser pistol and 250 savage Rifle. He then had me fill out an I.O.U. stating what I had purchased and the price. I mailed Mr. Davis \$75.00 on April 12, 1965 and \$50.00 on April 29, 1965.

Mrs. Witte explained that since I had been an expert with an M-1 rifle that I could practice with the 250 Savage on negroes [sic] as a sniper, thus proving myself to the organization and helping the white race. I felt this was stupid since the Negro birth rate was much higher than I could possibly sniper. Mrs. Witte agreed after some thought to this and stated there would be something better for me in the future.

On the first of March 11-14, 1965 I took 4 days vacation staying in Cin. & Kentucky. I saw and spoke to Mrs. Witte 3 of those 4 day excessively. She claimed she had called Jimmy or James R. Veneable [sic] in hopes he would be able to find something important for me but he didn't have anything at the time. I was told by Mrs. Witte not to mention anything about this to Mr. Morris because he was getting old and was afraid to have any action such as this any more and would possibly spill the beans.

On the last evening of my stay in Cin., at the home of Mrs. Witte accompanied by Richard Hanna whom is a late member of the Nazi Party in Kentucky. Mrs. Witte told Richard and myself that her husband had demanded that she drop all activity with the K.K.K.K. and N.S.R.P. and be a mother to her children and a housewife. When she refused he said he would have her committed to a mental institution since it only took his signature and the signature of a doctor.

She claimed there was nothing but Jew doctors and Judges in Cin. and she would be committed. She also stated her I.Q. was in the 150's which is near genius (average 100 to 110) and there was nothing wrong with her, but if he (her husband) went through with this, it would be a big step for the Communists in hurting the White race. R. Hanna wasn't for killing her husband but for beating some sense into his head. Mrs. Witte he claimed this was no good and wanted him either shot as he left the house for work or in the house to make it look like an intruder did this. I thought a good idea was to get him high on narcotics and cloth [sic] him in a Klan robe then have him drive into the Black Muslims training center in Cincinnati [sic]. Mrs. Witte agreed, but Richard Hanna was hesitant about murder so he dropped out of the scene. The next week R. Hanna phoned me in Columbus and told me it was called off for a while because J. B. Stoner was straightening her husband out legally, and Mr. Morris would be down to help soon. I contacted Mrs. Witte and she said to hold off till they found out what they could do.

Earlier talks on my 4 day vacation with Mrs. Witte covered other things such as: how I would assassinate Pres. Johnson & V.P. Humphrey. I thought blowing up the White House would be appropriate and she agreed but this wasn't dealt into or talked out so I figured that was all it was, talk.

One evening, Mrs. Witte became drunk in starting talking in circles to me asking me how far I would go for the white race and I told her there was no stopping. She couldn't get rid of her daughter so that cut us off for then, but the next day when she was in a sober state of mind, had not had a drink of alcoholic beverage, I inquired what she had been talking about the evening before. She asked again how far I would go for the White race or party and I told her there was no stopping or no end.

Mrs. Witte then told me that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had hired a gunman for \$25,000.00 to assassinate Martin Luther King but the gunman had had feathers on his legs and could not accomplish this task so in turn had to give the money back. Mrs. Witte then said it appeared it was up to her to take care of King and if I were interested. I said I would accomplish this for a lesser amount of money. Mrs. Witte said she would take care of me financially and if I needed places to stay or any kind of support she would see that I received it, but this assassination had to take place in Ohio. So Mrs. Witte set the date June 29, 1965 at Antioch College [sic] in Yellow Springs Ohio. Later this date was changed because King was to appear at the administration building at Antioch College [sic] on the 19th of June 1965. Mrs. Witte asked if I wanted the assistance [sic] of another 10 men which she had appointed to help and I said that that sounded better. We were suppose [sic] to drive up to the speaker stand and those other ten men in 4 or 5 different cars would blast the crowd all around King and I was to shoot King [sic] and be positively sure he was dead. Mrs. Witte said this would be a great achievement for the white race.

This was canceled [sic] or I was told about it earlier the week of the 19th of June because Mrs. Witte couldn't get it organized as well as the K.K.K.K. rally which was supposed to take place on a farm at the same time. Mrs. Witte told me not to worry but that she would make sure I got another chance to get King.

On Friday afternoon May 28th, 1965, the first scheduled day of the Ku Klux Klan rally on Parke Scotts [sic] farm, Mrs. Witte had a few chats with me downing Mr. Morris. The first discussion took place in the kitchen of the home of Parke [sic] Scott located on his farm in South Lebanon. Mrs. Witte gave me an oath in a blue folder for the Dixie Knights of the K.K.K. and a second application for the Klan. The first had been for the Knights of the K.K.K. but this one was for the Dixie Knights of the K.K.K.

Mrs. Witte explained that she was the secret leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the State of Ohio had talked with the leader of the Dixie Knights of the K.K.K. and that she (Mrs. Witte) was going to take all of the members in the state of Ohio and possibly thousands from surrounding states and go into the D.K.K.K.K. She (Mrs. Witte) claimed she had taken care of the legal end. The Dixie Knights of the K.K.K. were supposed to be more masculine or more for violence than the K.K.K.K. and they get a lot done. When I questioned Mrs. Witte on what Hon. Veneable [sic] or Mr. Morris would say or would do, Mrs. Witte said this would cripple the Knights of the K.K.K., and that Veneable [sic] and Morris would have to go along with her in the end.

This would also be a benefit to the White cause. I was told not to open my mouth about the change to any one, but if I had any questions I could talk to Parke [sic] Scott who she said she had explained everything to or to her (Mrs. Witte). I agreed.

Later that afternoon Mrs. Witte had a few words with Mr. Morris about myself wearing a Klan robe which was against regulations and of myself or anyone else carrying a rifle. He (Mr. Morris) stated that he had talked to the Police and that they would assist up [sic] if we needed any help. Mrs. Witte felt this was sissy style or in my words to the reporters which were okayed by Mrs. Witte, a pansy patch or sewing circle instead of a Ku Klux Klan rally.

Mrs. Witte told me it was okay for me to wear my soulder holster and pistol under my coat while guarding the premises for my protection as well as everyone else since there were reports of five to six busloads of degenerates and negroes within sight distance of the farm and they claimed that they were there to break up the rally.

Mrs. Witte later stopped me and talked to me of the assassination of Mr. Morris. I was told Mr. Morris said for me to take off my robe which Mrs. Witte had brought for me to wear. Mrs. Witte, escorting me outside asked me how far I could go for the White cause, again I told her there was no stopping. Mrs. Witte asked me to lure Mr. Morris into the basement of Parke Scotts [sic] home that night when the rally was real lively and shoot Mr. Morris to death with my .32 Mauser pistol till he was dead then to leave the pistol beside him. Mrs. Witte explained that there were so many negroes and leftwing organizations after Mr. Morris it would appear that they got him and not me. I wanted to bury the gun on the farm afterwards but she said it would be more appropriate to leave it next to the body. This she explained would definitely benefit the white race because they needed younger and more active member. She (Mrs. Witte) stated that everyone was behind me and I would be doing the right thing. Then I got locked up, thank God.

The night I got out of jail Mr. Morris and Mrs. Witte took me to Mrs. Witte's house to stay for a couple of days. That night after Mr. Morris had retired and I had taken a bath Mrs. Witte and I had a talk and the next morning we had a talk. Mr. Morris had gone to an appointment somewhere so we could talk rather freely. (Her son was on the couch in the living room but was taking medicine and was drousy or sleeping.) In the Kitchen we talked of the things I was supposed to do (assassinations) but something had gone wrong each time. Mrs. Witte told me not to worry about it, to have patcients [sic], my chance would come for the others, but presently she had another problem. Mr. E. D. Eldridge of the N.S.R.P. office in Dayton Ohio. He had grown to independent, hadn't shown up at the rally to help get things organized as he had promised and he hadn't shown up at the rally to speak. He hadn't called and given any explanation so Mrs. Witte was perturbed with him.

Mrs. Witte and myself decided to kill Mr. Eldridge making it appear a sniper had done it and to replace him with a good or active K.K.K. member to lead Mr. Eldridge's 4000 members into the Klan without their suspecting.

This was written of my own free will without the promises or threats of any other individuals.

Daniel N. Wagner.

Mr. Wagner, at this time I would like to ask you, again, did you write this letter which I have just read?

Mr. WAGNER. I wish I hadn't.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. To your best knowledge and recollection, is everything that you have put into this letter true and correct?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. WELTNER. For the record, the initials "NSRP" which appear in that letter two or three times stand for National States Rights Party. Do they not?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. We will take a 5-minute recess.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken, Representatives Weltner and Clawson being present at time of recess and Representatives Weltner, Ashbrook, and Clawson when hearings resumed.)

Mr. WELTNER. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, at the time that you wrote this particular letter, were you a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir; I wasn't.

Mr. MANUEL. Had you paid any money in the form of an initiation fee or a klectokon to any individual known to you to be an official of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WAGNER. I had paid my membership in the NSRP and I had paid my membership, I believe, either prior to this or right afterwards, to Mrs. Witte for the Klan.

Mr. MANUEL. You paid a membership fee to Mrs. Witte?

Mr. WAGNER. Correct.

Mr. MANUEL. For the Klan, as you understood it?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge and memory, do you know what organization this membership fee was for?

Mr. WAGNER. It was for the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, I believe, but she was going to change over into the Dixie Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and I believe I filled out two or three different forms.

Mr. MANUEL. So, in other words, you made application to more than one Ku Klux Klan organization?

Mr. WAGNER. To my knowledge, yes, sir, I did.

Mr. MANUEL. And you paid initiation fees to one organization. Is that correct?

Mr. WAGNER. Correct. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, why did you write this letter?

Mr. WAGNER. Do you want me to go into detail?

Mr. MANUEL. Well, in your own words, explain.

Mr. WAGNER. Well, after I had been arrested following Mrs. Witte's orders at Parkie Scott's farm, when she turned around and had me arrested, I had a phone call one day at home from Mr. Robert Stephens, and he told me he thought the best thing I could do as an individual, if it had been him, was to go up to Parkie Scott's farm the following weekend. There would be an initiation up there, and James R. Venable was supposed to be present. And he said he would confer, if he were me, he would confer with him as to what happened, and therefore he didn't think I would have any trouble, because Mr. Venable would take care of me.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you discuss the contents of this letter with Mr. Stephens prior to writing it?

Mr. WAGNER. Not everything in it, no, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you specifically discuss the part about the assassination plot on Mr. Morris' life?

Mr. WAGNER. Not specifically. I did say a few things to him, but I was told to keep my mouth shut.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you subsequently talk to Mr. Morris about the information contained in this letter?

MR. WAGNER. Yes, sir; I went up to Lebanon, up to the initiation, and I was talking to Verlin Gilliam, Chuck, that Mrs. Witte was downing Mr. Morris again. And he had a long talk with me, explained that they believed Mrs. Witte was a member of the Communist Party, and so forth, and had contributed to the downfall of the NAAWP, and was presently contributing to the downfall of the NSRP and to the Klan in Ohio. And I started telling him about what she had talked to me about, and he took me to his house trailer and had Mr. William Hugh Morris come over to the trailer, and asked me to tell Mr. Morris about it, and I told him about it, about everything she had asked me to do and the orders I had, and he was more or less interested in whether I would have gone through in taking his life, and, well, I explained it the best I could to him, and then I got a ride back to Columbus with Mr. Stephens. And I got a call some time later, Mr. Stephens asked me to fill out a document, he would talk to Mr. Morris and Mr. Morris wanted a document stating as such what I told him in the trailer, told him already.

I got Mr. Morris' phone number in Georgia from him. I called Mr. Morris. Mr. Morris told me to fill it out and take it to an attorney and have him put it on legal paper and notarize it and they would pay for it. Then I called Verlin Gilliam and told him, and he says, "Don't take it to an attorney, because they would probably turn it over to the authorities."

He said, "You write it out and sign it and give it to me, and I will take care of it."

And so I—

MR. MANUEL. And so you wrote this letter and turned it over to Mr. Gilliam?

MR. WAGNER. Correct?

MR. MANUEL. To your knowledge, did Mr. Gilliam read this letter or in any way make it available to Mr. Morris?

MR. WAGNER. To my knowledge, he read it, or he told me he read it, to Mr. Morris and Mr. Stephens, in their presence. Mr. Morris did thank me for writing it, so therefore I knew he had read it, or had it read to him.

MR. MANUEL. As a matter of fact, Mr. Wagner, did you not take an oath for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan from Mr. Morris after you had written this letter?

MR. WAGNER. Yes, sir, I had.

MR. MANUEL. And where was that, sir?

MR. WAGNER. In Akron.

MR. MANUEL. And approximately how long after you had written this letter did you take the oath to become a Klan member?

MR. WAGNER. I can't tell you.

MR. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Wagner, when did you first meet Mr. Gilliam?

MR. WAGNER. Like I said, at Parkie Scott's farm, at that initiation.

MR. MANUEL. Did you know at that time that Mr. Gilliam was a member of the Ku Klux Klan?

MR. WAGNER. No, I did not, but he was at the initiation, and the initiation is strictly Klansmen.

MR. MANUEL. Did you subsequently find out that he was a member?

MR. WAGNER. Subsequently; yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. And how did you find this out?

Mr. WAGNER. Through talking with him.

Mr. MANUEL. He told you that he was a member?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he ever tell you that he was an officer of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you have any conversation with Mr. Gilliam concerning a plot to commit any acts of violence?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, I did; several times.

Mr. MANUEL. Several times. Did you as a matter of fact accompany Mr. Gilliam to the State of Georgia for the purpose of picking up a quantity of dynamite?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. MANUEL. When did you first learn that you were going to go to Georgia to pick up dynamite? Approximately, Mr. Wagner?

Mr. WAGNER. Early July, or late June, but I didn't know it was going to be Georgia.

Mr. MANUEL. You didn't know you were going to Georgia at the time you left to pick up dynamite? Is that your testimony?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you explain to the committee what conversation took place between yourself and Mr. Gilliam prior to your going to the State of Georgia to pick up dynamite?

Mr. WAGNER. Well, it was right after I had met him at the initiation, and he stopped by my apartment one day and he was talking to me about Mrs. Witte, and so forth, the literature I had. I wasn't a Klansman, but I had stacks of Klan literature and applications for membership, and so forth, and I turned some of it—not all of it, some of it—over to him, because I wasn't supposed to have it, and he asked me if I would go on a trip for him. I said yes, I would, and he told me, asked me if I had a car and I had a '55 Plymouth at the time, and I said yes, and I told him, and he said, "Do you think that could go two or three hundred miles?" And I said, "I think it could." And he said, Well, if I didn't, it was a possibility he could get me a car off of his lot, and so forth.

I asked him which way I was going, and I believe he told me east, and I asked—

Mr. WELTNER. I am sorry, I can't hear you.

Mr. WAGNER. I asked him which way I was going, and I believe he said east, and I asked someone which way that was, and they said more or less towards Detroit.

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, he asked you to take a trip.

Mr. WAGNER. Correct.

Mr. MANUEL. But he did not tell you the purpose for which you were going to go on the trip?

Mr. WAGNER. Correct.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, at that time, was Mr. Gilliam in the automobile business?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, he was.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he have access to cars?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, he did.

Mr. MANUEL. O.K. Now, subsequently, did you accompany Mr. Gilliam on a trip?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, would you please explain to the committee what happened from the time you left Columbus until you arrived in Georgia? Very briefly.

Mr. WAGNER. Well, I wasn't given the O.K., or Chuck wasn't given the O.K. for me to take the trip, because I was not known.

Mr. MANUEL. Now you say Chuck was not given the O.K.?

Mr. WELTNER. Chuck is Mr. Verlin Gilliam?

Mr. WAGNER. Correct.

Mr. MANUEL. From whom was this O.K., as you put it, supposed to come?

Mr. WAGNER. I believe Hugh Morris or James Venable.

Mr. MANUEL. And on what basis do you say that?

Mr. WAGNER. Well, I later talked to Chuck about the dynamite, and it seemed that Mr. Morris was head of the shipments, or the first shipment, and was going to be head of the later shipments.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, at the time that you made this trip, Mr. Wagner, did you know Mr. Gilliam to be affiliated with or to be a member of an organization known as the Black Shirts?

Mr. WAGNER. Not at the time, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you know any member of the Black Shirts?

Mr. WAGNER. Well, I had met them, but I didn't know they were Black Shirts. I didn't know a Black Shirt from a white shirt at the time.

Mr. MANUEL. In other words, you found out subsequently that there was an organization known as the Black Shirts; is that correct?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you ever a member of that organization?

Mr. WAGNER. No, I wasn't a member, but I was affiliated with it.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Wagner, would you please proceed in telling the committee what happened from the time you left Columbus until you reached Georgia?

Mr. WAGNER. Would you like to read my FBI statement?

Mr. MANUEL. As a matter of fact, have you not made a statement concerning your activities in this regard to another Federal agency?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you?

Mr. WELTNER. The witness is handing a document to the investigator.

Is this, Mr. Wagner, a copy of the statement which you made?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir; I gave that to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. WELTNER. And are the statements contained therein true and correct?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, suppose to save time, Mr. Manuel, you read the statement at this point.

Mr. MANUEL. All right. [Reading:]

I, Daniel Norikonk Wagner, make the following statement of my own free will to Robert F. Mahler and Francis X. Fust, Jr., who have identified themselves to me as Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I

have been told at the beginning of this interview that I have the right to say nothing and that anything I do say can be used against me in court. Mr. Mahler has told me that I have the right to an attorney. I already have an attorney and have been told by Mr. Mahler that I have the right to have my attorney present. I understand this. I would like to have a copy of this statement furnished to my attorney. I have been advised by Mr. Mahler that this will be done. No threats or promises of reward have been made to me to obtain this statement.

I was born April 11, 1946, at Baltimore, Maryland, and my most recent address was 754 Robinwood Ave., Whitehall, Ohio. I have completed eight grades of school.

During July, 1965, Verlin Gilliam, who I called Chuck, had planned to take me with him on a trip away from Columbus, Ohio. I did not know the reason for the trip.

Early on Saturday afternoon, possibly July 10, 1965, Chuck and I left Columbus, Ohio, in a 1963 dark blue Pontiac Grand Prix two-door, with dealer tags, which car Chuck obtained from the used car lot of his employer, Paul Crim. With this car we pulled a small house trailer which Gilliam owned and kept at the rear of his house, 433 Voeller Ave., Grove City, Ohio. About 6 or 7 o'clock the same evening we arrived at a town in Kentucky, the name of which I do not know. Chuck dropped me off at a bar and returned less than one hour later without the trailer. Chuck joined me at the bar, but stayed only a few minutes and then left again saying he was looking for his wife to let her know that he had dropped the trailer. Chuck left the trailer in this area where his wife was visiting relatives and was for the purpose of having a place for Chuck and his wife and children to sleep. Chuck returned a short time later and picked me up. We had several beers and bought some to take with us in the car.

Chuck and I drove the Pontiac through Kentucky into Tennessee, where, during the night, we stopped and slept several hours in the car. We awoke about 6 a.m. Sunday, July 11, 1965, drove for a while until we reached the Johnny Reb Restaurant, probably located somewhere in Georgia, where we had breakfast. This was about 8 a.m. After breakfast, we drove to Stone Mountain, Georgia, looked at it, and then drove to a town nearby and stopped at a white frame building which had a red cross on the top. There was another cross on the top but it was lying down. The paint on the crosses looked like the kind that glows in the dark. On the front of the building was a sign which identified the building as the office of James R. Venable, and also had the words "United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

Mr WAGNER. Excuse me. Here I believe there is a mistake there. There is two mistakes there. I believe that is National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. I made the statement from memory.

Mr. MANUEL. And your subsequent testimony is that the sign read, "National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?"

Mr. WAGNER. I believe so.

Mr. MANUEL. [Continues reading:]

Chuck went into the building but came out immediately afterwards and said he did not find Venable.

This building was located on the corner across from a service station and a lunch room. Chuck bought gas at the service station and then parked the car in front of the lunch room on the other corner. We stayed about an hour in the lunch room. Then Chuck made a telephone call. We were waiting for someone but I do not know who they were.

About 10 a.m. three men arrived in a yellow colored Chevelle automobile, further description and license number unknown to me. There could have been some damage to the right rear quarter panel of this car. These men are described as follows:

Number 1 man—white, male, six feet tall, medium build, in late thirties, dressed in black trousers, black shirt with buttons down the front, black ankle top boots, no hat, dirty looking. He wore a gun in a holster on his right side, description of gun not known.

Number 2 man—white, male, five feet ten inches to six feet tall, early 20's, black trousers and shirt, black ankle top boots, light brown or tan felt hat with

the sides curled up, and very dirty looking. He carried a .45 caliber automatic pistol in a holster at his side and a clip in his rear pants pocket.

Number 3 man—white, male, five feet two inches to five feet five inches tall, medium build, noticeable stomach, early 20's, dressed in black trousers and shirt, very dirty looking. He wore a gun, description unknown, in a holster at his side.

It appeared to me that Chuck and these men knew each other. I do not remember that any names were mentioned, but they exchanged a type of handshake which I know to be a recognition signal among members of the Ku Klux Klan. These men passed out some brown and yellow colored capsules which they swallowed but the ones I was given I did not take until later. I believe the pills were to keep us awake. I do not recall what conversation took place among these men and Chuck.

We stayed in the lunch room about five minutes then entered the cars. Chuck, the No. 1 man and I entered the Pontiac and the other two got into the Chevelle.

Both cars traveled for about half an hour to one hour until it got close to noon. We drove to an unknown town, turned off the main street to a service station which had four pumps on one island. It could have been a Phillips station, but I do not specifically remember.

I recall it had a concrete and blacktop surface, a small station office, with an inside men's room at the rear. It think it could have had one lubrication room on the left side as you faced the station. Across the street was an empty lot with high weeds, and it looked as though the lot dropped off behind the weeds. Nearby, on the same side of the street as the station, was a house which may have been the home of an attendant at the station. To the rear of the service station lot was a 1955 Chevrolet which had been wrecked.

The Pontiac and the Chevelle were parked in the rear of the station. All the men entered the station office. Three double-barreled shotguns were taken from the Chevelle. They were placed in a rack under the shelves in the office. The number 2 man showed us another double-barreled shotgun which had a split barrel and which he said had split while he was firing it. He wore a bandage on his thumb, which he said covered an injury from this incident. The barrels on the shotguns were shortened to within one-quarter of an inch of the legal length.

Present at the station when we arrived was an attendant. He and the number 2 man owned the station jointly. He looked cleaner than the others, and he had his hair crew cut. He was dressed in khaki clothing. I felt that I was being excluded from the conversation which I could not understand anyway so I went out to the Pontiac and went to sleep.

Chuck woke me later and then the six of us all left in a Ford sedan, possibly a 1949, 1950 or 1951 model, further description not known. Before we left, another man, who worked at the station and lived in a house nearby, came and took over the station.

We drove two blocks, turned left twice, and stopped at a green 2-story shingle house which looked poorly kept. The yard was full of holes and several small dirty children were running around. The gas station owner in the khaki clothes went into the house, returned in a minute or so and then we all returned to the gas station.

At the gas station Chuck took a greeting card off a shelf and read it. Everybody was laughing about it. Chuck showed it to me. It was a Happy Anniversary card but something else was written on it after the greeting, something like "happy first anniversary for a murder." The card was mailed from somewhere in Maryland. I do not know to whom it was sent, or the address on it.

At this time one of the men mentioned the word "Colonel," and the fact that they would have to stand the trial again in October. I recalled having read an article in a magazine about a Negro Army Colonel who had been ambushed and killed on the highway en route from military training to Washington, D.C. No one in this group mentioned that anyone in the group had committed this murder. I asked no questions about this.

Later in the day the numbers 1, 2 and 3 men left the station office. A little later, as I felt ill and tired, I walked to the Pontiac at the rear of the station. As I approached the car I observed the three men placing a metal milk can, which was about thirty inches high, into the trunk of the Pontiac. They were being careful in the placing of the can in the trunk. As I ap-

proached the car one of the men said I could have been shot for walking up on them like that. I felt so sick at the time I told him to go ahead and shoot me if he wanted to.

I entered the car and then returned to the station a little later. About 15 minutes later Chuck and I drove away in the Pontiac. At this time it was late in the afternoon, Sunday, July 11, 1965. We headed toward Kentucky and on the way I was so ill I vomited several times.

En route Chuck stopped the car several times to check the milk can in the trunk. I had asked Chuck several times what was in the can. He finally told me it was dynamite and I saw that it was on one or two of the occasions when we stopped to check the can. Chuck did not tell me for what purpose it was to be used. I recall that the can contained many tubular-shaped objects wrapped in nearly white wax paper. I also observed small electrical wires.

Very late on Sunday night we arrived at the town in Kentucky where we had dropped the trailer. Chuck slept overnight in the trailer with his wife and children and I slept in the Pontiac.

The next morning, Monday, July 12, 1965, Chuck hooked the trailer to the Pontiac, took one of his small children and, with me in the car, we drove to Chuck's home at Grove City, Ohio. Chuck's wife and the rest of the family travelled in Chuck's car, a 1963 Chevrolet, black, two-door sedan.

We cleaned out the trailer and the Pontiac. Chuck carried the milk can into the house and said he put it in the basement of his home at 433 Voeller Ave., Grove City, Ohio. I took a shower at Chuck's house, ate lunch with Chuck and his family and then Chuck took me home. I did not see the milk can again after Chuck carried it into the house.

I do not know exactly how, when or by whom but, sometime after we came back from Georgia, I understand that the milk can which contained the dynamite was taken to some location north of Columbus and hidden. One day Chuck and I were at this place doing some shooting. Chuck left for a little while and came back with five sticks of dynamite. He set off half of one of these sticks in the dirt roadway to show me what it would do. He first set off a large stick which appeared to be three or four times larger in diameter than the other stick. He set this off in a woods nearby. We brought the remaining four-and-a-half sticks back to Columbus, Ohio, with us and these are the four-and-a-half sticks that were found in Chuck's car following the armed robbery on August 6, 1965. Some time between August 4 and August 6, 1965, William K. Smith, of Grove City, Ohio, came to Chuck's home and picked up at least four sticks of dynamite which he took to the Coonhunters Club, a shack outside of Grove City, Ohio, and put them in some kind of a chest or a cabinet under a tree. Smith did not find the four-and-a-half sticks which were wrapped in a burlap bag and were in a drawer or chest in the house trailer behind Chuck's house. These sticks in the burlap are the ones that were found in Chuck's car later after the robbery.

The four sticks of dynamite which Smith took to the Coonhunters Club had been taped together, fused and capped. I saw them completed. It was a bomb which consisted of four sticks of dynamite. Chuck told me he had them taped together and had placed the fuse into one of the sticks.

Chuck had talked about using the bomb on some Negro organization headquarters, but he was not specific about this statement.

That, Mr. Chairman, is the end of the statement which Mr. Wagner made to the other agency.

Mr. WELTNER. The statement will be entered in the record at this point.

(Copy of statement marked "Daniel Wagner Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WAGNER. Pardon me. I will get that back?

Mr. WELTNER. Yes, the copy which you have delivered will be returned to you. The reporter will make an extract of it for insertion in the record at this point, but the document will be returned to you physically.

Mr. WAGNER. Thank you.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, Mr. Wagner, I would like to show you a photograph, and ask you, sir, if these are two of the men described in the

statement which I have just read who, to your certain knowledge, were involved in the delivery of the dynamite to yourself and Mr. Gilliam in Georgia.

(Photograph handed to witness.)

Mr. WELTNER. Let's put the question a little bit differently.

Mr. Wagner, will you kindly examine that photograph and state whether or not you have ever seen either of the two men whose pictures appear therein?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir. In my statement, the No. 1 man is marked No. 1 and No. 2 man is marked No. 2.

Mr. WELTNER. Are these two of the men that you met in Georgia on the occasion described in your statement which has just been read?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, they are.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, for the record I would like to say that Mr. Wagner has identified as the No. 1 man Earl Holcombe, H-o-l-c-o-m-b-e, and Raymond McGriff, M-c-G-r-i-f-f.

Mr. Wagner, I would like to show you another photograph, and pictured as the No. 2 man on this photograph, I ask you whether you can identify the person pictured therein.

Mr. WAGNER. The No. 2 man in both pictures is the gentleman that had the khaki clothes on. He had the station.

Mr. MANUEL. And he was also present when the dynamite was put into the car; is that correct?

Mr. WAGNER. I don't know if he was around. I don't believe he was around helping them put it in. He was present at the station; yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. I will ask the reporter to mark the photograph, the first photograph which the witness has discussed, as an exhibit; and Mr. Manuel, if you will deliver that to the reporter for that purpose.

(Photograph previously marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 7." See p. 3380.)

Mr. WELTNER. Then on the second sheet of paper are two photographs which should be marked "Wagner Exhibits Nos. 2 and 3."

Now, Mr. Wagner, you have identified the two men in the first photograph as the two men who placed the dynamite in the back of the automobile, and Mr. Manuel has identified those two individuals as Earl Holcombe and Raymond McGriff.

Now proceed with the document, Wagner Exhibit No. 2, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Wagner has identified as the person noted as No. 2 in both of these photographs, and that person is Cecil W. Myers.

(Photographs marked "Daniel Wagner Exhibits Nos. 2 and 3," respectively. Exhibit No. 2 retained in committee files; Exhibit No. 3 appears on p. 3438.)

Mr. WELTNER. That is the person identified as No. 2 in Wagner Exhibits 2 and 3?

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Manuel, would you please let the record show where those pictures were taken and what the subject of those pictures happens to be?

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Ashbrook, these photographs were taken during demonstrations in Atlanta, Georgia. Pictures were taken by the Atlanta Police Department and have been submitted to the committee by the Atlanta Police Department.

## DANIEL WAGNER EXHIBIT NO. 3



Photograph taken by Atlanta Police Department during a demonstration in Atlanta, Ga., in April 1965. No. 2 identified as Cecil W. Myers.

Mr. WELTNER. And the name of the officer of the Atlanta Police Department that delivered those photographs?

Mr. MANUEL. Lt. Morris Redding of the security squad of Atlanta Police Department.

Mr. WELTNER. And were they delivered to you?

Mr. MANUEL. They were delivered to me; yessir.

Now, Mr. Wagner, I would like to hand you a copy of a *Saturday Evening Post* article dated June 19, 1965, for the purpose of showing you a photograph on this page. The title of the article in the *Saturday Evening Post* is, "Murder: the Klan on trial."

And I should like you to examine this photograph on this page, and ask you to identify.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. WELTNER. That will be Wagner Exhibit No. 4 so we have no possibility of confusing these photographs. Let the reporter mark that first, if you would, Mr. Wagner.

Mr. WAGNER. In this picture, the gentleman on the right is the one that had the brown khaki clothes on, half-owner of the gasoline station.

Mr. MANUEL. That is the same person whom I previously identified in Wagner Exhibits Nos. 2 and 3?

Mr. WAGNER. As No. 2, right.

The gentleman to the left, the little fat guy, he later came into the station.

Mr. WAGNER. But he was present, to your knowledge, on your trip to Georgia?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Now the name of the individuals appearing in Wagner Exhibit 4, Mr. Manuel?

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Wagner has just identified the gentlemen. The gentleman on the right whom Mr. Wagner has identified is Cecil W. Myers, and the gentleman whom Mr. Wagner referred to as the "little fat guy" is Mr. Joseph Howard Sims.

And let the record show also, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Sims and Mr. Myers, as outlined in this article, stood trial for the murder of Colonel Penn in Georgia, the murder having occurred in Georgia in July of 1964.

Mr. WELTNER. Let's get the record straight. These were subsequently acquitted of the charge of murder, and that is the present posture of the murder charge. The document, the photograph, will be placed into the record. Is there any value in placing the newspaper article in? Just the photograph there will be included in the record at this point.

(Photograph marked "Daniel Wagner Exhibit No. 4" appears on p. 3440.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Manuel, there was a statement regarding a card, I believe he said, an anniversary card, "happy anniversary" of the murder. Would that time be fairly significant on the Penn case?

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Ashbrook, the facts are that Mr. Wagner and Mr. Gilliam were on this trip to Georgia on July 10 and 11, I believe, Mr. Wagner?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. 1965. The Penn murder occurred the exact date in July, July 11, 1964.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Strange coincidence.

Mr. MANUEL. So that it would be 1 year to the day.

Mr. WELTNER. The card was postmarked from a city in Maryland?

Mr. WAGNER. The State of Maryland. The city, I don't know.

Mr. WELTNER. It had a Maryland postmark, but you do not recall the city?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. All right.

Mr. WAGNER. The reason I remember it was Maryland was because I was from Maryland, you know, and a bunch of nigger-lovers down there, you know.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, have you ever seen these men again since your trip to Georgia?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir; not that I know of.

Mr. MANUEL. Now do you have any knowledge as to the disposition of the dynamite, any knowledge other than what was stated in the letter, your statement to the FBI?

DANIEL WAGNER EXHIBIT NO. 4  
[Saturday Evening Post, June 19, 1965]

# Murder: the Klan on trial

A cultured, enlightened city thought of its Klansmen as harmless crackpots. Then came shots in the night, a confession—and an acquittal.



By WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE

*Klansmen Joseph Sims (left) and Cecil Myers were tried for the Althea murder. An all-male white jury acquitted them.*

Do you have any knowledge of the disposition of the dynamite other than what we have put into the record?

Mr. WAGNER. You mean what it was going to be used for?

Mr. MANUEL. I mean what happened to it.

Mr. WAGNER. What happened to it? I believe it was taken to Chuck's parents' farm. Now I am not positive. I didn't see it. But we were there, and they did get some of the dynamite from a woodshed, I believe, and we did ignite some of it.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Gilliam ever show you how to ignite or explode dynamite?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir; he did.

Mr. MANUEL. With explosion demonstrations actually performed by Mr. Gilliam?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you give the committee your knowledge on how these were demonstrated?

Mr. WAGNER. Well, of the dynamite I saw, there was one large stick. It was maybe three or four times the size of the other sticks. Either him or his father set that off in a wooded area, where a fox was supposed to be staying. Then Mr. Gilliam broke a normal stick, I guess it is a normal stick, the size of the rest of them, or cut it in

half, and hooked it up with an electrical wiring, and electrical cap, and set it on the battery of his car. We buried it, about a foot maybe or so from the car, and set it off, and that is——

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know if there is any dynamite which Mr. Gilliam brought from the State of Georgia, which you and Mr. Gilliam brought from the State of Georgia, which has not been accounted for yet?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir, I do not.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, did you have conversations with Mr. Gilliam as to the uses to which this dynamite would be put?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee very briefly, to your knowledge, what was this dynamite going to be used for?

Mr. WAGNER. Well, that dynamite, among much more, which were supposed——was supposed to come into Ohio, along with hand grenades and weapons, and so forth——

Mr. ASHBROOK. Along with hand grenades and weapons, you say?

Mr. WAGNER. Correct. Correct. Was supposed to be used to start more or less——were more or less supposed to be used as a starting element of a civil war within this country.

Mr. MANUEL. And Mr. Gilliam explained this to you in detail?

Mr. WAGNER. I wouldn't say in depth, sir. He explained it to me, but I wouldn't start a civil war with what he explained to me.

Mr. MANUEL. Did he give you any specific objective which the dynamite which you brought back would be used for?

Mr. WAGNER. No, sir. Possibly to show others how to use it. Possibly to use a little bit.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever accompany Mr. Gilliam or anyone else for the purpose of surveilling a site which could be a potential target of the dynamite?

Mr. WAGNER. We looked over NAACP headquarters in Columbus, but maybe twice.

Mr. MANUEL. At any time, did Mr. Gilliam talk to you in terms of having you place the dynamite in front or in proximity of that building?

Mr. WAGNER. Yes, sir; or supposed to ignite it and run up to the building and throw it in, and throw it through the front window or up onto the porch, run down to the car, and take off. It was right on the main street. I don't believe that would have gone over too well. So we later talked about assembling it in a briefcase and going into NAACP headquarters or CORE headquarters. I don't know if they have one in Ohio, but I was told they do. I was told there was a Cavalier's Club in Ohio, which Cavalier's Club is a club formed by mixed marriage. You know what I mean——

Mr. MANUEL. Interracial marriage.

Mr. WAGNER. Like a colored doctor and his white wife, and so forth.

Mr. MANUEL. Now, did Mr. Gilliam ever inform you that one of the purposes of the dynamite would be to set it in a certain portion of a sewer system, or in a residential area?

Mr. WAGNER. This I never heard of any talking. Not that I can recall.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Wagner, with further regard to your statement which you made to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and concerning the person whom you called the No. 3 man, whom you described

as white, male, 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 5 inches tall, medium build, noticeable stomach, early 20's, dressed in black trousers and shirt, very dirty looking, wore a gun—description unknown—in a holster at his side, did you for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, identify a photograph of this person?

Mr. WAGNER. I believe so.

Mr. MANUEL. Was that person named Marlin Price?

Mr. WAGNER. I don't remember. Truthfully, I can't say. If I saw the picture, I could identify him. If I saw the man, I could identify him, but I mean—you know——

Mr. MANUEL. Okay.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Ashbrook, any questions?

Mr. ASHBROOK. I don't have any questions. I merely want to go on record as telling the witness we appreciate the information that he has brought. Notwithstanding anything that he has been part of in the past, I think this has been a very good experience for him and for the committee, to get this information, and I thank you for it.

Mr. WAGNER. Well, I would like to say something: I spent 3 months in jail over this and other things. And they have possibly been the best schooling I ever had, and I hope my testimony, among others, such as Mr. Stephens, will help many more in this country to acknowledge what the Klan actually is. I mean with Mr. Venable and Mr. Morris sitting here, and whomever else may be in this room, I have heard you gentlemen ask others, "Are you willing to go back to the Klan?" Or a statement such as that. I pray the Klan is banned, Buddy!

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wagner, I, as acting chairman of this subcommittee, join Mr. Ashbrook in thanking you for appearing here, Mr. Wagner, and I should like to assure you that inasmuch as you have appeared here under a subpoena to testify before a committee of the United States Congress, you are clothed with the full extent of protection as is possible under the law. The Congress has enacted severe statutes to prohibit and to punish any effort at intimidation or threats or retribution against any who testifies. I wish to make that plain to you and plain to any who may be aware of your appearance and testimony.

I, along with all the other members of this committee, am grateful for your appearance.

Mr. WAGNER. I thank you for allowing me to be here today.

Mr. WELTNER. And we will continue your subpoena until the date of March 1. This does not mean that we are anticipating recalling you, but it is continued for your protection, and you will doubtless hear from a member of our staff with regard to any further appearance.

You are still under subpoena, and I make that direction not because it is our present intention to call you back, but to continue further the protection that a witness under subpoena to a congressional committee has.

So I thank again, and you are excused with that understanding. Thank you very much, Mr. Wagner.

Mr. WAGNER. Thank you.

Mr. WELTNER. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30. Rather, it will be 2 o'clock that the committee will resume, instead of the 1:30 as previously announced.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m., Friday, February 11, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION—FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1966

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:05 p.m., Hon. Charles L. Weltner, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.)

(Subcommittee members present: Representatives Weltner and Ashbrook.)

Mr. WELTNER. The subcommittee will be in order.

Call your next witness, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff at this time would like to call Mrs. Eloise Witte.

Mr. WELTNER. The investigator has announced the name of Mrs. Eloise Witte as the next witness.

Is Mrs. Witte in the hearing room?

I will ask one of the security members on the door to sound the name out in the corridor.

Mr. Manuel, the record should be completed at this point to show the date of service of subpoena upon this witness and the place of service.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, our records reflect that Mrs. Witte was served a subpoena to appear on January 4, 1966, 10 a.m., at the committee room, 226 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., to bring with her items called for in the attached document, which is made part of this subpoena, and the subpoena was served personally on Mrs. Witte at 1654 Otte, O-t-t-e, Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, at 6:05 p.m., on the 19th of December 1965 by Ernest V. D'Amico, D-A-m-i-c-o, deputy U.S. marshal.

Mr. WELTNER. The subpoena and attachments thereto will be made a part of the record at this point.

Copy

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Congress of the United States

1220

To Eloise Witte, GREETING:

PURSUANT to lawful authority, YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to be and appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States, or a duly appointed subcommittee thereof, on January 4, 1966, at ten o'clock, a.m., at their Committee Room, 226 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C. then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee, and not to depart without leave of said committee.

YOU ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to bring with you and produce before said committee, or a duly authorized subcommittee thereof, the following: Items called for on the attached document which is made a part of this subpoena.

HEREOF FAIL NOT, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To Ernest V. D'Amico, to serve and return.

GIVEN under my hand this 10th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1965.

/s/ E. E. WILLIS,

*Chairman—Chairman of Subcommittee—Member Designate of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.*

If you desire a conference with a representative of the Committee prior to the date of the hearing, please call or write to: Staff Director, Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington 25, D.C., Telephone: Capitol 4-3121—Ext. 3051.

## ATTACHMENT

1. All books, records, documents, correspondence and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and/or the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as a present or former member and/or official of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and/or National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

2. All memoranda and correspondence between or by yourself and James R. Venable and/or William Hugh Morris, the same being officials of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

## RETURN

Subpena for ELOISE WITTE, 1654 Otte St., Cincinnati, Ohio before the Committee on the 4th day of January, 1966.

I made service of the within subpena by serving the within-named ELOISE WITTE, personally, at 1654 Otte St., Cincinnati, Ohio at 6:05 o'clock p.m., on the 19th day of December, 1965.

Dated December 20th, 1965.

In the name of Fred F. Hoh, USM, S.D. Ohio by R. A. Sack, CDUSM.

/s/ Ernest V. D'Amico,  
ERNEST V. D'AMICO,  
Deputy US Marshal.

Mr. WELTNER. Is there anyone appearing here on behalf of the witness, Mrs. Eloise Witte?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I don't know if I am in order or not, but Mrs. Witte stays on the same floor that I do, and she has had a doctor this morning.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, state your name, please.

Come forward, if you will. Are you counsel for Mrs. Witte?

Mr. MORRIS. No, sir.

My name is Mr. William Hugh Morris. I just happened to stay on the same floor and I know her; I am acquainted with her.

Mr. WELTNER. I want to make it plain that if Mrs. Witte is ill or is physically unable to attend this hearing in response to this subpena, the burden rests squarely upon her to make that fact known to this committee by a doctor's certificate.

Mr. MORRIS. I merely give you that information.

Mr. WELTNER. All right. The committee notes that a statement has been made to the effect that Mrs. Witte may be indisposed physically to attend this hearing, but that matter must await proper certification by a physician.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Weltner, I am advised that Mr. Chalmers has a statement to make in this regard.

Mr. CHALMERS. May I state to the chairman and to the other members of the committee that I spoke, and Mrs. Witte asked me to represent her several days ago. She handed me her subpena. I conferred with her. And when certain things came to my attention this morning, I returned her subpena, based on the fact that I understood that she was sick or ill, or something like that.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, you are Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., I believe.

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Attorney at law, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Are you presently representing this witness?

Mr. CHALMERS. No, sir, I am not, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. And are you making a representation to this committee at this time on her behalf?

Mr. CHALMERS. I am only stating to the committee my role in this end of it. I mean, I wanted to completely fill the committee in on, and give you an—

Mr. WELTNER. I take it you do not represent the witness at this moment.

Mr. CHALMERS. No, sir, I do not.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, sir. Thank you, Mr. Chalmers.

The record, therefore, is completed by the sounding of the name of the witness, the entering into the record of the subpoena, and the committee notes that there may be some question which it may pass on at some future time, upon proper certification to the physical condition of the witness.

However, at this point, that matter has not come before the attention of the committee, and the burden rests fully upon the witness to explain her failure to attend in response to the mandate of the subpoena of this committee.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, I think the record also ought to show that Mrs. Witte received a telegram dated December 23, 1965, which reads as follows:

Under continuing authority of subpoena served upon you, your appearance before Committee on Un-American Activities is hereby postponed from January 4, 1966 to Wednesday, January 26, 1966 ten a.m., 441A Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

She received another telegram dated January 13, 1966, which states as follows:

Under continuing authority of subpoena served upon you, your appearance before Committee on Un-American Activities is hereby postponed from January 26, 1966 to Thursday, February 10, 1966 ten a.m., 441 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Both telegrams under the name of Edwin E. Willis, chairman.

Mr. WELTNER. All right. Those telegrams will be made a part of the record.

Mr. WELTNER. Call your next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, we would like to call at this time Mr. Verlin U. Gilliam.

Mr. WELTNER. Raise your right hand, please, Mr. Gilliam. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GILLIAM. Yes, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF VERLIN U. GILLIAM

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, would you state your full name for the record, sir?

Mr. GILLIAM. Verlin U. Gilliam.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Gilliam, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. GILLIAM. I have been advised by counsel; yes.

Mr. WELTNER. The Chair wishes to advise you that you have a right to be represented by counsel in this proceeding and that you have the right, at any time during the course of the proceedings, to ask for a suspension long enough to obtain counsel.

You also have the right under the Constitution to refuse to answer any questions which you feel might incriminate you under any State or Federal statute, and I inquire as to whether or not you desire counsel at this time.

Mr. GILLIAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you desire counsel at this time?

Mr. GILLIAM. No, sir. I thought you said—just reverse that.

Mr. WELTNER. All right. You wish to proceed without counsel at this time?

Mr. GILLIAM. Right.

Mr. WELTNER. You understand that you have the right to refuse to answer any question that you feel may tend to incriminate you?

Mr. GILLIAM. Right.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, sir.

Proceed, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, are you appearing before the committee this afternoon in accordance with a subpoena served upon you at 3:45 o'clock p.m. on the 6th day of January 1966, which subpoena was served at the Franklin County, Ohio, jail, by committee investigator Neil E. Wetterman?

Mr. GILLIAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, would you give the committee the date and place of your birth?

Mr. GILLIAM. March 15, 1935, Portsmouth, Ohio.

Mr. MANUEL. And what is your current residence?

Mr. GILLIAM. 36 East Fulton, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, were you in such a position in the hearing room today as to be able to hear the testimony of Bobby J. Stephens and also Daniel Wagner?

Mr. GILLIAM. Part of it.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you hear the full and the complete testimony of Daniel Wagner?

Mr. GILLIAM. I wouldn't say full and complete. All I wanted to listen to, really, I heard.

Mr. ASHBROOK. What was that?

Mr. GILLIAM. All I cared to hear is what I heard.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, Mr. Stephens testified that he knew you to be a member of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. I ask you, sir, did you ever hold membership in that organization?

Mr. GILLIAM. I will take the fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam further testified that he knew you to be the klaliff or vice president of a Klavern in Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. GILLIAM. You say Mr. Gilliam testified?

Mr. MANUEL. I am sorry. Mr. Stephens testified to that. Excuse me. That you, Mr. Gilliam, held the position of klaliff or vice president of that Klavern.

Is that testimony correct?

Mr. GILLIAM. I would say that it has fallacy. It may be correct to a certain degree. It just depends on whether you want to say

that this was a legal procedure or an illegal procedure according to the constitution and bylaws of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, did you ever hold the position of klaliff of that Klavern?

Mr. GILLIAM. You mean really legally, or illegally. You don't care which?

Mr. MANUEL. Well, you state your answer and then make any explanation you want to the committee.

Mr. GILLIAM. I was unofficially appointed to the position of klaliff or vice president of this particular chapter; yes.

Mr. MANUEL. And who made the appointment?

Mr. GILLIAM. I really don't remember.

Mr. MANUEL. Well—

Mr. GILLIAM. At that particular time, I think that perhaps Mr. Harvey.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey made the appointment?

Mr. GILLIAM. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. And what position did Mr. Harvey have at this time within the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. GILLIAM. You see, you are asking me a question that I am not really capable of answering, because I don't know by a fact that he had any particular legal position or official position at all. I think that everybody acted more or less in their own behalf and accepted positions agreed upon by each other.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Could I ask a question at that point?

Maybe you wouldn't know what he legally held, but what did he hold himself out, or what was reputed to be his position?

Mr. GILLIAM. Well, I would rather not say that. I will let him answer that, if he wants to.

Mr. ASHBROOK. We are asking you, what did Mr. Harvey hold himself out to the public as, rightly, wrongly, legally, illegally? You certainly know what he represented himself to be. You could answer that question.

Mr. GILLIAM. How do you know that I do?

Mr. WELTNER. Well, Mr. Witness, you have a right to refuse to answer any question—

Mr. GILLIAM. I think that's the best thing to do right now, just take the fifth amendment on this particular question, because I certainly don't want to give testimony as far as involving somebody else.

I don't have the slightest idea what this man is going to say, and couldn't care less, really, but I don't know what his position is, whether it was official or unofficially, legally or illegal, so—

Mr. WELTNER. Well, you have the right to refuse to answer any question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate you, and if you desire to take and exercise that right, that is all you need do. But otherwise, you must answer the questions propounded to you.

Mr. GILLIAM. I think that this Mr. Manuel here, and the entire committee, is well aware of the fact that I have legal actions pending in the State courts and I think, too, that they can readily understand that any testimony or answers to questions that I may give here today would tend to jeopardize my position or tend to prejudice my chances

in the State courts. And I feel that regardless of what the questions are from this point on, I would just as soon to invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. That is your privilege, and this committee will protect that privilege. But if you wish to invoke the fifth amendment, that must be done by you in response to the questions, so I will direct the investigator to propound the question once again, and the witness must either answer it to the best of his knowledge, or he must rely upon his constitutional privilege.

Mr. MANUEL. I believe the pending question came from Mr. Ashbrook.

Mr. WELTNER. The question as phrased by Mr. Ashbrook was, What was your understanding of the position that Mr. Harvey held in the Klan organization?

Mr. GILLIAM. That's the question?

Mr. WELTNER. That's the question.

Mr. GILLIAM. I think perhaps he assumed a position, or perhaps it was merely rumored that he held a particular position, of Grand Dragon in the State.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is an adequate response. Thank you.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, proceed, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, were you present at a rally and subsequent meeting on the weekend of September 5 and 6, 1964, at Tucker, Georgia? Were you present at a rally of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you receive an initiation into the National Knights—

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you wait until I finish my question, sir?

Did you receive an initiation into the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan on either September 5 or 6, 1964?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. So the record will be clear, when the witness states in response to a question, "fifth amendment," this committee understands that you are refusing to answer, reserving your right under the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

You need say nothing further than that.

Mr. GILLIAM. Very well.

Mr. WELTNER. Go ahead, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, did you attend meetings of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Columbus, Ohio, from the period September 1964 to December 1964?

Mr. GILLIAM. I wish to invoke the fifth amendment on the grounds that my answers perhaps would be incriminating.

Mr. WELTNER. I hope the witness understands me. I am saying that all you need to say is, "fifth amendment," if you desire. We understand, when you say those two words, "fifth amendment," that this is—

Mr. GILLIAM. This is exactly what I said before, and I thought you wanted a more explicit answer.

Mr. WELTNER. No, I am stating for the record that we accept the—

Mr. GILLIAM. Very well.

Mr. WELTNER. —two words, "fifth amendment," as a full reservation of your rights under that amendment of the Constitution.

All right, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. GILLIAM. Thank you.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, do you possess any knowledge of an organization known as the Black Shirts, also known by the name of the Enforcers?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever hold a position as the enforcer for the State of Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. That's a ridiculous question, but I will still take the fifth amendment on it.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you ever a member of an organization known as the Black Shirts?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Would you tell us why, if it is a ridiculous question, an honest answer would incriminate you?

Mr. GILLIAM. An honest answer would be incriminating? Perhaps only due to the fact that he is assuming that the previous testimony that has been given by Bob Stephens and also by Daniel Wagner to be fact.

Now, as far as arguing here at this hearing, I don't understand that—this is not a court hearing, and we are not here to argue one case against another case.

If this were true, in any circumstance, I would say that I did not or have not, never have been, perhaps never will be, a member of the Black Shirts.

Now, I can't really say this, because there is no way, there is no defense, in my mind, against a figmentation of somebody's imagination. And this is exactly what the past two fellows here that has testified, that's exactly what it is—figment of imagination.

Mr. WELTNER. Very well.

Now, Mr. Manuel, in view of that, proceed to the testimony of the other two witnesses, and lay aside the preliminary matters.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, as we know, Mr. Wagner testified that he, in the company of Mr. Gilliam, went to a destination in the State of Georgia and picked up a quantity of dynamite from persons whom Mr. Wagner identified by photographs, and that was done on July 10 and 11, 1965. And I would ask Mr. Gilliam if he did, in the company of Daniel Wagner, so travel to the State of Georgia on the date indicated.

(At this point Mr. Clawson entered the hearing room.)

Mr. GILLIAM. I haven't the slightest idea whether this was the correct date or not. I do know that I have made various trips to various places with Daniel Wagner.

As far as the accuracy of his statements there, they are very inaccurate.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, did you on any trip with Daniel Wagner to the State of Georgia pick up a quantity of dynamite from other persons?

Mr. GILLIAM. This is exactly his statement, and I said that they are inaccurate.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, the question was——

Mr. GILLIAM. No.

Mr. WELTNER. All right. Propound your question again, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Let me rephrase the question, Mr. Weltner.

Have you ever brought a quantity of dynamite from the State of Georgia into the State of Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, your next question, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. All right, sir, just 1 minute.

Mr. Gilliam, I would like to show you a photograph which was also exhibited to Mr. Wagner, and ask you if you can identify the persons pictured in that photograph.

Mr. WELTNER. That photograph has been identified as Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 7. (See p. 3389.)

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

(Photograph handed to witness.)

Mr. GILLIAM. I will take the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know the persons pictured in this photograph to be Earl Holcombe and Colbert Raymond McGriff?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever receive a quantity of dynamite from Earl Holcombe and Colbert Raymond McGriff?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment, also.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Cecil William Myers and Joseph Howard Sims?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Marlin Price?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Earl Holcombe, Ray McGriff, Marlin Price, Cecil William Myers, and Joseph Howard Sims to be members of the National Knights of the Ku Klu Klan?

Mr. GILLIAM. I do not know that; no.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know them to be members of an organization known as the Black Shirts?

Mr. GILLIAM. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever attended meetings of any Klan organization in the company of either Holcombe, McGriff, Price, Myers, or Sims?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Did Mr. Holcombe, Mr. McGriff——

Did Mr. Holcombe ever admit to you being a member of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. GILLIAM. You are assuming that I have had conversation with this gentleman by asking me that question.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness will answer the question.

The question is——

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Now, the witness will suspend just a minute.

The question was whether or not Mr. Holcombe or Mr. McGriff ever admitted to the witness that Holcombe or McGriff was a member of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Answer the question.

Mr. GILLIAM. My answer was this: He is assuming after I stated plainly that I did not know at any time, or wish to take the fifth amendment on the questions he asked prior to this. He is assuming that I have had conversations with these gentlemen, and I have told him there that I have taken the fifth amendment.

I haven't identified these gentlemen, or anything else. Now, how can he say that the gentleman has had conversations with me, or ask me a question as far as conversation is concerned?

I have stated that I have taken the fifth amendment on identifying these gentlemen. How can he expect me to answer the question?

Mr. WELTNER. You have the privilege of taking the fifth amendment.

Mr. GILLIAM. I just did.

Mr. WELTNER. You have the privilege of taking the fifth amendment to any question propounded to you. That privilege must be exercised with regard to each question propounded.

This question is: Has either Holcombe or McGriff ever stated to you that either one of those was a member of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

That's the question, and the Chair directs the witness to answer.

Mr. GILLIAM. No.

Mr. WELTNER. Proceed to the next question.

Mr. MANUEL. To your certain knowledge, has either Earl Holcombe or Ray McGriff acted in the capacity of a degree team for the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, has Earl Holcombe or Ray McGriff given the oath by which persons were initiated into the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you at any time in July travel to the State of Georgia?

Mr. GILLIAM. What year?

Mr. MANUEL. 1965.

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. What contact, if any, did you have with either Colbert Raymond McGriff or Earl Holcombe prior to your trip to Georgia in July of 1965?

Mr. GILLIAM. You are making an awful lot of assumptions.

Mr. MANUEL. I am relying on the testimony of Mr. Daniel Wagner.

Mr. GILLIAM. That is right, you are relying—

Mr. WELTNER. Well, let's have that question rephrased.

Did you have any contact with Holcombe or McGriff prior to any trip to Georgia in the year 1965?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, as I understand it, you stated that, from what you have heard in the hearing room this morning, Mr. Wagner's testimony was filled with what you called inaccuracies. I invite you at this time to point out to the committee any detail or any fact which Mr. Wagner narrated which you know to be a falsehood.

Mr. GILLIAM. I would say particularly, now, as I said before, too. I am not here—and I think I have been advised by you previously

that this is not a court hearing—I am not here to argue with Daniel Wagner or the committee—and I am not here to try to defend myself against accusations that he or Bob Stephens has made.

As far as some of the fallacies, as far as some of the inaccuracies of his statements, some of the truths that should be pointed out, I will be glad to point out, especially so in Bob Stephen's testimony concerning the letter of assassinations.

The only reason that I am particularly interested in pointing out a particular truth in his testimony is because the way he give the testimony, it seems as though he is trying, or he and Wagner together is trying to put a particular burden on me.

The particular truth that I have reference to is the fact that he, in the presence of Mr. Hugh Morris and myself, at his home, was read a letter that was composed by Daniel Wagner concerning the assassination plots, his conspiracy with, supposedly with Mrs. Witte of Cincinnati, and I read this letter.

It was in my possession and I did not give it to Hugh Morris. It was written for him, and my purpose for holding on to the letter, as I explained very thoroughly to Mr. Morris and to Bob Stephens, that I did not want to trust it in anyone's hands, because of the danger that it could do to Daniel Wagner.

I was solely trying to protect Daniel Wagner's interest. I explained to Mr. Morris that it isn't a matter of distrust to you.

I says, "I just don't think that anybody should have it in their hands to use over Daniel Wagner." I says, "He knows me, and I know him. I think he can trust me a little more than he can Bob Stephens," which he even told me that he could.

This is a fact that I wanted to clear up.

Bob Stephens is sitting here right now, and I think he can remember very plainly that I did mention the fact that I didn't want anybody to use this letter over Danny Wagner.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, you stated that you read the letter to Mr. Morris and to Mr. Stephens. Is that correct?

Mr. GILLIAM. That is right.

Mr. MANUEL. Could you explain, to your certain knowledge, some time after this letter was read to Mr. Morris and Mr. Stephens, was Daniel Wagner initiated into the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, at Akron, Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. I would rather take the fifth amendment on that. I don't really know.

Mr. MANUEL. And did Mr. William Hugh Morris himself administer the oath to Mr. Wagner?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, I show you a copy of the letter to which I am sure you are referring and ask you if this is a true copy of the letter which you had in your possession.

Mr. WELTNER. That is a previous exhibit?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. GILLIAM. This appears to be a copy of the actual letter; yes.

(Document previously marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 5." See pp. 3398-3407.)

Mr. MANUEL. From whom did you get this letter?

Mr. GILLIAM. Wagner.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you have any conversation with Mrs. Eloise Witte with regard to the contents of this letter?

Mr. GILLIAM. No, I didn't.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you have any conversation with Mr. William Hugh Morris, other than what you have described, about the contents of this letter?

Mr. GILLIAM. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Could you tell the committee what Mr. William Hugh Morris' reaction was when you read him this letter?

Mr. GILLIAM. He was just as shocked as I was.

Mr. MANUEL. To your knowledge, was any disciplinary action taken by the Klan or by Mr. Morris as Emperor of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, either against Mr. Wagner or Mrs. Witte?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Gilliam, have you ever had any conversation with Daniel Wagner in regard to the use of dynamite in the State of Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. Illegally, no.

Mr. WELTNER. What was that question?

Mr. MANUEL. I said——

Mr. WELTNER. What was the answer?

Mr. MANUEL. He said, "Illegally, no," and I would invite his explanation to the committee of that answer.

Would you explain to the committee what you mean by, "Illegally, no"?

Mr. GILLIAM. He made certain statements that I will say are falsehoods, and that will be the extent of my answer. And you are aware of what his statements are, of course.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, specifically, did you ever discuss the use of dynamite against the headquarters of the NAACP in Columbus, Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. You did not?

Mr. GILLIAM. No, I did not.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever accompany Daniel Wagner to the site of that building and discuss the use of dynamite against it?

Mr. GILLIAM. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you had any conversation with Earl Holcombe concerning the use of dynamite in the State of Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you had any conversation with Ray McGriff concerning the use of dynamite in the State of Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you had any conversation with Cecil William Myers in that regard?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Similarly, have you had any conversation with Joseph Howard Sims with——

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. —regard to the use of dynamite in the State of Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you had any conversation with Marlin Price with regard to the use of dynamite in the State of Ohio?

Mr. GILLIAM. Fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Gilliam, this committee is aware that you are appearing here without counsel. We also note that on some matters you have responded and on some you have claimed your constitutional privilege.

We do not intend to pursue the question of whether or not that privilege has been waived, and I think no member of this committee desires to press that matter any further, because you are not appearing here with counsel.

I would like to give you at this time an opportunity to respond specifically, if you so desire, to the testimony of prior witnesses this morning concerning the trip to the State of Georgia and certain transactions with men identified as Holcombe and McGriff.

You have that opportunity to respond, to state any matter that this committee might feel relevant about that, to affirm or deny or qualify or explain that, if you so desire.

Mr. GILLIAM. I think that, first of all, you are questioning me, and perhaps you are questioning, or I don't know whether you are going to question these particular people you are referring to or not, or Mr. Morris or Mr. Venable.

Thus far, I have heard the testimony of two people that has implicated me in, I would say, illegal maneuvers, or at least talking of illegal actions to be taken with dynamite, and so forth. And these same people that you are referring to are the same people supposedly that I was in touch with, or involved with, some way or another.

I think it is only fair that perhaps you should check and verify the credibility or perhaps the believability of both Daniel Wagner and Robert Stephens.

I think that you questioned Wagner quite thoroughly, as far as criminal record is concerned, or juvenile record, so forth and so on.

Of course, this doesn't enter into this hearing at all, but there is one thing that does enter into this hearing, as far as the credibility or believability of Mr. Wagner, and that is the fact that he has on several occasions been referred to psychiatric examinations. I think this man has a real imagination.

I think, too, that Mr. Stephens, he has in the past—at least he has said so; in fact, he has been quite ashamed of it—he has stated that he was court-martialed while he was in the Navy for lewd and lascivious conduct.

I think this is something that should be considered as far as establishing the credibility or believability of either one of these two people.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, the committee will, as you suggest, and as it does ordinarily, undertake to consider matters affecting credibility.

I specifically am not asking you a question to which you must respond. I want to be sure that you understand you have the opportunity, at this point, if you so desire, to discuss specifically the substance of the testimony of Mr. Wagner concerning the trip to Georgia. And I would advise you that, absent other testimony which might come to the attention of the committee, we must, of necessity, rely upon the investigation as it has been developed today.

So you now have an opportunity, if you desire. If you do not, that, also, is your privilege.

Mr. GILLIAM. I understand what you are trying to get across, really. The thing of it is, you are—or the committee, I will say, is putting a lot of weight in the testimony of two people whom I question to have the ability to come before this committee, or any committee, and testify against someone else.

This is what I am questioning, and I think you have put me in a very precarious position, especially the committee knowing that I have litigation pending in the State courts.

This is definitely not fair on my part, and I can't defend myself against a figment of someone's imagination, like Bob Stephens or Daniel Wagner.

Mr. WELTNER. Well, I shall not belabor the point. You do have the opportunity, and I understand that you do not desire to avail yourself of that, which is your privilege.

Any questions by any members of the committee?

Mr. ASHBROOK. No. I would merely add, Mr. Chairman, that in many cases, talking also about the investigative reports of this committee, and we will place credibility between testimony and our investigative reports, many of which substantiate the testimony and many of which do not, so it is not merely a matter of witnesses.

I think in listening to the testimony, you know that the broad investigation has gone forward to elicit this information, so in most cases we place prime reliability on investigative reports of the adduced information.

So you don't have to worry to the extent that we only believe what other witnesses have said. Thorough investigation has gone in before these hearings started.

Mr. WELTNER. With no further questions of the witness, he will be excused.

Mr. GILLIAM. Thank you.

Mr. WELTNER. Call the name of Mrs. Witte.

Mr. MANUEL. Is Mrs. Eloise Witte present, please?

Mr. WELTNER. Call the next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff would like to call at this time Mr. James Harris.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony which you shall give to this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HARRIS. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF JIM HARRIS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, would you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. HARRIS. Jim Harris.

Mr. MANUEL. Jim Harris? Is that short for any full first name?

Mr. HARRIS. That's my name.

Mr. MANUEL. Is it not James Harris?

Mr. HARRIS. Jim Harris.

Mr. MANUEL. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Harris?

Mr. HARRIS. I am.

Mr. MANUEL. Would counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, Jr., attorney at law, Room 501, First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, are you appearing before the committee this afternoon in response to a subpoena served upon you at 5369 Bahama Terrace, Apartment 1, Cincinnati, Ohio, at 11:30 p.m. on the 1st of December 1965?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. HARRIS. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, there was an attachment to that subpoena which called upon you to produce certain books and records. Paragraph 1 of that attachment reads:

All books, records, documents, correspondence and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, and/or the Ohio Rescue Service in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as past or present member and/or officer of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. Harris, in the capacity indicated, I ask you now to produce those records.

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all documents as demanded by the committee in a subpoena dated November 10, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee any and all records requested by this committee under subpoena dated November 10, 1965, for that information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in the consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, do we have the stipulations that this witness has been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement and understands the contents thereof?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir; he is familiar with it.

Mr. WELTNER. And that the documents called for in the subpoena are called for of this witness in the representative capacity stated in the subpoena?

Mr. CHALMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Thank you.

Mr. Harris, the committee does not accept your reasons for refusing to produce the documents, and as chairman of this subcommittee, I order and direct you to produce the documents called for in paragraph 1 of the subpoena at this time.

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. You have the opportunity, if you so desire, to present to this committee any reason why you are unable to comply with the requirement of the subpoena.

There being no response, proceed to paragraph 2.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, paragraph 2 calls upon you to produce:

All memoranda and correspondence between or by yourself and James R. Venable and/or William Hugh Morris, the same being officials of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

I now ask you to produce those documents.

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Do we have the same stipulations?

Mr. CHALMERS. With respect to paragraph 2, yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Harris, I order and direct you to produce the documents called for in paragraph 2 of the subpoena.

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, what is your current occupation?

Mr. HARRIS. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel that my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, have you ever held membership in the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, have you ever held membership in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, I show you a letter signed by William Hugh Morris, which is addressed to Mr. Parkie Scott, a copy of which also went to Mr. Bobby Stephens. In this letter, Mr. Morris states as follows:

First of all let me state that after spending the Summer in Ohio trying to pick up the pieces and start the KLAN anew I felt that I had found the four men who had the necessary intelligence and ability to build the KLAN in Ohio. Those four men were and are, Harris of Cincinnati [sic], Stephens of Columbus, Annabelle [sic] of Cleveland, and Yourself—

meaning Mr. Scott—

You four, working as a team, without jealousy [sic] and friction between you can build the KLAN. With this in mind I so stated this fact before the Imperial Kloneilliam [sic] Friday night. \* \* \*

I hand you a copy of this letter, Mr. Harris, and invite your inspection of paragraph 2 of this letter, and ask you to please tell the committee whether you are the Harris of Cincinnati so named in Mr. Morris's letter.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. WELTNER. The letter is not addressed to the witness, is it?

Mr. MANUEL. I didn't say it was, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 6." See p. 3408.)

Mr. MANUEL. I show you a copy of a handwritten letter, turned over to the committee by Mr. Stephens, signed with the initials "W.H.M.," for William Hugh Morris. This correspondence came to Mr. Stephens along with his own appointment as great titan of the southern district of Ohio, and I will read this letter into the record, which states:

Dear Bob:

Finally here they are. Please forward Kd [credentials] Annabelles [sic] to him if he has joined. Otherwise hold until he does.

I believe Harris to be too hot headed for the G.D. [Grand Dragon] job at this time. Therefore I'm only appointing him a Great Titan of his Province. Also Mr. Lewis of Akron a Kleagle for his Province. I hope that this will help clear the confusion. I've told Mr. Lewis to Report to me and not to Mr. Venable for the present.

We are clear as yet in the investigation. I hope we can remain so. If we can we will be able to really go after this is all over.

Best Regards to you and yours,  
W.H.M.

I show you this letter, Mr. Harris, and ask you if the information contained in this letter, to your best knowledge, is correct.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. WELTNER. Well, ask him, rather than that, whether or not he did receive an appointment as great titan of this province at the hand of William Hugh Morris.

The question, Mr. Witness, is whether or not you were ever appointed to the office of great titan of a province in the State of Ohio by William Hugh Morris.

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Jim Harris Exhibit No. 1" appears on p. 3459.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, were you in attendance at a meeting of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan on September 5 and 6, 1965?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you appointed at that meeting to a position of Grand Dragon for the State of Ohio for the National Knights?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, were you in attendance on September 26, 1965, at a meeting held at the Holiday Inn Motel in Zanesville, Ohio, at which Mr. Robert Shelton and Mr. Bobby J. Stephens and others were present?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you participate in a discussion at that time, Mr. Harris, regarding a switchover of members of the Ku Klux Klan in your control to the United Klans of America?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

## JIM HARRIS EXHIBIT NO. 1

Dear Bob:

Finally here they are. Please forward the annuities to him if he has joined. Otherwise hold until he does.

I believe Harris to be too hot headed for the S. D. job at this time. Therefore I'm only appointing him a Great Satan of the Province also Mr. Lewis of Akron a KKKagler for his Province. I hope that this will help clear the confusion. I've told Mr. Lewis to Report to me and not to Mr. Menable for the present.

We are clear as yet in the investigation. I hope we can remain so. If we can we will be able to really go after this is all over.

Best Regards to you and yours

*W.H.M.*

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know Flynn Harvey to be the current Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America in the State of Ohio?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harris, do you have any agreement with Mr. Robert Shelton that if Mr. Flynn Harvey does not continue to hold the title of Grand Dragon for the State of Ohio that you will be named the Grand Dragon for that State?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you, since September 26, 1965, actively engaged in recruiting members in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area for the United Klans of America?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you accepted an application for the United Klans of America from Mrs. Eloise Witte?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Was Mr. Robert Annable of Parma Heights, Ohio, present at the meeting in Zanesville, Ohio, on September 26, 1965, which was also attended by Mr. Shelton?

Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Harris, you have the opportunity at this point, if you so desire, to offer any matter which the committee might deem relevant concerning any association which you might have with any of the witnesses who have previously testified here today.

You have that opportunity, if you so desire.

There being no response and no further questions by staff or members of the committee, this witness will be excused.

Call Mrs. Witte's name again.

Mr. MANUEL. Is Mrs. Eloise Witte in the hearing room, please?

Mr. WELTNER. Call your next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff would like to call at this time Mr. Robert Annable.

Mr. WELTNER. The record will reflect that there being no response upon the sound of the name of the witness, Mrs. Eloise Witte, the investigator thereupon called the name of Mr. Robert Annable.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ANNABLE. Yes, sir.

### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT W. ANNABLE

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, would you state your full name for the record, sir?

Mr. ANNABLE. Robert W. Annable.

Mr. MANUEL. I notice that you are not accompanied by counsel. I would like to ask you at this time if you desire counsel.

Mr. ANNABLE. I don't think it is necessary.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Annable, for the protection of your rights as a witness, the Chair advises you that you do, of course, have a right to counsel. You may at any time during the course of these proceedings that you desire ask for counsel, and the committee will suspend and enable you and assist you in obtaining one.

You further have a right during the course of these proceedings to refuse to answer any question which you feel may tend to incriminate you under any State or Federal statute, under your rights of the fifth amendment.

Do you understand the rights of the fifth amendment?

Mr. ANNABLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you wish to proceed without counsel at this point?

Mr. ANNABLE. Yes.

Mr. WELTNER. All right, proceed.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, are you appearing before the committee this afternoon in response to a subpoena served upon you at 10145

Eureka Parkway, Parma Heights, Ohio, at 12:10 p.m. on the 3d day of December 1965?

Mr. ANNABLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, were you in the hearing room this morning to hear the testimony of Bobby Stephens?

Mr. ANNABLE. Yes, I was.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens testified that you were present at a meeting on the 26th day of September 1965 in Zanesville, Ohio, at the Holiday Inn Motel. Is that testimony correct?

Mr. ANNABLE. The exact date I don't know, but I did attend a meeting at the Holiday Inn Motel in Zanesville. The exact date I don't remember.

Mr. MANUEL. Before getting to details of that, Mr. Annable, may I ask you, are you currently a member of either the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan or the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. ANNABLE. I am not.

Mr. MANUEL. Are you currently a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ANNABLE. I am not.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, would you please inform the committee as to your purpose of attending the meeting at the Holiday Inn Motel with Mr. Shelton?

Mr. ANNABLE. My purpose in attending that meeting was strictly as an informational project for myself. I wanted to find out what the Klan had to offer, what it stood for, and it was strictly in the form of an interview with Mr. Shelton, as many people have done before.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you receive any appointment from Mr. Shelton at that meeting?

Mr. ANNABLE. I did not.

Mr. MANUEL. Since that meeting, Mr. Annable, have you engaged in recruiting activities for the United Klans in the area of Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. ANNABLE. I have not.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you accepted any money from any person on behalf of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you accepted applications for membership?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. For the United Klans of America?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, I have not.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, have you had any conversation with Mr. Shelton other than the meeting at the Holiday Inn Motel?

Mr. ANNABLE. When?

Mr. MANUEL. At any time.

Mr. ANNABLE. Up till today? I talked to him when I met him at the Congressional Hotel.

Mr. MANUEL. From the meeting on September 26, 1965, until you talked to him at the Congressional, had you had any other conversation with Mr. Shelton?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Prior to that September 26 meeting, had you met with Mr. Shelton?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, I had not.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you had any contact with Mr. Shelton?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you had any contact or conversation with Mr. William Hugh Morris relative to the organization of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the Cleveland, Ohio, area?

Mr. ANNABLE. Yes, I had; in the form of, again, an interview to satisfy my own curiosity as to the organization and its aims.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you at any time accept an appointment from Mr. Morris as an organizer for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. ANNABLE. I believe that was answered before, but I did not accept any appointments from anyone.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever engaged in any recruiting on behalf of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. ANNABLE. I have not.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, Mr. Stephens has provided the committee a document which was mailed to him to be given to you if you joined the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which document he obtained from Mr. William Hugh Morris, the Emperor of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which states as follows, in part:

TO THE LOVERS OF LAW AND ORDER, PEACE AND JUSTICE, AND TO ALL TO WHOM OF RIGHT IT MAY CONCERN:

GREETING:

Ever Holding The Best Intrest [sic] Of The Invisible Empire, KNIGHTS Of The KU KLUX KLAN, In Mind And Heart, And Having Had Committed [sic] To Me, The Sacred Trust Of Its Government; Know Ye, That I Have This Day Created Out Of The Grand KLAN And Appointed, And As Evidenced By This Document, Do Commission, Klansman:

Robert Annabelle [sic]

Whose Address Is Parma Heights (Cleveland) Ohio. United States Of America.

A Great Titan For Province #3 Provisional Realm of Ohio. The Invisible Empire, KNIGHTS Of The KU KLUX KLAN. For The Term Ending May 30th 1966 Or Until Same Is Revoked By Me.

I will not bother with the rest of the reading of this document, Mr. Annable, but I will hand you this document and invite your inspection of it, and tell the committee whether, in light of that document, you ever received an appointment from Mr. Morris.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. ANNABLE. I think this again was answered before by Mr. Stephens, because he had this document in his hand and was to deliver it to me, if I joined the Klan.

(Document previously marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 9." See p. 3416.)

Mr. MANUEL. Well, can you explain to the committee why Mr. Morris would name you a great titan for, I believe, District 3, for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, when you were not even a member?

Mr. ANNABLE. I have not the least idea, except that probably his faith in me was what prompted this.

Mr. MANUEL. What contact did you have with Mr. Morris which prompted his, as you say, faith in you, in that matter?

Mr. ANNABLE. Well, he probably knows I am trustworthy, honest, aboveboard, and will probably uphold the aims of the Ku Klux Klan as they were intended to be, not as certain segments of the society have perverted it.

The aims of the Ku Klux Klan itself are very high. The ideals for which they stand are high. But along the way, some people have perverted these things to their own way of thinking and belief, and therefore we have this problem today. It is not the fault of the Klan itself that this thing has come about.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, have you had any discussions with Mr. Jim Harris relative to the organization of the United Klans of America in the Cleveland area?

Mr. ANNABLE. Concerning who?

Mr. MANUEL. Concerning the——

Mr. ANNABLE. Myself? What I would organize?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes.

Mr. ANNABLE. I have already stated that I did not organize any Klan in the Cleveland area.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, my question to you was, Have you had any conversation with Mr. Jim Harris relative to the organization of the Klan in the Cleveland area?

Mr. ANNABLE. This is a difficult question to answer. When you are talking to different people, certain items come up, but I can't remember specifically talking about the organization of any particular things. Things were discussed in a broad terminology.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, do you know Mr. Jim Harris to be a member of the United Klans of America?

Mr. ANNABLE. I do not know that he is a member; no.

Mr. MANUEL. What conversations have you had with Mr. Harris relative to the United Klans of America?

Mr. ANNABLE. Mainly concerning the aims—we discussed the aims during this interview—of the Klan, the principles for which they stood, Christianity.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know him to be an organizer in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area for the United Klans of America?

Mr. ANNABLE. This I do not know.

Mr. ASHBROOK. On that point, Mr. Witness, you say you did not know. I certainly can understand why in the strict legal sense you may not know, but did he represent himself to be a member of the Klan, or did he hold himself out to be a member of the Klan in any leadership capacity?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, sir; as far as I knew, he was not a member. To my knowledge, he was not a member of the Klan.

Mr. ASHBROOK. And he did not hold himself out to you as such?

Mr. ANNABLE. He did not.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, do you have in your possession, or have you had in your possession, membership blanks for the United Klans of America?

Mr. ANNABLE. That I have.

Mr. MANUEL. Where did you get those membership blanks?

Mr. ANNABLE. I believe they were mailed from Mr. Shelton's office.

Mr. MANUEL. And why did Mr. Shelton mail membership blanks of the United Klans of America to you?

Mr. ANNABLE. He probably assumed that we were going to organize the United Klans. I would imagine.

Mr. MANUEL. And why would he assume such a thing?

Mr. ANNABLE. This, I don't know, because actually there was no statement made at any time that this would be done.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever passed out those applications which Mr. Shelton mailed to you?

Mr. ANNABLE. I have given those applications to two people.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please tell the committee to whom you gave the applications?

Mr. ANNABLE. A man named Allen Rackliffe.

Mr. MANUEL. Radcliffe?

Mr. ANNABLE. Rackliffe.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you spell the last name, sir?

Mr. ANNABLE. I don't know if the spelling is correct. It is R-a-c-k-l-i-f-f-e.

Mr. MANUEL. And you said two people. Who was the other one?

Mr. ANNABLE. Bob Spate.

Mr. MANUEL. And would you spell Mr. Spate's last name?

Mr. ANNABLE. S-p-a-t-e.

Mr. MANUEL. Are those the only two people to whom you have given applications?

Mr. ANNABLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. How many applications were mailed to you by Mr. Shelton?

Mr. WELTNER. Suspend a moment.

All right, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. ANNABLE. I think there were maybe 100. I am not sure—two packages, two pads.

Mr. MANUEL. One hundred applications, approximately?

Mr. ANNABLE. I believe.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, have you ever communicated with Mr. Shelton that you would not serve as an organizer for the United Klans of America in the Cleveland area?

Mr. ANNABLE. I never told him I would, so there would be no reason for me to tell him I wouldn't.

Mr. MANUEL. Well, after he mailed you the applications, did you communicate with Mr. Shelton one way or the other, that you would or you would not?

Mr. ANNABLE. I did not.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens testified previously, Mr. Annable, that an organization known as the Northern Alliance—North American Alliance for White People was to be used as a front organization or as a membership device for the United Klans of America. Is this testimony correct?

Mr. ANNABLE. That testimony is not correct. I believe that Mr. Stephens would have elaborated further, or he could. I believe that the statement that he is referring to, he made, he asked if necessary could my organization be used for this purpose. And I am positive that I declined to use this organization in that manner.

The NAAWP has no affiliation with the Klan, is not a front for the Klan, never has been, and never will be.

Mr. MANUEL. Was this aspect discussed with Mr. Shelton at any time?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, it was not.

Mr. Stephens made this statement as we were leaving, walking out of the door of a meeting room, so it was not actually in the form of an official request. It was a suggestion or an estimate on his part that this could be done.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Annable, do you know the identity of any individual in the Cleveland area who is organizing for the United Klans of America?

Mr. ANNABLE. As far as I know, there is no one organizing in the Cleveland area.

Mr. MANUEL. To your direct knowledge, are there any Klaverns of the United Klans of America located in Cleveland, Ohio, or in the immediate area?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. To your direct knowledge, are there any Klaverns or units of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan or the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan operating in the Cleveland area?

Mr. ANNABLE. Only from what I read in the newspapers.

Mr. MANUEL. The staff has no further questions, Mr. Weltner.

Mr. WELTNER. I hope I am summarizing fairly the substance of the questions and answers here.

(At this point Mr. Ashbrook left the hearing room.)

Mr. WELTNER. As I understand it, this witness never joined any Klan organization. He did discuss the organization of the Klan in a general way with certain Klan leaders. He did come into possession of two packets of application blanks, and the extent to which he used or in any way employed those blanks was to distribute two of them.

He states further that the organization of which he is a part, the North American Alliance for White People, is in no way associated or affiliated with any Klan organization.

Do I summarize that fairly?

Mr. ANNABLE. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. All right. Is there anything you would like to add at this point? We wish to give you that opportunity, if you desire.

Mr. ANNABLE. Well, there is a lot of things I would like to add. I would like to say that, in my opinion, after interviewing the leaders of both Klans, that the only fault I can see with the Klan is that it did not screen its members to keep out the element that is causing the trouble now. They should have had a closer screen on it to stop this.

The ideals of the Klan itself are of the highest type, and anyone who has had any contact with the leaders of these organizations can surmise this for himself. These are people who have only the best interests of the Nation, the white race, at heart, and the Negro race.

These people do not advocate that the Negro race be destroyed, that the Negro race be discriminated against. All they want is to live in harmony, in a Christian nation, where our families are safe; where we do not have to lock the doors of our office buildings to keep our secretaries from being molested; where I can give my son a dollar in Cleveland to go to the ball game on Sunday afternoon without

worrying about having him knocked over the head by a gang of ruffians out to take this money from him; where my wife would be safe in going downtown shopping during the day.

I think that the aim of the Klan is one of protecting the American woman—the white American woman and the Negro American woman—from anything that may befall her by ruffians of both races.

Therefore, I, in my own opinion, in my own heart, I believe that the Klan's ideals are of the highest type and that the element that has been injected into this organization should definitely be removed, but the Klan itself should not be legislated out of business. It is a good organization, as far as I can see.

That's all I have to say.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Annable, do you advocate the use of violence? Would you countenance the use of violence to attain any worthwhile aim and goal of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. ANNABLE. I think in my statement I state that we should not have to resort to violence; that the aims of the Klan are not violent. The aims of the Klan are swearing allegiance to the Constitution of the United States; this is not violent. They swear allegiance to Jesus Christ; this is not violent. They support, uphold the sanctity of the American woman; this is not violent. I think that the Klan itself is not violent.

As I said before, there are certain elements that have entered into this, as enter into all organizations, that tend to create this atmosphere and that they should be weeded out.

Mr. WELTNER. As I understand your testimony, you did not join the Klan because the leaders did not make sufficient effort to exclude the violent elements within the Klan.

Mr. ANNABLE. I don't think I stated why I didn't join the Klan. The reason I didn't join the Klan is because basically, in my mind, there is only one way—again this is where the leadership of different organizations tends to go different paths.

In my mind, the only way to succeed in this problem we have today is through the ballot box, a political organization, and at the time I interviewed different people, there was no political action slated for Ohio. I am primarily interested in the immediate solution for Ohio.

Also, there had to be a unification in my mind of Klans. We could not have 10 or 15 different Klans throughout the country. I wanted to see a unification program. This, in my mind, would have eliminated some of the elements we are talking about from getting in, because you would have had a better organization.

Mr. WELTNER. What was the program in Ohio at the time you interviewed the leaders of the Klan organizations?

Mr. ANNABLE. I imagine that their plan for Ohio was to build an organization first and then go to the ballot box. In my opinion, I already had an organization operating in Ohio for this purpose; we could not wait. Therefore, I could see no reason to start all over again with a new organization building for the same thing we had already been building for, and that was political action. So I thought that these people, after talking to their leaders, that these people would have their organization built up in time and solve their own problems. They didn't need my help, really.

Mr. CLAWSON. Mr. Annable, you indicate the need for protection for yourself, for your family, for your boy, your secretary, American women. Do you believe that the organization of the Klan is necessary for that protection?

Mr. ANNABLE. When you cannot get this protection from your Government, from your police, then it is necessary to again nonviolently go to the ballot box, triple your police force if necessary, replace the men in office in power who take a soft attitude on rape, assault, and other crimes against the person, whether he be black or white makes no difference. A crime in my mind, a crime of physical violence against another person is the lowest type of crime in the country, but today our officials look upon this as something that we have been asking for and therefore we should be willing to suffer. This is not true. No person, white or black, should find it necessary to be afraid to walk the streets.

In the city of Cleveland people have been warned to stay off the streets after dark. In Washington, D.C., the buildings must be locked up at certain times to prevent people from getting in. Senators' secretaries have been attacked, assaulted in broad daylight and in the evening hours. This cannot continue in this country if we wish to remain a great Nation.

Mr. CLAWSON. Do I understand from your comment that you have lost confidence in the police forces and you feel the citizens should take some of this action into their own hands?

Mr. ANNABLE. No, indeed not. We should go to the ballot box, triple our police forces, not that the citizens should take it into their own hands. They should go to the ballot box to exercise their right to vote to build up a police force and support a government that will support the police in their work to prevent criminal attacks against people.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you think that the three civil rights workers who were murdered in the vicinity of Philadelphia had the same rights to walk the streets of that city as you advocate for the citizens of Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. ANNABLE. Certainly.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you think Colonel Penn had the right to drive through the State of Georgia in an automobile?

Mr. ANNABLE. Certainly.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you think Mrs. Liuzzo had the same right to drive her car along a public highway in the State of Alabama?

Mr. ANNABLE. Yes.

Mr. WELTNER. Are there any further questions?

Thank you. The witness is excused.

We will have a 10-minute recess at this point.

(Whereupon a brief recess was taken. Subcommittee members present at time of recess and when hearings resumed: Representatives Weltner and Clawson.)

Mr. WELTNER. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. MANUEL. Mrs. Eloise Witte.

Mr. WELTNER. I will ask the security men to sound the name of Mrs. Eloise Witte in the corridor.

If there is no response from Mrs. Witte, the investigator will proceed with the next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Parkie Scott, please.

Mr. WELTNER. Stand and raise your right hand, please.

Do you swear the testimony you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCOTT. I do.

Mr. WELTNER. Be seated, please.

**TESTIMONY OF PARKIE SCOTT, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
ROBERT E. WENTZ**

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, would you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. SCOTT. Parkie Scott, Rural Route 1, Oregonia, Ohio.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Would the counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. WENTZ. I am attorney Robert E. Wentz, Warren, Ohio.

Mr. MANUEL. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Wentz, has your client been furnished a copy of the chairman's opening statement back in October at the time these hearings were first initiated?

Mr. WENTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you state on his behalf that he is familiar with its contents?

Mr. WENTZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, when and where were you born, sir?

Mr. SCOTT. Cooksburg, Kentucky.

Mr. MANUEL. What was the date of your birth?

Mr. SCOTT. March 9, 1926.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you repeat it?

Mr. SCOTT. March 9, 1926.

Mr. MANUEL. Where are you currently employed?

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I will respectfully refuse to answer that question on the ground of the 1st, the 4th, the 5th, the 9th, the 10th, and the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, have you ever held membership in the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. The fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever held membership in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you hold a position—

Mr. WELTNER. Counsel, are we to understand when the witness says the fifth amendment he is relying on all the amendments which he listed in his first declination and we can shorten the form of that if he wants to say fifth amendment?

Mr. WENTZ. That is correct.

Mr. WELTNER. We will consider that reservation under the 1st, 4th, 5th, 9th, 10th, and 14th amendments of the Constitution?

Mr. WENTZ. That is correct.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, do you hold an official position in the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you hold a position in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, are you appearing today before the committee in response to a subpoena served upon you at 1:45 p.m. on the 3d of December 1965 at the Chrysler Airtemp Corporation in Dayton, Ohio, by a committee investigator, Neil Wettermann?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, the attachment to that subpoena called upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and/or the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as a present or former member and/or official of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and/or National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

Mr. WELTNER. Counsel, would you step up here a moment, please?

(Brief conference with chairman, after which witness and counsel confer.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Counsel, I ask for the documents called for in paragraph 1 of Mr. Scott's subpoena.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I decline to—

Mr. WELTNER. Just a moment. Mr. Wentz and I have already entered into the record acknowledgement that the witness has received a copy of the opening statement of the chairman. Can we stipulate that the documents called for are documents called for in a representative capacity as shown in the subpoena?

Mr. WENTZ. May I approach the bench?

Mr. WELTNER. Surely.

(Brief conference between chairman and counsel for witness.)

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WENTZ. Will you repeat the question, sir?

Mr. WELTNER. The witness has been requested by the investigator to give to this committee at this time the documents referred to in paragraph 1 of the subpoena.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, at this time I don't have any books or any records in my possession.

Mr. WELTNER. Have you had, since the date of the service of this subpoena, any documents in your possession or available to you as called for in the subpoena?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. No.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Manuel, proceed with the second paragraph of the subpoena.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, the second paragraph of the subpoena calls upon you to produce:

All memoranda and correspondence between or by yourself and James R. Venable and/or William Hugh Morris, the same being officials of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I have kept no copies.

Mr. WELTNER. Is it your testimony that you have not, subsequently to or at the time of the service of the subpoena, had in your possession or available to you any of the documents referred to or described in paragraph 2 of the subpoena?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Let me state that again.

Have you either at the time of the service of the subpoena or subsequent thereto had in your possession or available to you any of the documents referred to in paragraph 2 of the subpoena?

Mr. SCOTT. I have not.

Mr. WELTNER. Proceed, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, did you make a trip to the State of Georgia to visit Mr. James R. Venable over the New Year's holiday just passed?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you at that time bring any books or records or documents which were then in your possession to Mr. Venable?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, were you present in the hearing room this morning when Mr. Bobby J. Stephens testified?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Were you likewise present yesterday afternoon during his testimony?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens provided the committee with a copy of a letter that he received from Mr. William Hugh Morris, a copy of which very briefly Mr. William Hugh Morris says in the letter that the four men in his opinion who could best wield the Klan in the State of Ohio were Harris of Cincinnati, Stephens of Columbus, "Annabelle" of Cleveland, and yourself, and the letter is addressed to Mr. Parkie Scott.

I hand you this letter and ask you if ever you received an appointment from Mr. William Hugh Morris to an official position in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the State of Ohio.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

(Document previously marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 6." See p. 3408.)

Mr. MANUEL. Were you ever appointed to the position of kleagle or organizer for either the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan or the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the State of Ohio?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Was a rally of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held on property owned by you on May 28 and 29 of the year 1965?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

Mr. MANUEL. Were any persons who attended that rally issued application forms to join the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please advise the committee, as the result of such a rally, how many people actually did join the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please advise the committee whether contributions were solicited at that rally?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please advise the committee how much money was taken in by the Ku Klux Klan as the result of that rally?  
(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Sir, I was not in charge of any of the financial parts of that rally that was held on my farm so I don't know how much was taken in.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you realize any financial gain as the result of that rally?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, I did.

Mr. MANUEL. Would you please explain to the committee what payment was made to you and from whom?

Mr. SCOTT. I received \$1.

Mr. MANUEL. Is that the sum total of the money paid to you?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, do you maintain a bank account at the Waynesville National Bank in Waynesville, Ohio, under the name of the White Horse Agency?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. To your direct knowledge, is the account of the White Horse Agency used as a depository for the funds of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, I show you a series of checks, some made out to cash and some made out to Parkie Scott, some made out to the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in various amounts. I ask you to examine these checks and note on the reverse side that each was deposited to the White Horse Agency, Dorothy Scott, treasurer, for deposit only, and I ask you again whether the account of the White Horse Agency was used as a depository for funds of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan to your knowledge?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. WENTZ. Will counsel kindly separate the questions?

Mr. WELTNER. I believe there was only one question. The question was whether or not the White Horse Agency was ever used as a depository for funds of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I believe he asked me to examine the checks. That was the first part of the phrase of his question.

Mr. MANUEL. And tell the committee whether, to your direct knowledge, the account of the White Horse Agency was used as a depository for funds of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

(Checks marked "Parkie Scott Exhibit No. 1." One of said checks follows; balance retained in committee files.)

National Institute of Public  
Deposits of the  
White House  
Bureau, Scotland

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, I ask you to examine a check dated 10-18-1965 made payable to "Mrs. Foster" in the amount of \$330, with the notation on the check in the lower lefthand corner which says for "robes," and I ask you after examining this check to identify for the committee the Mrs. Foster to whom that check was made.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

(Check marked "Parkie Scott Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

## PARKIE SCOTT EXHIBIT No. 2

WHITE HORSE AGENCY		10
DOROTHY SCOTT		
ROUTE 1 LINCOLN RD.		
OREGONIA, OHIO		10/10 1965 56-827 422
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	<i>James Venable</i>	\$350.00
<i>Three hundred thirty</i>		350 DOLLARS
The WAYNESVILLE NATIONAL BANK		WHITE HORSE AGENCY
WAYNESVILLE, OHIO		TREAS.
<i>Dorothy Scott</i>		
⑆042200827⑆ 438 132 7⑈		⑆0000033000⑆

(Back of check not reproducible)

Mr. MANUEL. Do you know the Mrs. Foster named in that check to be known as a person known as Granny Foster, who is a national member of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan under Mr. James Venable.

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. WELTNER. I note the check contains a bank stamp of Atlanta, Georgia. Is this Mrs. Foster according to the investigation by the committee the lady known as Granny Foster who is a resident of the vicinity of Atlanta, Georgia?

Mr. MANUEL. Yes, sir, it is; that is "Granny" Foster, an associate of Mr. Venable of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. Scott, I show you another check dated 9-6-65 made payable to James Venable from the account of the Waynesville National Bank in Waynesville, Ohio, of the White Horse Agency, and I ask you to examine this check and tell the committee, to your direct knowledge, why that money was paid to Mr. Venable.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

(Check marked "Parkie Scott Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

## PARKIE SCOTT EXHIBIT No. 3

		No. 2
DATE 9/6		56-827 422
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	<i>James Venable</i>	\$127.50
<i>One hundred twenty seven</i>		127 DOLLARS
THE WAYNESVILLE NATIONAL BANK		White Horse Agency
WAYNESVILLE, OHIO		<i>Dorothy Scott, Treas.</i>
⑆042200827⑆ 132		⑆0000012780⑆

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, I show you another check made payable to the "Rite Record Production, Inc." in the amount of \$165, dated 9-10-65. The check is drawn on the Waynesville National Bank by the White Horse Agency, Dorothy Scott, treasurer, endorsed by the "Rite Record Productions, Inc.," and ask you to explain to the committee the reason for which that check was drawn.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

(Check marked "Parkie Scott Exhibit No. 4" follows:)

PARKIE SCOTT EXHIBIT NO. 4

3474

DATE 9/10/65

NO. 3

56-B27  
422

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Rite Record Production, Inc. \$165.00

One hundred sixty five 00 DOLLARS

THE WAYNESVILLE NATIONAL BANK  
WAYNESVILLE, OHIO

White Horse Agency  
Dorothy Scott, Treas.

12 22 00 00 27 10 11

COLLECTION

10 22 00 27 10 11

RITE RECORD PRODUCTIONS, INC.

12 22 00 00 27 10 11

SEP 10 1965

12 22 00 00 27 10 11

THE SOUTH STATE BANK & TRUST CO.  
Cincinnati Ohio

PAID ANY BANK, P.E.G.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you purchase, Mr. Scott, from the Rite Record Productions, Inc., copies of records made by Mr. Wally Butterworth, who was, according to our investigator, one of the original incorporators of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever resell any of the records obtained from the Rite Record company?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, I show you a letter from Mr. James R. Venable to Mrs. Albert C. Witte, at 1654 Otte Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, dated November 20, 1965:

Dear Mrs. Witte: I am in receipt of your letter dated November 10, 1965, and I am indeed sorry to learn of your illness and I trust that you are recovering from same.

Too, I am sorry to learn of any statements made by Mr. Morris concerning the matter there in Ohio. I have been waiting for a report concerning how many applications received, initiation fees, robe money and consessions [sic] as well as donations. I have not received one dime from the 3 or 4 day rally held at Parky [sic] Scott's farm this past summer. I would like to have a complete list of any and all sums of money taken in and paid out together with a list of all applicants and their addresses. The amount paid by them and to whom.

Every trip that I have made to Ohio has cost me money out of my own pocket. I paid Rev. Hill's total expense from my own funds because not one dime from that gathering from the 3 or 4 day rally was paid into the Klan.

I would appreciate it if you would give me all of the information you can on this matter and it will be held in strict confidence.

Please give my regards to the other boys and the rest of the good people. Write me all of the good news as well as bad, and, I remain,

Yours very truly,  
James R. Venable.

Mr. Scott, I ask you to examine the contents of this letter and tell the committee whether you were responsible for notifying Mr. Venable as to the number of applications received, the amount of money taken in, robes, and so forth, as Mr. Venable outlines in that letter.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, like I stated before, I didn't have anything to do with the financial parts or the robes or the money or food of this rally. This was done through, I guess, Mrs. Witte.

(Document marked "Parkie Scott Exhibit No. 5" appears on p. 3476.)

Mr. WELTNER. What did you have to do with the rally?

Mr. SCOTT. All I had to do was furnish the farm.

Mr. WELTNER. Was it your farm, your property?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And you received \$1 for permitting the rally to be held on your property?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. And you did not collect any money or transmit any money as collected at the rally on your farm?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment on that question.

Mr. WELTNER. I don't want to press you on the point particularly, but as I understood your testimony you said you didn't have anything to do with collecting any money. I just want to be sure that the record shows that. My question is whether or not you had any responsibility to collect or transmit or account for any money collected during the course of the rally that was held on your farm.

## PARKIE SCOTT EXHIBIT No. 5

JAMES R. VENABLE

ATTORNEY AT LAW

307 WALTER R. BROWN BUILDING - OPPOSITE COURT HOUSE - ATLANTA 3 GEORGIA

ASSOCIATE  
H. G. MCBRAYER, JR.  
RESIDENCE PHONE DR 3-2003

OFFICE PHONES  
MURRAY 8-9137  
JACKSON 4-4966  
RESIDENCE PHONE  
STONE MOUNTAIN 469-9766  
TUCKER, GA. OFFICE 936-8921

November 20, 1965

Mrs. Albert C. Witte  
1654 Otte Avenue  
Cincinnati 25, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Witte:

I am in receipt of your letter dated November 10, 1965, and I am indeed sorry to learn of your illness and I trust that you are recovering from same.

Too, I am sorry to learn of any statements made by Mr. Morris concerning the matter there in Ohio. I have been waiting for a report concerning how many applications received, initiation fees, robe money and concessions as well as donations. I have not received one dime from the 3 or 4 day rally held at Parky Scott's farm this past summer. I would like to have a complete list of any and all sums of money taken in and paid out together with a list of all applicants and their addresses. The amount paid by them and to whom.

Every trip that I have made to Ohio has cost me money out of my own pocket. I paid Rev. Hill's total expense from my own funds because not one dime from that gathering from the 3 or 4 day rally was paid into the Klan.

I would appreciate it if you would give me all the information you can on this matter and it will be held in strict confidence.

Please give my regards to the other boys and the rest of the good people; write me all the good news as well as the bad, and, I remain,

Yours very truly,

*James R. Venable*  
James R. Venable

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, in referring to products and stuff sold on the farm, I had nothing to do with any of the money or any of the applications. If you are referring to probably a collection that was taken up there at the farm—Would that be included?

Mr. WELTNER. Yes, that is right.

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, during the 3- or 4-day rally, there was one nightly collection taken up, a total of around, I think, \$60. That was to pay for the rally and that was to pay for the use of the farm.

Mr. WELTNER. \$60?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELTNER. Didn't you testify you just received \$1 for the use of the farm?

Mr. SCOTT. That is right.

Mr. WELTNER. But the \$60 taken up, was taken up and turned over to you for the use of the farm?

Mr. SCOTT. As a donation from the public.

Mr. WELTNER. Did you have anything to do with transmitting any money to any Klan organization or any officers of the Klan? You have testified that you got \$1 from the Klan and that you got \$60 from the public donations.

Now, did you, during the course of that rally, have any responsibility to transmit any money, to give any money to any member of the Klan or any representative of the Klan?

Mr. SCOTT. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. WELTNER. Do you know how much money was collected in the rally that was held there on your farm?

Mr. SCOTT. I haven't the least idea.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Manuel, you may continue.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, simply, did you receive any money from a rally which was held under the auspices of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at Brunswick, Ohio, on August 19, 20, and 21 of 1965?

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment on that, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Scott, at the Brunswick rally did you order a Klansman named Robert C. Spate of Wickliffe, Ohio, to burn a barn on the farmsite because the barn was being used by police officials for their automobiles?

Mr. SCOTT. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Scott, the committee will give you this opportunity to offer any point that is relevant as you may desire. It is up to counsel to advise you as to whether you wish to make any further statement.

Mr. SCOTT. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have nothing else.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness is excused.

Call Mrs. Witte once again.

Mr. MANUEL. Is Mrs. Eloise Witte in the hearing room?

Mr. WELTNER. Sound Mrs. Eloise Witte's name in the corridor, please.

Mrs. Witte failed to respond to the subpoena.

Call the next witness.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Flynn Harvey.

Mr. WELTNER. Stand and raise your right hand, please. Do you swear that the testimony that you will give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HARVEY. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF FLYNN R. HARVEY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
LESTER V. CHALMERS, JR.**

Mr. HARVEY. My attorney just walked downstairs, and said he would be right back up.

Mr. WELTNER. Stand aside, and we will recess for 5 minutes until he returns.

Notify the committee as soon as he is back.

(At this point a brief recess was taken. Subcommittee members present at time of recess and when hearings resumed: Representatives Weltner and Clawson.)

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Harvey, are you now represented by counsel?

Mr. HARVEY. Yes, sir, I am.

Mr. MANUEL. Counsel, please identify yourself for the record.

Mr. CHALMERS. Lester V. Chalmers, 501 First Federal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, would you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. HARVEY. Flynn R. Harvey.

Mr. MANUEL. Where do you currently reside?

Mr. HARVEY. 418 Josephine Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. MANUEL. Give the committee the date and place of your birth.

Mr. HARVEY. I respectfully decline to answer this question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my right as guaranteed to me by the amendments 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, have you ever held membership in the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, have you held membership in the United Klans of America?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Do you currently hold the position of Grand Dragon for the Realm of Ohio, United Klans of America?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Are you appearing before the committee this afternoon in response to a subpoena served upon you at 418 Josephine Avenue, Columbus, Ohio, at 11:30 p.m. on the 26th day of October 1965, by Deputy U.S. Marshal Fletcher?

Mr. HARVEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, an attachment made part of this subpoena calls for you to produce in paragraph 1:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda relating to the organization of and the conduct of business and affairs of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and affiliated organizations, namely, the Alabama Rescue Service, and Ohio Rescue Service, in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by you or available to you as Grand Dragon, Realm (State) of Ohio of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

In the representative capacity indicated in paragraph 1 of your subpoena, Mr. Harvey, I ask you now to produce the documents called for.

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to this committee any and all documents on demand by the committee in the subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the reason that I honestly feel that to do so might tend to incriminate me in violation of my rights as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

I respectfully decline to deliver to this committee any and all records as required by this committee under subpoena dated October 14, 1965, for the information is not relevant and germane to the subject under investigation and the same would not aid the Congress in consideration of any valid remedial legislation, nor is such inquiry within the scope of that authorized to be investigated by Rule XI of the rules adopted by the 89th Congress, by House Resolution 8, adopted January 4, 1965.

Mr. WELTNER. Mr. Chalmers, we have the two stipulations?

Mr. CHALMERS. I think also, Mr. Chairman, at this point I might advise the chairman that the witness has been advised of the chairman's opening statement, also.

Mr. WELTNER. That is the first of the usual stipulations, and secondly, that the documents called for in the subpoena are called for in the capacity as there described.

Mr. Harvey, the committee does not accept your refusal to produce these documents. Accordingly, I order you and direct you to produce same at this time.

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to this committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. The committee will give you, if you desire, at this point, an opportunity to present any reason why you are unable to comply with the requirement of the subpoena.

There being no response, we will proceed to the second paragraph.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, the second paragraph of your subpoena calls upon you to produce:

All books, records, documents, correspondence, and memoranda in your possession, custody or control, or maintained by or available to you, in your capacity as Grand Dragon, Realm (State) of Ohio of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which the "Constitution and Laws" of said organization authorize and require to be maintained by you and any other officer of said organization, the same being in your possession, custody or control.

I now ask you in the representative capacity outlined in paragraph 2 to produce the records called for.

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. That is the same stipulation, Mr. Chalmers.

I order and direct you to produce the documents called for.

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to the committee the documents heretofore ordered by the chairman, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, paragraph 3 of your subpoena calls upon you to produce:

Copies of the U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Form 1120, "U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return," for the fiscal years 1961 through June 30, 1965, filed by you as Grand Dragon, Realm (State) of Ohio of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., also known as the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Would you please at this time produce the documents called for?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to deliver to this committee the documents heretofore ordered, upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WELTNER. Proceed, Mr. Manuel.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, were you present during the testimony of Mr. Bobby J. Stephens?

Mr. HARVEY. I respectfully decline to answer that question for the reason that I honestly feel my answer might tend to incriminate me in violation of my right as guaranteed to me by amendment 5, 1, 4, and 14 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens testified that he knew you, Flynn Harvey, to be the Grand Dragon of the Realm of Ohio of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and that, further, you acted as treasurer and secretary of the Columbus, Ohio, Klavern from the period of his knowledge, from September 1964 until December 1964.

Is that testimony correct, sir?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. As treasurer of the Columbus Klavern of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, did you ever make any financial report to the membership?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever make any financial reports to the Imperial Wizard, Mr. James R. Venable?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Stephens further testified, Mr. Harvey, that, sometime during his membership in the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, charges were brought against you by certain members of the Columbus Klavern.

Is this testimony correct?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, Mr. Stephens supplied the committee with a document which, to Mr. Stephens' knowledge, was made up by members of the Columbus Klavern of the National Knights who wanted you removed from office. This document stated as follows—

Mr. WELTNER. Present him with the document, Mr. Manuel. It has been received into evidence.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, were the charges listed in that document true and correct, to your best knowledge?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

(Document previously marked "Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 1." See p. 3376.)

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, Mr. Stephens further testified that it was to his direct knowledge that you and other members of the Columbus Klavern of the National Knights—the other members being, among others, Robert Leavey, Chuck Gilliam, and W. K. Smith—discussed a plot to kidnap and beat a local CORE official in the city of Columbus.

Is this testimony correct?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the ground previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you ever take part in the discussions concerning the plot to kidnap and beat the local CORE leader?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the ground previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, as the result of charges brought against you by other members of the Klavern in Columbus, were you subsequently removed from office in the National Knights?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the ground previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. After leaving the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, were you appointed by Robert Shelton to be the Grand Dragon for the United Klans of America in the State of Ohio?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, were you aware that on September 26, 1965, a group of persons from the Ohio Realm of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan met with Mr. Robert Shelton at Zanesville, Ohio, at the Holiday Inn Motel in order to reorganize the United Klans of America in the Realm of Ohio?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, do you have any knowledge of threats being made on the life of Mr. Bobby J. Stephens?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Did you yourself make any threats on the life of Bobby J. Stephens?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the ground previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever directed others to threaten Mr. Stephens?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Similarly, have you ever made any threats on the life of Mr. Jim Harris?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Have you ever ordered or directed anyone else to make threats or to engage in acts against Mr. Jim Harris?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, have you ever attended meetings of the United Klans of America in the State of New York?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question, based upon the ground previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Harvey, when you took the stand just a little while ago, were you wearing in your lapel a button denoting membership in the United Klans of America?

Mr. HARVEY. Sir, I respectfully decline to answer that question based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MANUEL. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. WELTNER. The witness is excused.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WELTNER. Sound the name of Mrs. Eloise Witte again.

Mr. MANUEL. Is Mrs. Eloise Witte in the hearing room?

Mr. WELTNER. Ask the security persons to sound the name of Mrs. Witte in the corridor.

There being no response on the part of witness Mrs. Eloise Witte, the Chair wishes to make this announcement: Any witnesses who are presently under subpoena for today, or for earlier this week, who have not been previously excused, and that specifically includes Mrs. Eloise Witte, are directed by the committee to return here at 10 o'clock on Monday of next week.

We have not adjourned yet.

With that announcement as to witnesses who have been called and not yet excused, the subcommittee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock on Monday morning, and the subcommittee is recessed until Monday morning.

(Subcommittee members present at time of recess: Representatives Weltner and Clawson.)

(Whereupon, at 4:40 p.m., Friday, February 11, 1966, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Monday, February 14, 1966.





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